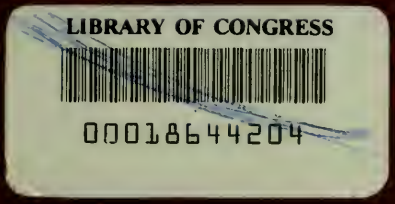
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PROGRAM

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 19TH

Evening, 8.00 O'Clock

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING, in the Red Room at the Seelbach.

Recommendations from the Official Board.

Roll-call of States for New Business.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 20TH

Morning, 10.00 O'Clock

Convention called to order by the President.

Welcome from Kentucky—

LAURA CLAY, President of Kentucky Equal Rights Association.

Response on behalf of National American Woman Suffrage Association—

CATHERINE WAUGH MCCULLOCH.

Appointment of Committees—

Courtesies.

Credentials.

Resolutions.

Recommendations from Executive Committee.

Reports of Chairmen of Committees—

Local Arrangements ..... LUCY E. ANTHONY

Presidential Suffrage ..... ELIZABETH U. YATES

Enrollment ..... MARY D. HUSSEY

Railroad Rates ..... MARCIA A. TOWNSEND

Literature ..... MYRA STRAWN HARTSHORN

Report of Treasurer ..... JESSIE ASHLEY

Report of Auditors ..... LAURA CLAY

Report of Corresponding Secretary ..... MARY WARE DENNETT

Report of Press Bureau ..... CAROLINE I. REILLY

Report of "The Woman's Journal" ..... AGNES E. RYAN

Afternoon, 2.30 O'Clock

Greetings from Fraternal Delegates.

Conference—The Proper Function of the National Association.

ANNA BLOUNT, Illinois.

KATHERINE HOUGHTON HEPBURN, Connecticut.

M. CAREY THOMAS, Pennsylvania.

Discussion of the Proposed New Constitution.

Evening, 8.00 O'Clock

ANNA HOWARD SHAW, Presiding.

Music—

a. "The Lost Arrow" ..... *Stewart*
(From the Legends of the Yosemite.)

b. "Charity" ..... *McDermid*
MRS. ELLIS.

Prayer—

JUBILEE NIGHT

The Colorado Aid Association—
OMAR E. GARWOOD.

The Washington Victory—
E. A. SHORES, Tacoma.
CATHERINE M. SMITH, Seattle.

The California Campaign—
MARY D. FISK.
J. H. BRALY.
ELIZABETH LOWE WATSON.

President's Annual Address—
ANNA HOWARD SHAW.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 21ST

Morning, 10.00 O'Clock

Report of the Credential Committee ..... JESSIE ASHLEY

Conference—How to Reach the Uninterested.
MARY BAKEWELL, Pennsylvania.
ELIZABETH KING ELLICOTT, Maryland.

Reports of State Presidents—
South Dakota ..... MRS. JOHN L. PYLE
Kentucky ..... LAURA CLAY
Illinois ..... ELLA SEARS STEWART
Colorado ..... HARRIETT G. R. WRIGHT
Texas ..... ANNETTE FINNIGAN
Iowa ..... HARRIET BELVEL EVANS
Louisiana ..... KATE M. GORDON
Connecticut ..... KATHERINE HOUGHTON HEPBURN
California ..... ELIZABETH LOWE WATSON

Conference—Propaganda.
GRACE GALLATIN SETON, Connecticut:
SUSAN W. FITZGERALD, Massachusetts.
MARY WINSOR, Pennsylvania.

Afternoon, 2.30 O'Clock

Report of Legal Advisor ..... CATHERINE WAUGH MCCULLOCH

Reports of State Presidents—
Oklahoma ..... RUTH GAY

District of Columbia .....Harriette J. Hifton
Missouri .....Mrs. Robt. M. Atkinson
Nebraska .....Dr. Inez G. Philbrick
New Hampshire .....Mary N. Chase
Minnesota .....Emily C. Dobbin
Discussion of Proposed New Constitution.

Evening, 8.00 O'Clock

COLLEGE NIGHT

M. Carey Thomas, Presiding.

Prayer—
Music—
a. "Lullaby" ..... *Stewart*
b. "The Starling in the Steeple" ..... *Liza Lehmann*
c. "Frau Nachtigall" ..... *Taubert*
Mrs. Davenport.
Address—"What Woman Might Accomplish With the Franchise"—
Jane Addams.
Address—"What Woman Suffrage Means to College Women"—
M. Carey Thomas.

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 22ND

Afternoon, 3.00 O'Clock

Anna Howard Shaw, Presiding.

Prayer—
Address—"Wanted—An Architect" .....Miss Mary Johnston
Address—"Woman's Influence in Public Affairs"..Dr. Harvey W. Wiley
Address—"Working Women's Interest in the Ballot"—
Miss Sophonisba Breckenridge
Address—"A New Phase of 'Home Rule' for Cities"—
Mrs. Caroline Bartlett Crane

Evening, 8.00 O'Clock

The officers of the Association "At Home" to the members of the Convention, at the Seelbach.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 23RD

Morning, 10.00 O'Clock

Conference—Political District Organization.
Mary D. Fisk, New York.
Caroline Katzenstein, Pennsylvania.
Gertrude Duncan, New York.
Anna Anthony Bacon, Ohio.
Election of Officers—

Reports from State Presidents—
Maine ..... Fannie J. Fernald
New York ..... Harriet May Mills
New Jersey ..... Clara Laddey
Ohio ..... Pauline Steinem
Rhode Island ..... Elizabeth U. Yates
Massachusetts ..... Alice Stone Blackwell
Virginia ..... Lila Meade Valentine

Afternoon, 2.30 O'Clock

Reports of State Presidents—
Wisconsin ..... Olympia Brown
Maryland ..... Emma Maddox Funck
Report of the Committee on Church Work..... Mary E. Craigie
The New Hampshire Constitutional Convention..... Agnes M. Jenks
Report of the Committee on Peace and Arbitration.... Lucia Ames Mead
Report of the College Equal Suffrage League..... Martha Gruening
Address—"The Effect of Suffrage Work Upon Women Themselves" ..... Katharine W. McCormick
Report of the Susan B. Anthony Suffrage Fund..... Kate M. Gordon
Conference—Raising Money—
Emily Pierson, Connecticut.
Ella Sears Stewart, Illinois.
Elizabeth Pope, New York.
Pledges for next year's work.

Evening, 8.00 O'Clock

MISCELLANEOUS NIGHT.

Anna Howard Shaw, Presiding.

Prayer—
Presentation of "The Woman's Journal" Cup.
"If Women Voted" ..... Inez Milholland
Suffrage Slide Lecture ..... Susan W. Fitzgerald
Two Suffrage Monologues ..... Marjorie Benton Cooke
Play—"How the Vote Was Won" ..... Fola La Follette

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 24TH

Morning, 10.00 O'Clock

Report of the Committee on Resolutions—
In Memory of
Mrs. Elizabeth Smith Miller.
Mrs. Eliza Wright Osborne.
Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell.
Mrs. Lillian M. Hollister.

Reports from National Organizers—

Laura Gregg Cannon.
Ida Porter Boyer.
Barton O. Aylesworth.
Perle Penfield.
Harriet Grim.

Report of Committee on Endorsements by Organizations—

Mary Ware Dennett.

Reports from State Presidents—

Vermont ..... Julia A. Pierce
West Virginia ..... May B. Hornbrook
Utah ..... Emily S. Richards
Tennessee ..... Martha Allen
Delaware ..... Martha S. Cranston
Georgia ..... Mary L. McLendon
Mississippi ..... Nellie N. Somerville
Michigan ..... Clara B. Arthur
Indiana ..... Anna Dunn Noland

Conference—Legislative Work—

Harriet May Mills, New York.
Lucy M. Johnston, Kansas.
Stella H. Stubbs, Kansas.
Ada L. James, Wisconsin.

Afternoon, 2.30 O'Clock

Report of Committee on Education ..... Pauline Steinem
Report of Congressional Committee ..... Emma M. Gillett

Conference—Press Work—

Caroline I. Reilly, New York.
Nellie N. Somerville, Mississippi.
Lila W. Thomson, Mississippi.
Vandalia Thomas, Illinois.
Mabel Craft Deering, California.
Elizabeth G. Peckham, Wisconsin.

Report of Friends Equal Rights Association—

Mary Bentley Thomas, President.

Report of Equal Franchise Society—

Margaret Chanler Aldrich, Acting President.

Address—"Let Our Watchword Be Unity"..... Mrs. T. P. O'Connor

Conference—Publicity—

Anna Anthony Bacon, Ohio.
Jessie H. Stubbs, Illinois.
Emily E. Dobbin, Minnesota.

Evening, 8.00 O'Clock

ANNA HOWARD SHAW, Presiding.

Prayer—
Address—MRS. DESHA BRECKENRIDGE.
Address—MRS. PANKHURST.
Closing Remarks of the President.
National Air.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 25TH

Morning, 10.00 O'Clock

Final Executive Committee Meeting at the Seelbach—Red Room.

Afternoon

Excursion to Mammoth Cave.

REPORT OF THE AUDITORS.

We have examined the books and vouchers of the National Treasurer, and we find the accounts correct.

LAURA CLAY,
ALICE STONE BLACKWELL,
Auditors.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS.

State	Entitled to	Present	Dues
California	11	9	$ 89.00
Colorado	1	1	5.00
Connecticut	6	4	35.00
Delaware	1	0	8.50
District of Columbia	4	4	14.20
Georgia	1	0	2.00

State	Entitled to	Present	Dues
Illinois	13	11	106.00
Iowa	9	4	64.00
Indiana	1	1	5.30
Kentucky	14	14	119.00
Louisiana	10	2	75.00
Maine	4	4	19.30
Maryland	18	1	138.00
Massachusetts	20	7	171.54
Michigan	4	4	13.90
Minnesota	6	5	39.60
Missouri	4	4	15.00
Mississippi	1	1	5.00
Nebraska	7	1	45.10
New Hampshire	6	2	32.00
New Jersey	8	1	52.10
New York	56	16	540.00
Ohio	10	10	78.10
Oklahoma	5	2	25.00
Oregon	1	0	5.00
Pennsylvania	13	8	105.10
Rhode Island	4	2	14.10
South Dakota	4	1	17.30
Texas	1	0	5.10
Tennessee	1	0	6.00
Utah	4	0	20.00
Vermont	1	0	6.00
Virginia	5	3	25.00
West Virginia	1	0	5.00
Wisconsin	1	1	9.30
Friends Equal Rights Association	4	0	16.80
College Equal Suffrage Association	26	9	238.90
Equal Franchise Society	1	0	10.00

Summary.

Total number of votes convention entitled to	287
Number present	133

REPORT OF THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

From April 19, 1911, to October 19, 1912.

The unavoidable inadequacy of this report is extremely regrettable, but yet it may perhaps serve some purpose in demonstrating the fact that the volume of work at Headquarters has become so overwhelming that it is well nigh impossible to find time to report it in detail.

There are three sections of work to be covered. First, that which belongs, strictly speaking, to a Corresponding Secretary; second, the general work of the Association, such as would not be included in the reports of any of the Auxiliary Associations, or in the President's address, and third, the miscellaneous work of Headquarters, which was done previous to the Convention last year by a Headquarters Secretary, there having been no such person this year.

The past eighteen months have brought such an increase in the work in all its departments that it is at once inspiring and discouraging—inspiring because it means that the Suffrage cause is on the "home stretch," and discouraging because our resources, both human and financial, have not increased proportionately.

The correspondence, measured by drawers full in the file, is more than double that of the preceding year. The output of literature is also almost three times what it was when 1910 began, and where we had four State campaigns last year, we have had five this year, and it may be seven before another six months has passed.

The scope of the correspondence is wide, covering methods of work in States where organization is strong, making suggestions and offering co-operation and opportunity in States where organization is weak or new, and supplying miscellaneous data as a National Information Bureau. New societies in Wisconsin, Maryland, Indiana, Nevada, Kansas, Arkansas, Alabama, Montana and Florida have been organized, and some of them are developing rapidly. With some of them correspondence has been very copious. Some have reached the point of affiliation with the National Organization; others are preparing to do so. In Indiana, Maryland, Wiscon-

sin, and Missouri the new societies have developed aside from or in place of the previous State society. In Nevada, Arkansas, Alabama, Montana and Florida, the Associations are new, and are still in the formation stage. There are even symptoms of organization in Cuba, Alaska and Hawaii. We have received letters and sent literature and information to all of them.

The correspondence with Canada has been very interesting and has steadily increased, and we have sent a good deal of literature to British Columbia, Ontario and Nova Scotia. Literature and letters have gone to Switzerland, Finland, and even Japan, in answer to requests, the Japanese correspondent being in the midst of writing a book on the rights of woman, because, as he quaintly put it, he believed there was "undoubtedly a truth in it."

A large part of our letters are in answer to requests for speakers, for material to be used for decorating booths, and so forth, at State or county fairs, and for literature and general propaganda for the same. Requests for literature are very frequently not simple orders from the catalogue, but appeals for help in the selection of suitable sorts for special purposes or for certain kinds of people. Many a person writes enclosing a five or ten-dollar bill, saying, "Please use your judgment in selecting what will be best for us. We want to make our money go as far as possible." Requests of this sort need the most careful attention. They should receive far more than we have been able to give. We have been often obliged, on account of the pressure of work in the office, to give less time to help of this sort than it deserves—just as we have been obliged sometimes to fall short of consistently holding to our determination to let no letter remain unanswered over twenty-four hours.

In selecting literature for special purposes, such requests as the following stand out as typical of the value of such work. One, from a library committee, asking for the different collections of Suffrage literature, which could be had for five, ten and twenty-five dollars, respectively; another, from the International Alliance, asking for the best and most comprehensive testimony on the workings of Equal Suffrage, to be

used in a compilation to be presented to all the parliaments of the world.

We have a steadily increasing stream of requests for suitable programmes for study clubs, also a sudden spurt of requests for Suffrage speakers from the Federation of Women's Clubs. The example of the last Biennial Meeting, when Woman Suffrage appeared for the first time on the official programme of the Federation, has precipitated almost an epidemic of Suffrage meetings in the State Federations and local clubs.

As an Information Bureau, Headquarters may well despair of ever catching up with the varied demands upon it. We are expected to know all of everything, and one would think, to hear the requests, that the Suffrage movement took in the universe. The following are a few samples of the sorts of information we are asked to provide, relevant and irrelevant (doubtless one should not include the latter in an official report, but since they serve as recreation in office life, they may perhaps do likewise here). The more unreasonable the request, and the more research it involves to answer it, the more in haste the writer usually is to be answered by the next mail. For instance, a boy who is to take part in a debate soberly inquires "how many square miles of land on which taxes are paid are owned in the United States by women? Have not been able to find this, so appeal to Headquarters." We referred him to the census, with the reminder that even there he could get no accurate estimate, as the directions given to the census takers of 1910 were that in instances where farms were owned by women, and the husband was the manager, the report was to be made that the husband owned the farm. Women confidently expect us to undertake lawsuits for them, in cases of unjust discrimination, and feel hurt because we cannot do it. Pathetic women write, saying that they know we stand for helping womankind, therefore, won't we please do all manner of things, such as sending the address of Pierpont Morgan by return mail, or secure a sale for jellies, or prevent a young girl from marrying an undesirable middle-aged man, etc. We are asked to provide data about

dress reform, co-operative kitchens, women in the ministry, and the like.

But Suffrage workers ask us for serious statistical information, which we sorely need to be able to supply; for example, "How many women are employed outside their homes in the Suffrage States; how many are married, and what is their weekly wage?" "Please send data on women serving as members of School Boards, and as State, or County, or City Officers," and more frequently than anything else comes the request for an estimate of the number of women in this country who are in favor of Woman Suffrage. Would that someone could satisfactorily answer that question! Perhaps the two most significant requests for information are from Government authorities, one from the Election Commissioner of Pennsylvania, asking for the kind and amount of Suffrage already obtained by women in the United States, and when secured; the other from the Bureau of Education of the Department of the Interior, asking similar information. When the Government depends upon our Association, instead of upon itself, for its own history, it would seem like a governmental admission that we are of some consequence.

The most important general work of the Association outside of the regular Headquarters routine, and beside the State Campaigns, has been the Press Bureau and the Woman's Journal, both of which will be reported separately, and the National's part of State Campaigns will be reported by the presidents of the several States. Other undertakings worthy of special mention are as follows: The Official Board of the Association has made a serious recommendation to the State Officers to push the plan of political district organization, as the best and most systematic and reliable way of preparing for the submission of a Suffrage Amendment to the voters in any State. A leaflet giving the details of the plan has been published and widely distributed gratis. The plan has been adopted as scheduled, or in modified form, in ten States, in most of which the name Woman Suffrage Party has been adopted, following the example of the Woman Suffrage Party of New York City, which was the first organization to adapt

the enrollment work long ago established by the National Association to the needs of modern political action.

The Advisory Committee, authorized by last year's Convention, has met four times and has rendered exceedingly valuable service. The reports of the meetings have been published in the Woman's Journal. Among the most important questions discussed and upon which recommendations were made was the method of organization used by the Woman Suffrage Party, in the discussion of which Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw, Chairman of Manhattan Borough, brought out the points that the party had reached thousands of people heretofore unreached by the work of the Suffrage clubs; that it has worked in co-operation with previously existing local associations; that the enrollment without dues has resulted in unprecedented strength and numbers, and that the party was planning a systematic raising of money, in proportion to the membership in each district. Recommendation was made to the National Board to push the plan of non-dues paying political district organization, as well as organization by dues-paying clubs.

Advice was also given as to the value of organization work by a group of workers, instead of by individuals; it was suggested that a committee be appointed for conference with the business manager of the Woman's Journal, for expanding the usefulness of the paper. This committee was subsequently appointed and the conference was distinctly productive. It was recommended that the Association divide its work for the ensuing year into the following departments: Literature, the Woman's Journal, Press Bureau, Information Bureau, Department of Endorsements, and Department of Federal Legislation. A committee was appointed to draft suggestions for the revision of the Constitution of the Association, which committee reported at the following meeting of the Advisory Committee, when the revisions were thoroughly discussed and amended, and were then reported to the Board and published in the Woman's Journal.

The Advisory Committee also helped in the discussion of the location of Headquarters, and the programme for the Convention.

Last Winter, under the direction of the Finance Committee, a new department of work was established, of which Miss Elizabeth Pope, of New York, was made Chairman. The plan received the endorsement of the Official Board, and is now in operation. It is a simple and easy method of raising money, requiring only the mindfulness of interested Suffragists, who will subscribe to any and all magazines they may take or renew through Miss Pope, instead of through any other agency. The commissions to be derived therefrom go into the National treasury, and it only remains for this plan to be remembered by thousands of Suffragists for us to have an annual income of very considerable size. More subscription renewals are made in October and January than in any other months, so these are the two important times to bear in mind.

The National office prepared reports of the work of the Association for the meeting of the National Council of Women, and for the Congress of the International Alliance in Stockholm. For the latter, three reports were prepared—one on the general work, one on the economic status of women in the Suffrage States, and one a series of answers to a questionnaire issued by the President of the International Alliance as to the increase in membership, the amount of money raised, the amount of literature circulated, laws passed of advantage to women, special honors conferred upon woman, which indicate the breaking down of sex discrimination; signs of growth, and how Suffrage may be obtained in a given country. We have established an exchange of propaganda with the International Shop in London. At the suggestion of Mrs. Catt we have recently co-operated with the Woman's Enfranchisement League of Cape Colony, South Africa, by inviting a large number of American women writers to send copies of their books to an exhibition and sale of women's work.

Since our last Convention there have been two annual meetings of the House of Governors, the first in Kentucky, at which Miss Laura Clay secured a hearing, and presented our cause to the Governors by a most admirable address; the second in New Jersey, at which a hearing was secured for Dr.

Shaw, who was accorded every courtesy and received with heartiest enthusiasm by the Governors, and afterward by their wives. In Kentucky Governor Wilson was largely instrumental in securing the hearing; in New Jersey, although the Governor is also a Wilson, he is unfortunately an "anti," but by the cordial efforts of Governor Shafroth, of Colorado, the place on the programme was made for Dr. Shaw.

On two occasions representatives of the Association have spoken at hearings on the United States Postal Laws—one in Washington before the House Committee, when Miss Gillette, Chairman of the Congressional Committee, and Miss Hifton, President of the District of Columbia Association, spoke, and one in New York, before a special commission, of which ex-Governor Hughes was Chairman, when the Corresponding Secretary of the Association spoke.

The customary number of complimentary copies of the reports of the hearings before the House and Senate Committees were not to be had this year, in spite of voluminous and conscientious correspondence on the subject, and unremitting efforts from members of the Suffrage Association in Washington. But such as we have had have been distributed with care; in several instances they have been sent to members of State Legislatures where Suffrage bills were pending. Gov. Shafroth's speech before the Senate Committee has been widely and freely distributed.

In the correspondence with the Presidents and Secretaries of our Auxiliaries, warnings were sent out as to the necessity of watching State legislation closely, lest amendments to State Constitutions or changes in laws be made so that only qualified electors should be eligible to office, thus preventing the appointment of women in non-Suffrage States. Two valuable compilations have been made, one showing how many times and when and what sort of Suffrage Bills have been introduced into State Legislatures in the last ten years, and the other showing the exact procedure necessary for amending the Constitutions of the various States. The latter was found to be especially useful last week, when the California election hung in the balance for two days, and all the New York papers declared that a two-thirds majority vote was necessary to carry

the amendment. It took one person almost all day at the telephone to contradict that statement, in answer to the frantic inquiries which came pouring in from worried Suffragists.

Under the direction of Mrs. Catherine Waugh McCullough, a series of questions on the legal status of women has been printed and sent with letters to the various States, from which answers have been slowly coming in. The returns have been published serially in the Woman's Journal, and when they are finally published in pamphlet form, they will fill a large and long-felt need, and will spare us the necessity of answering piecemeal and laboriously the multitudinous questions which come in to us continually on that subject.

At the suggestion of Miss Clay, letters were sent to all members of Congress, urging their effort to include women as electors in the bill providing for the direct election of United States Senators. The replies received make an interesting canvass of our Congressmen to add to that made by the Chairman of the Congressional Committee, as most of them took occasion to state their views on Woman Suffrage in general.

From the Church Fund $200 was appropriated for literature in the campaign States. The money is not quite yet expended, and thus far has been used to send at proper intervals, judiciously selected literature to the members of the Nevada Legislature and a list of Nevada business men, editors and politicians. Also for sending to special lists of people in Wisconsin, Kansas and California, copies of Hampton's Magazine for April, which contained Mrs. Rheta Child Dorr's article on the "Colorado Women Voters." By an arrangement with the publisher we were able to purchase these magazines at six cents each including postage.

The National Association took part in a Bazaar held in honor of Susan B. Anthony last winter by the New York State Association, and cleared a small sum thereby.

We have published 30,000 copies of the "What to Do" leaflet, which have been sent out gratis. Some States applying for 3,000 at once. These were published in three editions, each of which was exhausted before the demand could be supplied; California sent for 10,000, and evidently learned "What to Do" effectively. We issued 45,000 of the little con-

vention seals, and the supply has hardly held out. The drawing for the seal was the generous contribution of Miss Charlotte Shetter of New Jersey. Through the equally generous co-operation of Mrs. Helen Hoy Greeley of New York we have been able to give free of charge for use on letters 13,000 Suffrage Stamps. Another interesting bit of co-operation in both labor and money was that between Headquarters and Mrs. Raymond Brown, President of the Woman Suffrage Study Club, who with members of her Association addressed and sent to about a thousand presidents of the local Suffrage clubs all over the country two copies of Miss Blackwell's striking editorial in answer to Richard Barry's slanderous statements about Colorado, together with a note asking each president to send one copy to the editor of the Ladies Home Journal, in which Barry's article had appeared, with her own personal protest, and the other to the editor of some local paper in her vicinity. The result was a perfect avalanche of protest to the editor of the unfortunate magazine, and an amount of newspaper publicity, which has given Richard Barry an unenviable reputation.

We have had a number of requests from newspapers and magazines about starting Suffrage columns or departments, and there have been several publishers who have conferred with the officers at Headquarters about the possibility of starting a well capitalized Suffrage magazine. None have materialized as yet, but it indicates the significance of the Suffrage movement that business men should think themselves ready to consider it a paying proposition to publish a Suffrage magazine. So sure was one firm that the Suffrage movement could be made to pay that it spent a very large sum in publishing an ambitious series of postcards with mottoes and emblems; but not sufficient knowledge was secured beforehand of the facts of either the Suffragists or the public, and the attempt was a failure, a matter of regret from at least one point of view, since a very comfortable share of the profits was to have gone into the National treasury in recognition of the endorsement of the Association to the subject matter printed on the postcards.

There has been a great increase in the number of Men's

Leagues for Woman Suffrage. We have received reports of their organizations in thirteen States.

The miscellaneous work of Headquarters is most difficult to report satisfactorily, because it is a mass of detail, a good deal of it being like dusting, noticeable only if it is not done. The largest single feature of the Headquarters work proper, is the Literature Department, which has enlarged so rapidly, that the problem of storage is now a very troublesome one. A year ago this last Summer, we altered the arrangement of the various offices, so as to provide a much needed general reception room for the visitors who come in a steady stream. This room, though small is full of interest to those who must wait appointments, and is a great convenience to the office force. We keep there samples of all the kinds of literature we publish, both on the walls and the tables, copies of all the Suffrage publications, including those from foreign countries, some dozen or so in all, samples of the picture posters, English and otherwise, the entire set of bound volumes of the Woman's Journal from 1870, the generous gift of the editor, Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, a scrap-book, now in two thick volumes, showing the various kinds of announcements, advertisements, leaflets, fliers, and so forth, which have been issued by State and local associations; this has been a mine of suggestion for visiting Suffragists who are eager to find new ideas for home application, the photograph gallery of eminent Suffragists also on exhibition always interests even the most casual caller. We have two of these galleries beside the one at Headquarters, which are rented to the local associations for temporary use at a nominal fee. They have both been steadily engaged since last Spring and are traveling over the country with almost no idle time. One of them went to Stockholm along with the literature exhibit for the International Alliance Congress. We also have in the reception room what has been dubbed "the take one table," on which are kept notices of local meetings, advertisements of books on subjects allied to the Suffrage movement, "What to Do" leaflets, Woman's Journal subscription blanks, membership cards, the magazine subscription announcements and so forth.

Besides our own literature, we have on sale, Mrs. Char-

lotte Perkins Gilman's books, "Women and Economics" and "The Man Made World"; Eugene Hecker's "Short History of Women's Rights"; Sylvia Parkhurst's "The Suffragette"; Olive Shreiner's "Woman and Labor" and Helen Summer's "Equal Suffrage." The latter has been greatly in demand. We are also to have the charming little story called "Light," which has appeared serially in the Woman's Journal.

We have recently advertised in the Woman's Journal that we would provide any public library with the four volumes of the "History of Woman Suffrage" on payment of the expressage only, and in less than a month we have had over a hundred applications. We have sent the histories to all the State Suffrage Headquarters in the campaign States, and several have gone abroad to Suffrage headquarters. We have begun recently to loan Suffrage books to local readers, after the fashion of circulating libraries.

The spread of Suffrage activity is well proven by the number of Suffrage songs that have been sent in to the office, some of them in response to the several prizes which have been offered by individuals and organizations, and some from general interest. If they had been as good as they have been frequent, we should have a marvelous musical treat in store, but for the most part, they have been rather more indicative of fervor than of genius.

Likewise with Suffrage plays, the demand for them is really wonderful, and we almost daily make recommendation for amateur performances, or send information as to where plays may be secured, We have "How the Vote was Won," "Lady Geraldine's Speech," and "A Woman's Influence," on sale. Several manuscript plays by American writers have been sent in for criticism, some of them quite promising, and only two weeks ago we received the full score and libretto for a Suffrage light opera. It is too ambitious for amateur performance, but it may be brought out professionally this coming season. There are several indications that we may soon look for the organization of an Actresses Franchise League in America, similar to that which has done such admirable service in England. The keen interest of Fola La Follette in this project augurs well for its success.

A collection of Suffrage slides with an accompanying lecture has been prepared for the use of local clubs whose resources may be slight. It will travel about the country in the same way as does the photograph gallery.

One of the widening opportunities for service is in providing material for debates. The applications come in at the rate of about six per day, during the school year, and are received from high schools, private schools, normal schools and colleges. We always send material whether the application is accompanied by money or not, in which latter case we enclose a slip reminding the recipient that ours is not an organization adequately supported by the income from its dues, but mainly by subscription and contribution, and that the work is for the benefit of the community, and so we are justified in expecting members of the community to share the expense. We also ask for a report on the debate. The responses are fairly satisfactory. About three-quarters of the literature is paid for and the debate reports indicate nearly all are won by the Suffrage side; in fact, we have record of only three losses in eighteen months.

Headquarters has co-operated with the National Enrollment Committee in transforming the old enrollment work into its new form of political district registration and organization, and letters were sent to the local Enrollment Chairman in all the States, urging the plan and suggesting the preliminary steps.

We have constantly received from the New York Woman Suffrage Party enrollment slips signed by people outside New York. These we forward to the Suffrage organizations in the various States to which they belong.

The calls for data by writers for magazines and newspapers is never ending, both in the Secretary's office and in the Press Bureau.

Our Press Bureau Chairman, Miss Caroline Reilley, has been especially successful in meeting this increasing demand.

Headquarters has been very closely associated with the Boston office of the Woman's Journal, our only regret being that it could not be more so.

The most bulging of all the folders in our files are those

containing the Woman's Journal work. The weekly Headquarters letters have been alternately written by the Treasurer and the Secretary, and a regular column "For Beginners" has been provided with material. The correspondence has been gleaned for items of interest and importance. Advertisements of the literature have been arranged, and it is a pleasure to record the fact that they pay remarkably well, so much so that it makes us long to be able to afford to advertise our wares in other papers than our own. At the time of the great Suffrage parade in New York last May, the Headquarters Office secured photographs and information about all the leaders of the local Suffrage Associations taking part in the parade, also several specially written articles and a cartoon for a Parade Number of the Woman's Journal. A corps of sellers was secured, and on that day alone papers were sold to the extent of about one-third the entire subscription list of the paper when it became the official organ of the Association. Five times as many could have easily been sold along the line of march if we had had a sufficiently large corps of sellers, an item to be remembered for future parades. At the time of the Triangle fire, we secured for the Journal, through the courtesy of the New York Call, the use of the terrible but effective cartoon on the fire, and the Journals were sold at the great Cooper Union Protest Meeting, arranged by the New York College Suffrage League. We have gotten in touch with an enthusiastic Suffragist who is a cartoonist, Lou Rogers, of New York, whose spirited drawing called "Cornered," which appeared in the Journal of October 7th, is an evidence of her generosity as well as her insight into the meaning of the Suffrage Movement.

By correspondence with some of the leaders of the Initiative Referendum League, a special article was secured for the Journal, written by George Judson King, illustrated by two maps of the United States showing the progress of the two greatest modern efforts toward real democracy, Equal Suffrage, and the Initiative and Referendum, and the striking similarity between them in the territory they have already covered.

An effort was made from Headquarters to get the

Woman's Journal for sale on the news stands of the subways and elevated roads, but a strong monopoly controls all these news stands, and the rent charged for space is at present prohibitive for us.

For the last few weeks the Journal has had the benefit of the services of a Headquarters Editor, Mrs. Francis Maule Bjorkman, a trained newspaper and magazine writer, whose services have been given to the paper temporarily through the interest of the National President, who has appropriated for that purpose an amount from a Suffrage fund in her personal charge. All readers of the paper will have instinctively appreciated the value of this service to the Journal, and will do so still more after knowing that it was due to Mrs. Bjorkman's quick work in altering the front page of the paper, even after it was in press and 1,000 copies already printed, that the subscribers were able to read of California's victory in last week's papers instead of receiving the news ten days later.

The increase in the volume of work in the Literature Department is, perhaps, best indicated by the successive changes in the form of our price list for the past three years. The first form was a little slip, the next a full page list, the last a sixteen-page catalogue.

The Chairman of the Literature Committee, Mrs. Myra Strawn Hartshorn of Chicago, revised the popular booklet, "Eminent Opinions," which is ceaselessly in demand. Soon after the last Convention we printed the sixth in the series of "Rainbow Fliers," which are so largely used for outdoor meetings. It is called "About Voting." This was shortly followed by two more Political Equality leaflets, one on District Organization and one called "The Real Point," the latter being an answer to the reiterated demand that women must over-qualify before they can deserve the ballot. We reprinted from the North American Magazine "Women and Democracy," by Prof. Borden P. Bowne; "Of Interest to Legislators" was printed with special reference to the legislatures before which Suffrage Bills were pending. The edition was quickly exhausted. We bought and resold during the year several publications issued by local societies; among

these were "A Man's View of Woman Suffrage," by Prof. Bowne; "The Test of Experiment," and Julia Ward Howe's article reprinted from The Outlook,—these three from the Massachusetts Association, "The Status of Woman," by Mary Johnston, from the Virginia Association; a reprint of Wendell Phillips' famous speech from the Equal Franchise Society of Pennsylvania; "An Interview with Judge Howard" from the New York Equality League; "Homo Sum," and "A New-Fashioned Argument," by M. Carey Thomas, from the National College Equal Suffrage League, and three excellent leaflets prepared by Mrs. Catherine Houghton Hepburn of the Connecticut Association.

With the exception of the literature already mentioned nothing new was published for an interval of ten months, due to the fact that the appropriation was exhausted in reprinting, in direct response to the demand, and because the question of the permanency of our Headquarters Address was unsettled for three months. Last July, after consultation with the Literature Committee and the Official Board, preparations were made for a considerable amount of new literature, of which we were then in sore need. The work, unfortunately, had to be begun during the vacation period, when the office force was reduced for two months, but by vigorous pushing we are now able to announce sixteen new publications for presentation to this Convention, as follows:

"What Women Might Do With the Ballot." A new series of pamphlets, each one of which takes up a specific social problem and shows the cause. They are written by well-known authorities, who present first the problem, by a few graphic instances, next the legislation which will solve the problem, and finally, the connection between an individual citizen and such legislation. The pamphlets are bound in uniform style, and most of them are to be illustrated by a frontispiece.

(Already Published.)

"The Abolition of Child Labor." By Florence Kelley.

"Fire Prevention." By Arthur E. McFarlane. (By the courtesy of McClure's Magazine.)

"Reasonable Postal Laws." By James L. Cowles, Secretary of the Postal Progress League.

"The Abolition of the White Slave Traffic." By Clifford E. Roe.

In preparation, others on the following subjects: Equal Pay, Pure Food, Schools, Legal Discriminations Against Women, Direct Legislation, Factory Inspection, City Sanitation, The White Plague, Sex Hygiene, Decent Working Conditions, Peace and Arbitration, City Congestion, The Social Causes of Disease.

A number of prominent authors have promised the above articles, which will be published as rapidly as possible.

"Disfranchisement," by Dr. W. E. Burghardt, Du Bois. One of the most fundamental, sound and sane arguments ever offered. It lifts the whole Suffrage question clean above any consideration of expediency, and sounds a note of faith and confidence in Democracy which is inspiring.

"Does the Husband Support the Wife?" A discussion by two great leaders of English and American thought: Mrs. Emmeline Pethick Lawrence (Editor of "Votes for Women"), and Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman (Editor of "The Forerunner.")

Each writes with clearness and brilliancy and each is convincing, though their points of view are quite different. It is an intellectual treat to read these arguments from women who equally care for winning Suffrage, and who equally care for the uplift of womankind. The pamphlet is illustrated with a cartoon from "Votes for Women."

Report of the Commission on Universal Suffrage appointed by the French Chamber of Deputies, 1910 (translated by Mrs. Raymond Brown).

Never has there been published stronger or more consistent testimony in favor of Woman Suffrage. The report makes a survey of the extent and working of Woman Suffrage throughout the world, and gives conclusions drawn from the investigation, and makes recommendations to the French Parliament.

"Breaking Into the Human Race," by Rheta Child Dorr.

(Reprinted by courtesy of Hampton's Magazine.) An illustrated pamphlet giving a vivid presentation of Suffrage as an integral part of the "Woman Movement."

"Women Should Mind Their Own Business," by Prof. E. J. Ward, of Wisconsin University. (Reprinted by courtesy of The Independent.) Breezy and convincing and to the point.

"Why Man Needs Woman's Ballot," by Clifford Howard, of California. (Reprinted by courtesy of the Political Equality League of Los Angeles.) A modern point of view exceptionally well presented.

"When All the Women Want It," by Alice Stone Blackwell. Even good Suffragists are caught in the fallacy implied by this title, which makes the pamphlet especially timely.

Political Equality Leaflets—"The Ladies' Battle," by Alice Stone Blackwell. An answer to Molly Elliott Seawell. "Mrs. Howe's Census." A canvass of the clergy of the Suffrage States, made by Julia Ward Howe. "Some Catholic Opinions." A revised edition, including quotations from Father Gleason of California. "Gains in Equal Suffrage." A tabulation showing the progress from eighty years ago to 1911.

Rainbow Fliers in German. All six of the set have been translated for the benefit of German citizens.

A significant bit of statistics in regard to the literature is the fact there is no longer a "dull season" in midsummer, as there used to be before outdoor meetings flourished. A year ago for August the literature receipts in the office were $71.00; this last August they were $274.00. Our maximum for monthly receipts from literature has been $425.00, as against an average of $90.00 per month at the beginning of 1910, and if we could maintain that figure steadily there would be no doubt whatever about the department being self-supporting. As it is, we have come out just even, if we count in the literature appropriation as receipts.

We have established a practice of sending sample packages of literature on approval, and it has worked well. We have received some very interesting offers from business people who are Suffragists, agreeing to fold into parcels sent out from their shops any leaflets we choose to supply.

If we had a travelling agent who could devote entire time to placing the literature on sale in advantageous places all over the country there is almost no limit to the possibilities in the way of increase.

We have printed 500,000 of the Political Equality Leaflets alone, and within the last month we sold 84,000 Rainbow Fliers, 20,000 of which went to Virginia. If all the States were consuming Suffrage literature at Virginia's rate, we should not have to wait long before winning the ballot throughout the land.

There are many sorts of Suffrage propaganda beside literature which we need to dispense from Headquarters, and it is to be hoped that we may have an appropriation to be used as working capital for buying supplies—as flags, pennants, ushers' sashes, buttons, pins, posters, post-cards, and so forth. We have ordered Votes for Women paper napkins and rubber stamps, California poppies, and Votes for Women butterflies, all of which have found a ready sale. We are just now arranging for a Suffrage Calendar and some Christmas Greeting Cards. A little more capital would enable us to make Headquarters the supply place for the entire country, which it ought to be for every reason of economy and convenience.

The last thing to report is the Cooper Union Mass Meeting on October 13, for the celebration of the California victory. The hall had been engaged for some months, but the preparations for the meeting hung upon the returns from the election, and the uncertainty and delay rushed us to the utmost. But in spite of that we had a band, a new six-star flag, a six-star button, two among our seven speakers California women, and unlimited enthusiasm with which to make merry over the greatest Suffrage victory the United Staes has yet seen.

MARY WARE DENNETT.

TREASURER'S REPORT

Our accounts this year are made up of two parts. Mrs. Upton's account from January, 1910, to June, 1910, and my own from June, 1910, to January, 1911.

Mrs. Upton's detailed statement appears in another part of this Report. Her total receipts for the period were $12,321.94. Her disbursements $11,443.72.

Including Mrs. Upton's receipts and disbursements our yearly account stood as follows:

RECEIPTS		DISBURSEMENTS	
Upton	$12,321.18	Upton	$11,443.72
Press	3,072.12	Press	2,645.97
General	3,500.71	General	302.22
Campaigns	2,250.50	Campaigns	4,572.20
Literature	2,482.08	Literature	1,700.25
Auxilliary Dues	2,172.42	Headquarters	2,159.98
Woman's Journal	2,783.11	Woman's Journal	2,242.12
Interest	173.26	S. B. Anthony Memorial Fund	9,731.91
Susan B. Anthony Memorial Fund	15,089.24	Total Disbursements	$34,838.37
	$43,844.62	Willis Fund (in H. T. Upton's possession)	500.00
		Miss Anthony's Gold	46.00
		Balance	8,460.25
			$43,794.62

In the total receipts are included the interest ($57.00) and income ($79.00) paid in by Miss Laura Clay, Trustee for the Sarah Bruce Legacy.

The Susan B. Anthony Memorial account consists of money raised as a special fund and given to the National Association. It was appropriated for salaries for the officers as follows: President, $2,500.00; Corresponding Secretary, $2,500.00; Treasurer, $1,000.00. For the President's traveling expenses, $1,000. For literature, $1,500.00. Official Organ, $500.00. For College Work, $3,000.00.

You will notice that exclusive of officers' salaries and the allowance for traveling for the President, our expenses were $27,611.37. A very small amount for a National organization to spend in this great country with campaigns going on in several States, our National Congress in session part of the year and many States wholly unworked and unorganized not to speak of our Official Organ, The Woman's Journal, which to be effective should alone cost at least $30,000.00.

It would seem that an organization with such small resources at its command must be weak. And the Treasurer hopes that at this Convention we may make some provision for the tremendous and imperative work that lies at our doors to do and that can only be adequately done by a National organization. The work cannot be done without money and the Suffragists of this country must provide this or expect to see the work suffer.

Another point that I would like to call to your attention is this. Our Association consists chiefly of a membership of States and, if we judge by the general trend of expressed opinion these States are proud of their membership and jealous of admitting others to our ranks. And yet the States do not anywhere near support the work of the Association. Our dues amount to but a fraction over $2,000.00, and pledges from State organizations brings this amount up to less than $1,000.00 more. Where then does the rest come from? It is clear that we are dependent upon the bounty of individual donors who give, not through the State Societies, or because of the State Societies, but because they believe in the National work as such. This is, in one respect, the most encouraging feature of our outlook, for it shows that to those who are watching the Suffrage movement as a whole, there is a National significance in our work and a great National opportunity before us.

But this same fact, the fact that the States, they who make up our voting membership, do not begin to support the National, makes our income very uncertain, while our expenses, if we are to do any worthy work, must be in a measure fixed and certain. We must in many cases make contracts involving the payment of considerable sums to organizers. We must contract for rent. We must meet the monthly printing and mailing bills of "The Woman's Journal." We must keep our literature in stock. We must pay the salaries, week by week, of the clerks and stenographers without whom the volume of work done at Headquarters would be a physical impossibility.

These are the things that are troublesome. What can we do to keep abreast of the wonderful growth of our move-

ment? We cannot continue to live on an income that was all too inadequate five years ago and that is laughable now. Can we afford to be dependent upon our generous friends outside our voting membership? Is it not time we faced the situation and put the financial responsibility where it belongs on the State Societies? It is for the States to answer. I ask this Convention to raise Seventy-five thousand dollars for next year's work.

JESSIE ASHLEY,
Treasurer.

REPORT OF NATIONAL PRESS BUREAU.

The annual reports of the National Press Bureau, formerly read by Miss Elizabeth J. Hauser, who so long and so ably conducted this department, had reached so high a standard, and the foundation laid by her was so substantial and solid, that it was possible for us to meet the new conditions and increased volume of work with systematic and businesslike methods. Then came Mrs. Ida Husted Harper, with her literary ability and historical knowledge, to open a new field for Suffrage propaganda through the magazines, the great syndicates and Sunday papers in the large cities. Thus you will see that when the present chairman took charge of the Press Bureau it had been so splendidly developed by her predecessors that she found only hard work, and plenty of it.

During the eighteen months which have elapsed since the last convention at Washington the records of the Press Bureau show that we have written 5,584 letters. We are in constant receipt of letters from all over the world, written in various languages, the majority containing inquiries regarding Suffrage methods in this country and what has been accomplished by our enfranchised women. One man was sent by a national society in France to learn what our Suffrage States had done toward eliminating tuberculosis, and we were happy to inform him that the States where women vote in this country were filled with tubercular patients sent there by physicians to be cured. We regretted that his surprise at this statement necessitated an explanation of the virtues of the climate in those enfranchised States.

We have furnished material for one hundred magazine articles, which have appeared in various periodicals from time to time. This feature of our work absorbs an immense amount of time, as we are usually informed by the writers that they do not believe in our principle, but have been instructed to write impartially; and in supplying the facts we are obliged to prove that they are facts, which requires argument. The magazine work has one very good effect: it almost invariably converts the writer, and he or she is apt to become an enthusiastic supporter of the cause.

Sometimes we are called upon to furnish information about professional or business women for "write-ups," the writer never dreaming of any connection between his subject and Woman Suffrage. But we try to convince him that there is, and the article usually resolves itself into a Suffrage story. These experiences prove the advantage of coming into personal contact and becoming acquainted with the people who are doing the work.

Our list of newspaper syndicates has increased to nine, some of which are international. Since the last convention we have furnished them 1,314 articles, many by special request. Every one of these syndicates asked for detailed accounts of this convention, together with personal sketches of the officers and speakers.

The Associated Press has sent out Suffrage news as occasion warranted, and has solicited our co-operation. In connection with this convention the Associated Press has sent out to its papers personal notes regarding the speakers, and copies of addresses as well. In addition, we have sent news items, copies of reports, lectures, etc., to them from time to time, and as the clippings have invariably come back to us, it is apparent that they were published.

Having received requests for the weekly news bulletins from a great many of the press workers, we last December revived this department of the work, which had been discontinued for some time. Since then we have mailed 31,200 of these lists. In view of the great number returned to us through the clippings, together with reports from press workers and publishers, we are convinced that this is one of the

most effective methods for getting our question into the papers, which are always anxious for news on the subject of Woman Suffrage, now that it has gained world-wide interest, and will publish the items simply for their news value even though they may editorially oppose the principle. These weekly items are regularly mailed to press chairmen and newspapers in forty-one States of the Union, to Canada, Alaska and Cuba, and every day brings requests for more. A number of monthly pamphlets issued by women's clubs publish them, and report that they find them useful. Papers devoted to the labor movement publish them regularly, and very often offer helpful suggestions. In organizing clubs people tell us they have successfully used the press items to attract new members by proving to them the interest that is being taken in the movement by women all over the world.

We have responded to fifty requests from schools and colleges for information to be utilized in debates, lectures and school magazines. The History of Woman Suffrage and the Woman's Journal are particularly helpful in such cases, and are constantly proving more and more valuable to the work.

In addition to the foregoing, the records show that we have replied to 1,214 adverse editorials and letters in papers from Maine to California, and secured space in New York City papers for 2,163 notices and articles without any charge to us. We have received and read 62,519 clippings gathered by the Press Clipping Bureau to which we subscribe, 9,163 of which were cut from New York City papers alone.

Representatives of newspapers and magazines from the following countries have come to us for material: Australia, Finland, Alaska, France, Germany, England, Sweden, Norway, Japan, Wales, Denmark, Russia, Italy, Mexico, Spain, Holland, Hawaii, South America, Canada, as well as from nearly every State in the Union.

Copies of the Convention Call were mailed to the Associated Press, the United Press, nine newspaper syndicates, and to all of the newspapers on our mailing list; also programs and stories relative to the proceedings of the convention and personal sketches of the speakers. The Kentucky press chairman, Mrs. S. C. Castleman, has been supplied with advance

convention material, personal sketches, photographs of officers and speakers, and her splendid co-operation has done much to lighten the burden of the National Press Bureau in this connection. We have sent special convention stories to various Sunday papers and to farm papers throughout the West and South, and in consequence many have asked to be put on our regular mailing list. A number of Sunday papers in the large cities are devoting weekly space to Suffrage departments, beginning by publishing the press items and gradually expanding, and we have received numerous letters from people asking for further information and saying their interest in the question was first aroused by reading the Suffrage department in their Sunday papers.

The Press Bureau is impressed with the fact that in future the farm papers should receive serious consideration. We have several on our list, and have endeavored to supply them with everything possible. In view of the generally accepted reports that the recent victory in California was due to the vote returned from the rural communities, it behooves us to freely circulate such material as will appeal to the men and women of the farm. One of these papers, with a circulation of nearly 400,000, has offered us space for Suffrage articles to be supplied regularly, and this work should be carefully looked after, especially in agricultural States like Kansas and Wisconsin, where campaigns are now in progress.

Some of the more serious magazines have recently solicited our co-operation, notably the Literary Digest and the American Review of Reviews, the latter said to be the most important of its kind in the world. Its political editor called personally a few days ago and requested that we send him regularly such Suffrage news as we may have at hand, that the items may be embodied in reports of the world's political news.

I cannot resist calling attention to the unusual press work of Arkansas, under the supervision of Mrs. Terry, of Little Rock. She furnishes material to seventy-five newspapers in the State, sending them the weekly press items supplied by the National, and has arranged with a newspaper syndicate, reaching most of the papers throughout the Southwest, to

publish Suffrage articles weekly. All of the press chairmen are accomplishing splendid results, and the outlook for the coming year is wonderfully encouraging. Massachusetts, Maryland and Connecticut are quite original in their methods, Kansas and Wisconsin are increasing their output, Minnesota, Missouri, Iowa, New Jersey and other States are keeping up their record, and Illinois is the banner State along this line.

Another important feature of the work of the Press Bureau consists of furnishing material to chairmen and others to be used in answering attacks on Suffrage in their local papers.

CAROLINE I. REILLY.

The following notes were contributed to the Conference on "Press Work," by Mrs. Vandalia Varnum Thomas, of Illinois:

1. Enlist: Leading papers for large centers; syndicates for the country press.
2. Do not label notes "Suffrage"—a rose under any other name is just as sweet.
3. Try "About Women," "Among Women," "What Women Are Doing," "Women and Work," etc.—giving the editor a chance to help without committing himself.
4. Do not confine notes to Suffrage news—sandwiches are the most tempting.
5. Make the column sparkle—editors love brightness.
6. Remember the "personal" element—readers delight in it.
7. Do not emphasize sex—this is humanity's cause.
8. Recognize all helpful agencies—generosity loses nothing and gains everything.
9. Do not belabor our brothers, for it strengthens prejudices.
10. Breathe out good will to all—that wins the world.

In short, give progress and victory of women in every field, interesting stories of personalities, amusing incidents, opinions of eminent men, comparisons of past with present, and things all "sweetness and light."

The press is our great support. Woo it, win it, help reporters, sympathize with editors, and give value in return for its invaluable help.

REPORT ON THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL.

July 1, 1910—July 1, 1911.

After the Woman's Journal became the official organ of the National American Woman Suffrage Association on July 1, 1910, many changes in the management of the paper were made and new lines of work were undertaken.

The Journal was changed from a four-page paper to an eight-page paper.

The typographical appearance of the paper was changed. More headlines were used, and larger ones; instead of type being set in solid columns, it was leaded. The general make-up of the paper was changed, to make it more readable and attractive to the eye. More illustrations were introduced. A wide column was adopted for the editorial page, making three columns to the page, instead of five.

These changes necessitated furnishing double the amount of material, reading double the amount of proof, getting pictures, making cuts, writing headlines.

The Journal had occupied one room on the tenth floor at 6 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass. When it became the official organ it was moved to 585 Boylston Street, where it occupies two front rooms on the third floor.

This location gives more office space.

It is next door to the Massachusetts State Association.

It is next door to the Boston Suffrage Association.

It is opposite the New England Women's Club rooms and consequently gets advertising from the various large meetings that are held in those rooms.

The name of the Woman's Journal is displayed in large type on the front windows of the office, on the door and on a large street sign at the outer door.

After a careful investigation of the handling of the subscription list, an entirely new system was instituted.

Formerly there had been absolutely no means of finding a subscriber's name on the list, unless her address was also known. Subscribers frequently made a change of address, and great confusion followed throughout the subscription department. For postoffice purposes it was necessary for the mailing list to be arranged alphabetically by States, by cities and towns and by subscribers' names. A card catalogue system was accordingly introduced, and the name of each subscriber was entered alphabetically. On these cards the address and all data regarding the subscription are given, so that all the facts about a subscription can be looked up readily.

The system of bookkeeping was investigated and it was found that up-to-date methods were needed, showing all debits and credits.

It was found that bills to subscribers were sent out only twice a year. Inasmuch as some subscriptions expired every month in the year, it was decided to send bills out each month, as the subscriptions became due.

It was decided to send bills in advance always, so that subscribers would not run up bills in case they wished to discontinue their subscription.

Because of the former bookkeeping system and because of the system of billing only twice a year, it has taken a full year to get the subscription accounts straightened out to the satisfaction of all concerned.

When the price of the Journal per year was changed from $1.50 to $1.00, it became necessary to adjust all outstanding accounts on the new basis. This has been a tremendous task, and has necessitated much explanation and letter writing.

After a careful study of the advertising prospects of the Journal, an experienced advertising solicitor was engaged to do thorough and systematic soliciting of advertisements.

The advertising for the year July, 1909, to July, 1910, brought an income of $256.

The advertising for the year July, 1910, to July, 1911, brought an income of $851.72.

It was found that although the Journal is a national paper, the national advertisers were not at all acquainted with

it. A vigorous publicity campaign with national advertisers was therefore necessary. The principal advertising which had been obtained for the Journal had been of a local character, and had been offered at a very low rate. These two facts and the small circulation counted against getting any reputable national advertising.

A large amount of free advertising was obtained by the use of advertising slips furnished to Suffragists for use in their correspondence. Leaflets, circulars and placards, in addition to the Woman's Journal carriage and booths at fairs and bazaars and conventions, have also been used to advertise the Journal.

On July 1, 1910, the circulation of the Woman's Journal was 3,989.

On July 1, 1911, it was 14,890.

Methods of increasing the circulation:

The columns of the paper were used to exhort Suffragists to increase the circulation of the Journal.

The former subscribers to Progress received the Woman's Journal instead of Progress for their unexpired subscription. They were urged to become regular subscribers to the Journal on the expiration of their subscription.

A "Victory Through You" slip, asking each subscriber to get four new subscriptions, was sent out with each month's bills. Many Suffragists responded to this with from one to four new subscriptions.

The whole correspondence in the office was conducted with a view to giving satisfaction, adjusting old accounts and difficulties, keeping old friends and making new friends. The co-operation of Suffragists in strengthening the Journal's subscription list was earnestly solicited in each letter that could properly contain such exhortation.

Prizes and commissions were offered for new subscriptions.

States were incited to friendly rivalry by publishing each week the names of the three States sending in the largest number of new subscribers.

The Journal was put on the news stands wherever there was a demand for news stand sales.

Suffragists were urged to have the paper on sale at all Suffrage meetings and to have subscriptions taken at all Suffrage meetings.

Whenever possible, the business manager attended nearby State conventions for the purpose of arousing support for the Journal. Addresses were made at the Massachusetts Convention in Lowell, in Winthrop, Waltham, at the New Hampshire Convention at Franklin, and at Old Orchard, Me.

The office force consists of six people besides the business manager. They are:

A bookkeeper, an assistant bookkeeper, who sends out bills and files all correspondence; a subscription clerk, who enters all names and addresses and changes of addresses in the mailing list; a stenographer, an order clerk, who is also a stenographer and assists on the card catalogue; an advertising solicitor, who carries on a daily publicity campaign for the Journal that helps in soliciting advertising.

The correspondence is very heavy, comprising letters on subscriptions, publicity, advertising, orders, cuts and illustrations, ways of helping the Journal, and much that concerns the editorial department.

Ordering the paper stock and watching the weight and quality each week.

Directing the printing of the paper each week and specifying the size of the edition.

Directing the mailing of the paper through the mailing company and the postoffice each week.

No small part of the work is receiving subscribers from all over the country, and attending to their wants.

AGNES E. RYAN,
Business Manager.

REPORT OF NATIONAL CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE.

Soon after the Washington Convention, in April, 1910, I was notified by the Corresponding Secretary of the National American Woman Suffrage Association that I had been appointed Chairman of the Congressional Committee, with

power to name other members. After careful thought and consultation I selected Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, Ohio; Mrs. Elizabeth King Ellicott, Maryland; Mrs. Katharine Reed Balentine, California and Maine, and Miss Mary Gray Peck, New York. I afterward added Miss Belle Kearney, of Mississippi, who was in Washington during the Winter of 1910-1911, and gave her time to interviewing Senators and Representatives on the Suffrage question. It was felt to be important that as many sections as possible should be represented. In addition to the committee proper, State presidents were invited to co-operate, and the District of Columbia State Association paid for a stenographer and typewriter. We were fortunate in securing Mrs. Ezekiel, whose able work on the National petition had familiarized her with our Suffrage workers throughout the country. The District State Association also maintained headquarters, at 1823 H Street, N. W. Many Washington women and women from other cities temporarily in Washington gave valuable assistance.

The committee decided to question every Democratic and Republican nominee to Congress as to his opinions on the Suffrage question, and I consulted two of our friends in Congress—Hon. D. R. Anthony, of Kansas, and Hon. Frank M. Mondell, of Wyoming—submitting the questions and letter of transmittal. They both heartily endorsed the idea, cautioning us not to send out anything in the nature of a threat, as such letters are resented. Copies of questions and letter of transmittal are appended to this report.

The Democratic National Committee, of which Mr. James T. Lloyd, of Missouri, was chairman, had its headquarters in Washington. We submitted to Mr. Lloyd copies of the correspondence we proposed sending out, and asked for the names of nominees from their records. Although there were many requests of this kind which he was obliged to refuse, he very generously placed his information at our disposal. As nominations were made from June to September, it required many visits to the committee rooms to get the information. I also called at the temporary headquarters of the Republican Committee and saw Mr. Curtis, who assured me that the Repub-

licans would aid us in every way. Their permanent headquarters were in New York City, and I did not call on them for any information until October 3, when I asked for addresses of the Republican nominees in five districts which I had not been able to secure in Washington. I was practically refused.

A letter was sent to all State presidents, enclosing lists of nominees in each State, asking their co-operation, and, as they were in closer touch with the nominees and voters and represented State organizations, their aid was invaluable in securing answers.

In sending out letters to nominees a return stamped envelope was enclosed. While this added to the expense, it seemed necessary, and we consider was money well spent.

In order to accomplish the work, three evenings each week, from 8 to 11, were given up to sending out the letters, and many volunteer workers helped night after night.

Mr. Edward Perkins Clark, representing the Socialists, sent us addresses of their nominees, but as Woman Suffrage is one of the planks in their platform we felt the additional work and expense would not be justified, and we sent to Wisconsin and Kansas only. In our summary we include only the Democrats and Republicans, except the elected Socialist member, Mr. Victor Berger, of Wisconsin.

We sent questions to 672 nominees—Democrats 378, Republicans 293, Socialist 1—and received 225 answers, as follows:

Full suffrage...	122—	Democrats 71	Republicans 50	Socialist 1
Partial suffrage.	37—	Democrats 22	Republicans 15	
Opposed	14—	Democrats 13	Republicans 1	
Non-committal .	52—	Democrats 29	Republicans 23	
	225	135	88	

Miss Kearney had letters of introduction to over one-fifth of the Senators and Representatives, and she supplemented our work of getting a Suffrage census of the Sixty-second Congress.

Our report necessarily does not include all who are in

favor of suffrage for women. A Congressman very closely represents the opinions of his constituents, and if his district is largely made up of the interests that are opposed to Woman Suffrage, he would sound his political deathknell if he publicly announced his belief in votes for women. We have some friendly members in Congress in this class whom we would not desire to embarrass. The relations of this committee with members of the Senate and House has been almost without exception of the most pleasant nature, and it has been a delight to find so many hitherto unknown and unsuspected friends. Even those who are opposed often express themselves as being influenced by tradition, prejudice or conservatism. Perhaps the most trying answers were those that conceded the right of suffrage "when all the women want it." We gradually grew merry over this bland and axiomatic answer, and gave a column in our tabulation for it.

It was hoped that a certain amount of press work could be done in the States by sending to newspapers short articles as to the opinions of the nominees in each district as received, and a circular newspaper letter was prepared. In response to our request, State presidents sent us lists of newspapers. Letters were sent to a few States requesting the papers to send us copies of anything they printed. As we received no responses at all, we abandoned this work. A tabulated statement was sent out by the Associated Press on the day before election, and many general articles were published in Washington and in the principal papers in large cities, the data for which was furnished by this committee, and a number of reports of progress were sent to the Woman's Journal.

Early in our work the question of funds arose. We were informed that the National treasury was "pitifully empty," and even requests for literature, to follow up our questioning, were not complied with.

The District State Association gave the services of a stenographer, paying her $75, and paid the rental for headquarters at 1823 H Street, N. W., for sixteen months, this committee paying for one month. Contributions of $214 were made, including $100 contributed to Miss Kearney by Senator Stephenson, and handed by her to this committee.

An effort was made to secure a correspondent in every Congressional district, and also a contribution of at least one dollar from each district, to be used in literature, etc., in that district, but the committee was not able to carry out this plan. We believe it to be a very valuable method of nation-wide agitation and hope that some time such a correspondent may be secured.

The best use to be made of Senator Stephenson's contribution was discussed and decided that it would be doubly helpful in building up the circulation of the Woman's Journal and promoting Suffrage sentiment by sending the Journal to the families of Congressmen, especially those not in sympathy with our movement. The Journal gave us the benefit of the special rates, and two hundred subscriptions for one year were sent out. This involved a large amount of labor, as a letter was written to every woman to whom the Journal was sent, calling attention to special conditions in her State, if such existed. The Congressional Record had to be read nearly from cover to cover to find out who had wives and daughters to whom to send, and whether to the Washington or home address. Many appreciative letters have been received, but the main thing is really that this has been done.

On the convening of the Sixty-second Congress in extra session Miss Shaw requested that arrangements be made for a hearing. The organization of Congress was not completed in time to secure a hearing prior to the International Convention in Stockholm. I made a number of visits to the Capitol, but found that the Judiciary Committee of the House and the Woman Suffrage Committee of the Senate, before whom hearings are held, had not been appointed. Mr. A. W. Rucker, of Colorado, has introduced a joint resolution in the House of Representatives, asking for a suffrage amendment to the Constitution of the United States. Whenever this hearing is to be held it seems most important that at least one large public meeting should be held in Washington. Committee hearings, especially during this Congress, are almost a continuous performance, and to attract special attention some outside meeting is important. It is also valuable to have members of Congressional committees reminded by their

State associations that the question will be presented to them and that their constituents are interested.

All speeches made before these committees are printed by the Government and become a part of the Congressional Record, and may be franked through the mails. While the Government does not print a large number free, further copies of the entire report or any portion may be secured by a member at actual cost and franked. Memorials to Congress also are matter that can be franked. It is a very valuable method of economical distribution to have the best things printed and franked in this way. Much work of this kind was done by Miss Anthony.

At the request of the National officers Miss Harriette J. Hifton and myself appeared before the Committee on Post-offices and Postroads and advocated a more liberal and efficient parcels post.

This report would be incomplete did it not mention certain related work carried on by the wives and daughters of Congressmen. Several prominent Suffragists have appeared before the Congressional Club, whose membership is limited to members of Congressional families, and a great deal of Suffrage sentiment has been created.

Your committee rcommends:

1. A continued effort to keep members of Congress informed on the progress of Suffrage.

2. That candidates and nominees in every district be questioned as to their Suffrage sentiments.

3. That candidates or nominees for the Senate be questioned as to Suffrage sentiments, and that State Legislatures be reminded that their constituents favor Woman Suffrage.

4. That Congressional hearings be accompanied by a large public meeting in Washington.

5. That legitimate expenses of the committee be borne by the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

Although your committee has worked hard, it has enjoyed the privilege of serving the cause in this way. We should like to express our thanks to every individual, but as we cannot name all we will not name any, but to each and

every one, officers of the National body, presidents of State associations, individual workers, Congressional nominees, and members of the House and Senate who have helped to make our work so fruitful, we say that the value of their co-operation is measured not only by the things actually accomplished, but also by the blessed spirit of united effort.

EMMA M. GILLETT.

Financial Statement.

Receipts—1910:		
E. M. Gillett, contribution	$100.00	
Sale of flyers, 50 cents; Mrs. Ezekiel, 50 cents	1.00	
Belva A. Lockwood, for 18th Illinois District	1.00	
Lila M. Valentine, for 3d Virginia District.	1.00	
Rose Temple, for —— Michigan District....	1.00	
Mrs. J. B. Wilson, for 1st West Virginia District	1.00	
Mrs. D. Otey, for 6th Virginia District....	1.00	
Mrs. Ella O. Shoemaker, for 17th Ohio District	1.00	
Mr. F. D. Scott, for 14th Ohio District.....	1.00	
Mrs. Buhrer, for 21st Ohio District.....	1.00	
John J. Lentz, for 12th Ohio District.....	1.00	
Warren Political Equality Club, for 19th Ohio District	1.00	
Coover and Ebner, for 7th Ohio District...	1.00	
Springfield W. S. A., for 7th Ohio District..	1.00	
Mrs. Conger, for 8th Iowa District.....	1.00	
Hon. Isaac Stephenson, U. S. Senator, Wisconsin	100.00	
State E. S. A., District of Columbia, contribution	225.00	
		$439.00
Expenditures—		
Stamps	$ 48.32	
Printing	28.75	
Duplicator, Underwood	5.20	

Three copies Minutes of last Convention...	1.08	
Headquarters rent for one month.....	10.00	
Extra typewriting	16.00	
Typewriter supplies	2.50	
200 subscriptions to Journal.....	100.00	
Rent for headquarters.....	150.00	
Stenographer	75.00	
		436.85
Balance turned into National treasury.....		$2.15

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ENDORSEMENTS BY ORGANIZATIONS.

At the last Convention the number of Suffrage resolutions adopted by other than Suffrage organizations during the year was reported to be thirty-seven. The report did not state how many of these resolutions were secured in direct response to the work of Headquarters in sending out monthly reminders of the various convention dates to the State presidents. This year the number to be reported as the direct result of this work at Headquarters is only fourteen.

It is something of a question whether it is worth while to continue this work, in view of the rather large amount of clerical work involved for such a relatively small return, especially as it is undoubtedly true that Suffragists and Suffrage organizations have now acquired the habit of getting Suffrage resolutions passed by various organizations, and will do it independently, without being asked to do so by Headquarters. There is no way of accurately estimating the exact number of resolutions which have been carried by organizations during the past year, but those reported in the Woman's Journal, the Western Woman Voter, and in the daily press, would surely make a far larger total than has ever been reported before. The endorsement in California has been overwhelming; practically every single kind of woman's organization in the State endorsed the amendment, including the Federation of Clubs, which action will have a very great influence upon the federations of other States. Scores of men's organizations in Cali-

fornia have added their endorsement also. Another good piece of independent work is the endorsement secured from thirty-seven farmers' institutes in Ohio, which have passed resolutions urging the delegates to the coming Constitutional Conventions to put an Equal Suffrage clause in the new Constitution.

Everywhere that political district organization has been thoroughly established the work of getting endorsements from organizations has been pushed. It is one of the most productive kinds of work for the labor expended. This has been well demonstrated by the Woman Suffrage Party in New York.

For the first twelve months after the Convention the method used at Headquarters was practically that of the previous year, namely, to copy from "Russell's Convention Dates" the list of conventions to be held each month in each State, and send it to the State President in each case, with a note urging the necessity of getting as many resolutions passed as possible. The returns secured were very scant in proportion to the clerical labor necessary, so since September last we have sent only to those States in which there seemed to be some specially good opportunity at hand. The committee would recommend the continuance of this latter method for the coming year, unless the members of the Convention can suggest a better one.

Among the endorsements reported at Headquarters have been the following: From Ohio, the State Federation of Labor, the Lakeside Federation of twenty-six clubs, the State Prohibition Convention, and the Wood County Horticultural Society, besides the farmers' institutes already mentioned; from New York, the Lily Dale Assembly of Spiritualists; from Iowa, the International Convention of Carpenters and Joiners; from Kansas, the Women's Christian Temperance Union; from Massachusetts, the Brockton Central Labor Union; from New Jersey, the Friends' General Conference and the Brotherhood of the Claremont Presbyterian Church of Jersey City; from Michigan, the Copper Country Temperance League; from South Dakota, the State Grange; from New Hampshire, the Free Baptist Convention.

More and more as Suffrage work becomes directly political it is found necessary to present the Suffrage question and pass Suffrage resolutions at district or State political conventions. The endorsement of Equal Suffrage by the Republican State Convention in California, by the Democratic State Convention of Massachusetts, and the recent presentation of the question simultaneously at some seventy district conventions in New York City, by the Woman Suffrage Party, are instances of this significant political work.

Roughly estimated, the organizations—State, National and International—which have endorsed Equal Suffrage aggregate a membership of over 26,000,000.

MARY WARE DENNETT,
Chairman.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION.

Soon after the meeting of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, held in Washington, a year ago last April, your committee put itself in communication with all the States having Suffrage organizations, for the purpose of extending its activities. The result was that ten new States appointed members of their organizations to help in this work, so that a total number of sixteen States now have committees on education. They are as follows:

Ohio—Mrs. Ella O. Shoemaker, Massillon.

Michigan—Mrs. Lenore Starker Bliss, Hockaday, Gladwin County.

New Jersey—Mrs. Ida H. Riley, 7 Myrtle Avenue, Plainfield.

Mississippi—Mrs. Jimmie A. Lipscomb, Flora.

Nebraska—Mrs. E. L. Hinman, 2510 F Street, Lincoln.

Minnesota—Mrs. Jane Bliss Potter, 1206 Fourth Street, S. E., Minneapolis.

California—Mrs. Kate Ames, 2509 Regent Street, Berkeley.

Maryland—Miss Edna A. Beveridge, 2113 Callow Avenue, Baltimore.

Wisconsin—Mrs. Madge Watters, Richland Centre.

Georgia—Mrs. Adele Gill Helmer, 26 Dewey Avenue, Atlanta.

New York—Mrs. Harry Hastings, 119 East Eighty-sixth Street, New York.

Kentucky—Mrs. Desha Breckenridge, Linden Walk, Lexington.

Colorado—Mrs. Helen M. Nixon, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Denver.

Illinois—Mrs. S. J. Hanes, 821 West Jefferson Street, Springfield.

Iowa—Mrs. Lewis Miles, Corydon.

Kansas—Miss Effie Graham, Topeka.

Not all of these committees have done active work, as some have only recently been organized. In the States where campaigns are pending the work of the committee seems to have been generally laid aside for more aggressive campaign methods. However, that even in such States much can be accomplished through the Committee on Education is shown in the report from Kansas. The Chairman, Miss Effie Graham, writes that the Committee on Education has decided on the following plan for the next year's work: "First—To offer money prizes in contests for the best essays on Woman Suffrage written by the graduates of common or graded schools, and by the members of the senior classes of the city high schools of the State. These essays are to be read in a public contest in each county, the essays winning first place to be forwarded to the district committee in each Congressional Ditsrict of the State, where prizes will again be awarded for first and second best; then the eight district prize-winners are to be entered into a State contest for a first and second place. Second—The Educational Committee hopes to secure the adoption of resolutions favoring an amendment, and pledges of support from teachers and other educational organizations. It is intended to organize the State with eight district chairmen, who will have the assistance of one county chairman in each county."

Particular mention must also be made of the work done by the New Jersey committee. Women do not have school suffrage in New Jersey, but with the work done by the New

Jersey Committee on Education, school suffrage cannot but become an achievement of the near future in that State. Mrs. Ida H. Riley, of Plainfield, N. J., writes that Governor Wilson, of New Jersey, approves of school suffrage for women, that the Federated Women's Clubs of the State have been working to this end, and that Senator Frelinghuysen recommends women on boards of education and the school franchise in his report on the public schools of New Jersey. Mrs. Riley reports schools in ten cities of the State conducted on the self-government plan, as outlined by Miss Jane Brownlee in her booklet on "Child Training," and encloses a testimonial given by Miss Adeline Simpson on the effects of self-government upon her pupils. To quote from Miss Simpson's letter: "I find an entire lack of sex consciousness among the boys and girls of my school, and I ascribe the frank and courteous mutual helpfulness and the splendid spirit to the opportunity created for rational co-operation by the pupils of the self-government system. I have had pupil self-government for nine years, and never has the idea of fitness for office been coupled with the idea of sex. The first three mayors were boys, the next girls, the next a boy, then two girls, and so on, I have had all manner of combination of classes, such as half boys and half girls, forty boys and one girl, forty girls and one boy, and various degrees of proportion, and yet never has there been any feeling other than that of reasonable and friendly co-operation." Enumerating some of the results of the pupil self-government plan, she concludes by saying, "Pupil self-government has become such a part of the school life of my girls that to think of the school without it is to think of the school as dead."

Mrs. Riley has added to the activities of her committee that of giving Suffrage plays, and recommends three English plays, short enough to be given in a single evening. They are, "Before the Dawn," "A Woman's Influence," and "How the Vote Was Won."

Mrs. Ella O. Shoemaker, Chairman of the Committee on Education in Ohio, also reports having given Suffrage plays with much success.

Mrs. Adele Gill Helmer, of Atlanta, Ga., Chairman of the

Committee on Education in that State, recommends the teaching of nature study in the schools as one of the best methods of inculcating in children the fundamental equality of the sexes.

All this goes to show how varied and manifold may be the activities of a Committee on Education. Its possibilities are unlimited and its success depends in large measure upon the resourcefulness and devotion of the chairman.

In regard to the investigation of text books, your committee has not been able to secure as much co-operation as a work of so much magnitude requires. There should be in every State a special committee on text books, whose duty it should be to investigate the text books used in schools and colleges with a view to carrying out the resolution passed by the National American Woman Suffrage Association, at its meeting in Chicago in 1907.

As the text books on civics have been particularly unfair to Woman Suffrage, either ignoring it entirely, or dismissing the subject with some unfavorable comment, it is pleasant to note an exception to this mode of treatment in a book on "Government and Politics in the United States," by Dr. William B. Guitteau, Superintendent of Schools, Toledo, Ohio. Dr. Guitteau not only gives information in regard to Equal Suffrage, but is also fair enough to say that it is the present tendency in the United States and generally throughout the world to allow women to vote on equal terms with men. This is a suggestion of the right kind, and one we fully appreciate.

We are indebted to Miss Jane Brownlee for a number of copies of her booklet on "Child Training," for free distribution among the members of the committee.

In concluding this report, your committee again emphasizes the points outlined in its aims and purposes.

First—To secure text books, showing a proper recognition of woman's work and influence in the history and development of nations, especially in history and civics.

Second—To encourage women to serve on boards of education.

Third—To organize mothers' clubs and parents' organ-

izations, or patrons' leagues, in connection with every school building, and to aid, wherever possible, in the introduction of the self-government plan into our schools on the lines suggested by Miss Jane Brownlee in her booklet on "Child Training."

That other activities may be added according to the needs of the hour, is shown in the reports coming from the different States; the suggestions in regard to Suffrage plays and prize contests seem to be particularly valuable.

Other activities may be added according to the needs of the hour.

The Woman Suffrage Movement is in itself an educational force. All that the Committee on Education can do, therefore, is to specialize on a few points.

We must direct our activities toward the education of the children, for their opinions are not yet formed, their minds being still plastic. To keep them free from bias should be our first concern, for the training we receive in our early childhood is responsible for many a prejudice which it takes a lifetime to outgrow. Prejudice is the great enemy of all progress, and the only real opposition to Woman Suffrage to-day; yet we allow children to become prejudiced through text books, that are neither fair nor accurate, and through social observances which encourage a double standard of morals. Let us, therefore, look to our schools and work hand in hand with the teachers, and let us encourage an attitude of mind at all times open to the truth, no matter from what source it may come, and a disregard for the opinions of the past—the "consistency" Emerson speaks of, which enables us to say with that great teacher, "Speak to-day, as to-day you think, and to-morrow, speak in words as hard as cannon balls what to-morrow thinks."

One generation thus educated would win the world for Equal Suffrage.

PAULINE STEINEM.

REPORT OF THE PEACE AND ARBITRATION COMMITTEE.

In the year and a half since the last annual meeting more public interest has been aroused in the peace cause than ever before. Mr. Ginn's endowment, a year ago, of "The World's Peace Foundation" with a million dollars provided an income of $50,000 a year for work along educational lines, especially in the publication of literature. Its headquarters are at 29A Beacon Street, Boston, Mass., and Suffragists may apply here for leaflets and pamphlets to use at peace meetings. These can be had free to some extent. Mr. Ginn, among other things, is enabling Miss Anna B. Eckstein, a Suffragist, who is an ardent peace propagandist, in securing in every land a monster petition to the third Hague Conference.

Mr. Carnegie's gift of $10,000,000 adds a sum which, combined with Mr. Ginn's, gives the world for the first time the price of one battleship for the war against war. The twenty-seven trustees of this latter gift, of whom Senator Root is chairman, have decided to establish three departments—that of International Law, with Dr. James Brown Scott as Chairman; of Economic Research, with Prof. John B. Clark as Chairman, and of Propaganda, with President Nicholas Murray Butler, of Columbia University, as Chairman.

Your Chairman has sent a careful memorial to the latter department, pointing out the need of propaganda among our more than 3,000,000 women in educational and philanthropic organizations, and suggesting that a modest sum be expended on literature, clerical service and expenses of lectures among these influential bodies. A mistaken notion is prevalent that these large endowments are ample to finance the five hundred peace societies of the world, print needed literature and carry on investigation; subscriptions, in consequence, have actually diminished; but when it is remembered that the total sum is no more than the cost of one university, and that it needs to influence 100,000,000 persons on the globe, it will be seen that vastly larger sums are needed and that every citizen must do his share.

Your Chairman, during the last year, gave in the United States eighty-three addresses—in Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Ohio, Illinois and Missouri. In July she gave addresses at different places in England and Scotland, and spoke at the first Universal Race Congress in London. In August she spoke in Berlin and in other places in Germany. In September she accepted an invitation from Count Apponyi to speak before a distinguished audience at Budapest. At Vienna she conferred with Baroness von Suttner in preparation for the International Peace Congress.

Mrs. Royden Douglass, of New Orleans, President of the New Era Club last year, has accomplished an unusual amount of work for the peace cause, and sowed the seed for much larger work next year. She called a conference of the clergy, resulting for the first time in a general observance of the Sunday preceding May 18th by the preaching of peace sermons in eight different denominations. Preparation for these proved an eye-opener to some who had never studied the subject before. Mrs. Douglass' request to the School Board for the devotion of one hour on May 18th to peace exercises in the schools was granted, and she was permitted to engage speakers to address the pupils. The Superintendent of Schools wrote subsequently, "I believe that 'Peace Day' was a great educational day in the New Orleans schools."

She enlisted co-operation of the State Federation of Women's Clubs and also secured the setting apart of one day during the week of prayer in the Southern Baptist Missionary Union for the consideration of international peace, and has requested all other denominations to ask their women to do the same.

At the convention of the State Teachers' Association in Louisiana a school peace league was formed. At the New Orleans Woman's Club the peace question was taken up for parliamentary discussion. She secured peace articles in the press and letters sent to United States Senators urging ratification of the pending Anglo-American treaty. She declares her ambition to accomplish three times as much in 1912, as she will extend her work beyond the bounds of the city and

throughout the State. I have had her report, thus briefly summarized here, copied and sent to some other peace workers, as an illustration of what one member of our department has accomplished.

Miss Katharine H. Austin, of Providence, R. I., reports work which her State Suffrage Association has done. Mrs. May Wright Sewall was engaged to speak to the women students of Brown University and to the State Normal students and was eagerly listened to. The Chairman's circular letters were forwarded by her to local Suffrage leagues; signatures were secured of eminent citizens to a form letter supplied by your Chairman, to United States Senators urging the ratification of the pending Anglo-American arbitration treaty; resolutions of a similar character were secured from different organizations, which were sent to the Senators.

Mrs. Phoebe C. Wright, of New Jersey, reports the distribution of circular letters from the Chairman, programmes for Peace Day exercises in the schools and petitions sent to Congress for the neutralization of the Panama Canal. She has read and loaned "The Great Illusion," which was specially recommended to Suffragists in the Chairman's circular, and is again herewith recommended to all who desire the freshest and most important book in recent years on economic aspects of the peace question.

Mrs. Martha Allen, of Memphis, President of the Tennessee Equal Suffrage Association, has taken warm interest in the peace work. She reports a picnic, with choral music and addresses on the Hague Conference last year, on Peace Day; this year, through her local assistant, Mrs. Sadie Richmond, the Superintendent of Schools was persuaded to order that the 18th of May should be observed as Peace Day in all the Memphis schools. She has distributed literature and circular letters more or less throughout the State, and secured from part of the clergy peace sermons.

Mrs. Sarah A. Bissell, of Toledo, Ohio, reports distribution of programs in schools and general observance of the 18th of May in her city, both this year and last year. The Susan B. Anthony Club of Cincinnati sends peace resolutions passed at a meeting of their club, which includes a wish that

the next National Peace Congress shall take place in Cincinnati. This will probably be the city selected.

Mrs. Fitch, of Hurley, S. D., reports securing the publication of peace articles in the local press. She says: "The peace movement is strong in the West. Decoration Day is usually observed and many of the speakers in the towns on that day made strong pleas for universal peace. The newspapers support it editorially and are awakening a strong sentiment among the people."

Miss Laura R. White, of Louisville, Ky., reports the sending out of considerable literature and sample programs to 109 county superintendents of schools.

Brief reports have been received from members of the committee from Washington, D. C., Washington State, New Hampshire and Texas. Mrs. Brown, of Baltimore, reports distribution of programs, various addresses given by her on international peace, and articles in the press, including a reply to Mr. Hobson, entitled "Japan's Designs."

The world for the first time has seen the head of a great nation declare that all questions between nations can be peacefully settled. President Taft's noble effort to secure treaties with other nations, to ensure arbitration between them of every justiciable question, should command the gratitude of every patriotic woman.

I had hoped to felicitate you on the ratification of these treaties by the necessary two-thirds of the Senate, but in chagrin and disappointment I must instead appeal to you to endeavor instantly to create such public sentiment as shall result in December in the acceptance of the treaties without amendment.

If these treaties are thus ratified they will be secured not only for Great Britain and France, but certainly Germany, and I have no doubt Japan and most other nations will agree to identical treaties. The importance of this is painfully realized when one confers, as I am doing, with Europeans who are struggling with the problem of limitation of armaments, and one sees how earnestly they are watching the United States and what the failure of these treaties may mean to them.

The objection raised as to the treaties permitting an influx of unwelcome aliens is preposterous. This is purely a national question and international law so recognizes it.

Let every Suffragist, as a public duty, secure letters to the United States Senators from her State, urging ratification of the treaties without amendment.

I am at all times glad to receive communications and ready to offer suggestions and literature to my utmost ability.

LUCIA AMES MEAD.

REPORT OF CHURCH WORK COMMITTEE.

It is estimated that there is in the United States a total church membership of 34,517,317 persons. It would mean a great deal to the Woman Suffrage cause if this great organized force, representing the most thoughtful and most influential of every community, could be brought to endorse Suffrage and to work for it. The experiences of the committee would seem to prove that in the transition taking place in the world of religious thought this is the most propitious time for women to obtain such support. This report will begin with some splendid work, done in Washington, D. C.

Miss Hifton and Miss Kelton (now Mrs. Wiley) sent out 150 typewritten letters to clergymen, inviting them to attend the last convention, enclosing the program, and asking if they would either preach on the subject or permit some of the Suffrage speakers to address meetings in their churches. A number of replies stated that they would preach on the subject themselves; others asked that speakers be sent. Mrs. McCulloch, Miss Laura Clay, Miss Kelton and Mrs. Craigie were sent, and it was arranged for Mrs. Craigie to address three ministerial associations, resulting in the appointment of a fraternal delegate from each association to attend the Suffrage Convention. Mrs. Craigie also addressed a meeting in the Ingram Memorial Church, where a resolution was passed endorsing Woman Suffrage.

Dr. Nina Wilson Dewey, Chairman of Church Work in Iowa, is an active worker, who arranged for Mrs. Craigie to address the members of the Baptist and Congregational

churches of Des Moines at regular church meetings, largely attended, and where it was unprecedented to have Woman Suffrage presented, instead of an orthodox sermon.

A number of clergymen have since come out openly in favor of Woman Suffrage. One member of the Iowa Church Work Committee had some leaflets printed at her own expense for distribution among church people; a young people's association got up a debate on the question; a colored minister asked for literature, to use in preparing a sermon; a church member asked for the leaflet on "Christian Citizenship," to mail to friends; a missionary society and a Mothers' club have asked to be addressed.

Mrs. Rastall reports for Illinois.

In response to an earnest effort to secure written opinions of clergymen, I have received the unqualified endorsement of more than fifty ministers, with but four in doubt or opposed.

I have also secured twenty-one persons who have agreed to undertake church work in different parts of the State.

I have received reports only from:

Abingdon, Miss Epha Marshall, who has asked three ministers to preach on Woman Suffrage; has persuaded the officers of two churches to receive a speaker; has spoken in three churches herself, and at one Chautauqua, and taken part in one Suffrage debate.

Coulterville, Mrs. M. J. Jones, who reports her pastor preached a fine sermon.

Savoy, Mrs. W. H. Wisegarver, who reports she has interviewed the minister and reports him heartily in sympathy with our cause.

St. Jacob, Mrs. W. A. Thomasson, who reports she has carried out suggestions sent; has bought and given to their American ministers suitable literature, without result. She wants German literature for the German-speaking ministers.

Mrs. McCulloch and Mrs. Trout have done valuable work among the churches, independent of the committee. Mrs. McCulloch reports a church meeting in Evanston, at which Dr. Aylesworth spoke; letters written to all the pastors, asking for a Suffrage sermon and enclosing the "Bible on Woman

Suffrage" leaflet, several responding favorably, and a plan for systematic distribution of literature among the churches.

Mrs. Trout writes: I was asked to speak in the Maywood Congregational Church; also in the Church of the Redeemer, in Chicago; the ministers of both churches declared in favor of Equal Suffrage. I wrote an article for the official organ of the Illinois W. C. T. U.; also an article for the Northwestern Christian Advocate.

Margaret Noble Lee, succeeding Mrs. Rastall, sends a good report for her portion of the year, including thirty calls for speakers—in five instances the Men's Organization desiring to have the subject presented.

A circular letter has been sent out to fifty church society presidents and to the presidents of fifty-five Suffrage societies in the smaller towns, also to the presidents of other women's clubs in the northern half of the State, asking the appointment of local chairmen of the State Committee of Church Work.

Expenses of speakers and in some cases slight remuneration have been paid from the State treasury. Collections or memberships to State Association have so far been the only exactions.

Miss Mary N. Chase reports for New Hampshire: I have spoken on Woman Suffrage four times in place of the regular sermon and at four other church meetings. My Sunday meetings have been very successful, with large and attentive audiences. I have never heard one word of criticism.

The Chairman for New Jersey, Elizabeth Timison Bartlett, reports that letters were sent to each league, explaining the work of this department and the name of a chairman was asked for in each league. Six leagues responded. Letters of instruction were sent each chairman. The entire work was done by correspondence.

The two members who proved most helpful were Mrs. Annie N. Heulings, Morristown, who secured seven indorsements, and Mrs. George Kraft, of Trenton, who secured two. Our ever-faithful State President, Mrs. Clara Laddey, secured two endorsements; also addressed several church meetings.

The leagues that failed to appoint chairmen were asked to contribute toward the expense of printing leaflets. One league at once contributed a sum of money and appointed a chairman, who did good work. To date four dollars have been received, and there are five leagues to hear from. Five hundred leaflets have been printed.

Mrs. Catharine Stewart Wood reports for Pennsylvania. "The church work in Philadelphia at first met with a serious obstacle in the bitter and outspoken opposition of two clergymen, prominent in their respective churches—the Episcopalian and Roman Catholic. Since they carried a great deal of influence among other clergymen, it was thought best, instead of directing attention to the churches, as churches, to appeal to church members, in their various ward and other meetings. Philadelphia seems to be more backward in this respect than other towns in the State, where I find much interest, especially among the wives of clergymen, who seem to appreciate more than do their husbands what an enfranchised womanhood would mean to the churches in carrying on the moral and social reform work, which is now becoming so important a part of church work."

Much of the success of the campaign in California was due to the earnest efforts of the clergymen and church people. The Christian Socialist Fellowship of California adopted a resolution endorsing the efforts of the women of California to secure State-wide suffrage, and pledging aid.

In the State of Washington the ministers are beginning to realize the great moral uplift that lies within the power of the women, even the Catholic clergy who were slow to favor the enfranchisement of women, are appreciating its significance and just before the last election every pastor of a Catholic church in Spokane took occasion on Sunday morning from their pulpits to urge the women of the churches, as well as the men, to register and vote at the municipal election.

In Virginia, Miss Mary Johnston addressed the Baptist Ministerial Conference. Her address produced a deep impression. Mrs. B. D. Valentine, who followed Miss Johnston spoke of the splendid missionary work done by women and said the church made a great mistake in not giving

women more power to do practical work in actual church government.

It needs neither figures nor argument to establish the fact, that church attendance and church worship are in a condition of decline. It is an auspicious and a critical period in the history of the church which is changing from the exercise of power, to the employment of influence and the appeals that are coming to the churches are appeals for service from the men and women, who are the real power of the church. And the church is not appreciating the matter of resource that is lying dominant, when two-thirds of its membership, the women, are powerless to carry on the moral and social reform work of the churches because as a disfranchised class, having no political status in the State, they are not counted as a potential working force.

MARY E. CRAIGIE.

REPORT OF THE ENROLLMENT COMMITTEE.

In June a circular letter was sent to the corresponding secretaries of the State Associations, inclosing the following letter to the Chairmen of the Enrollment Committees:

My Dear Chairman of Enrollment:

We have now a new and valuable incentive for enlarging and developing our enrollment work, in the splendid growth of the Woman Suffrage Party in New York City. The time has come when we should utilize all the names we have enrolled during past years, and make them have a direct political influence in each State.

If you have large numbers enrolled in your State, you are just so much better equipped to undertake the next step in enrollment work, which is political district organization. If your enrollment list is small, all the more need for joining in heartily and promptly with the new plan, which the enclosed leaflet describes.

I, therefore, recommend that your enrollment committee, if you have one, shall set to work at once and reclassify all your enrollment names, including names copied from the big

petition of last year, and group them according to the election districts or precincts of your State. That will be the first step toward political district organization.

As you go over the list, you will undoubtedly find names of active women, who would make good district leaders and chairmen. Securing these is the next step.

Several of the States have already made gratifying progress in political district organization, and if all the States will push ahead on substantially the same general plan, we ought to be able, by the time of the Convention at Louisville, in October, to have a conference on the subject, that will be a real milestone in the progress of Suffrage organization.

A copy of the enclosed leaflet has already been sent to the President and Secretary of each State Association.

Will you not, as promptly as possible, confer with the officers of your Association on this matter, and do everything you can to further this plan for transforming the old work of enrollment into a practical efficient machine for actual victory?

Mrs. Ruby J. Eckerson, Corresponding Secretary, Iowa Equal Suffrage Association, wrote that they had no enrollment committee, but she thought the political district organization a fine one and hoped their State Convention would take up the work so that Iowa could be completely organized.

Miss Kate M. Gordon replied for Louisiana, that the plan of work would be valuable where there was definite political work to do, but the State was not sufficiently organized to undertake the work now.

In New Orleans the Suffragists were encouraging the women to work the charities along precinct and ward lines, which they hoped would aid us in our work later.

The Nebraska Association Corresponding Secretary, Miss Mary H. Williams, wrote that no enrollment work had been done for years, except the copying of the names of the Congressional Petition, which she would try to classify for political district work.

About a month ago requests for brief reports of work done were sent to States where it was supposed the work

might have been taken up. New Jersey's report is as follows:

The New Jersey Woman's Suffrage Association having decided to do its enrollment work by means of a Woman Suffrage Party Committee, a Chairman for this Committee was appointed November 24, 1910, and each of the fourteen Leagues comprising the Association was asked to appoint one of its members to serve on this Committee.

The first meeting of the Woman Suffrage Party Committee was held February 21, 1911, with five Leagues represented. It was decided to follow the methods of work of the Woman Suffrage Party in New York City as closely as possible, although it was not thought feasible to undertake a thorough "district organization" of New Jersey until there was a sufficient number of volunteers to do the work.

The second meeting of the Committee was held April 18, 1911, at which five Leagues were represented. The Chairman reported having written each of the State Leagues about the plan of work decided upon at the first meeting of the Committee. It was decided not to attempt any definite "organization" work before the coming Fall, but that individuals should secure as many signatures on the enrollment blanks as possible during the Summer, and endeavor to awaken the members of the different Leagues to a sense of the importance of the new plan of enrollment work, which is ideal in that it will embrace people of both sexes and all stations, whether they are able to become members of local Suffrage Clubs or not, and enable the leaders in Suffrage work to know just who the friends of Woman Suffrage are.

Since this meeting, forty dollars has been raised and two hundred and seventy-six signatures secured by individual workers. The Chairman has spoken before two Leagues (by invitation), and she has been asked to speak before two other Leagues this Fall. She has recently received several letters asking about the work, and thinks that after the Convention of the New Jersey Woman's Suffrage Association in November, where the new enrollment work is going to be actively pushed by several members of the Woman Suffrage Party Committee, that it will be taken up with much greater earn-

estness by the various State Leagues, and that a large enrollment will be made during the coming Winter.

Respectfully submitted,

Lillian F. Feickert,

Chairman Woman Suffrage Party Committee.

N. J. Woman's Suffrage Association.

The Corresponding Secretary of the Delaware Association, Mary R. de Vou, replied that "the time was not ripe there for such a movement."

Most of the States have not yet taken up this work, but it is hoped that the enthusiasm inspired by the reports of those who have tried it at the Conference will result in creating widespread activity along this line of time-honored political action among men.

The Chairman took long yellow envelopes with the name of the State Association printed on them and filled them with a few carefully selected leaflets and flyers and a few Woman Suffrage party blanks and wrote the following on the envelope: "Men and women citizens are asked to sign these blanks. I expect to leave copies of these papers at every house in this district. I will call for them in a few days and shall be glad to answer any questions."

The number of new names secured thus far has been encouraging.

MARY D. HUSSEY,

Chairman Committee on Enrollment.

CALIFORNIA DISTRICT ORGANIZATION

The following proved to be so successful a leaflet in California that it is well to reprint it here, as an example of excellent district organization work.

Instructions to Precinct Chairmen

As chairman of your district, you will be expected to find workers for your precinct.

You need the index of the voters of your precinct. All Los Angeles City and County chairmen may obtain this by

calling at the organization office of the Political Equality League, Choral Hall, Auditorium Building, at 5th and Olive Streets, Los Angeles. If living outside of Los Angeles City and County, call at your county clerk's office, where Great Registers are open to all.

Call a meeting of your precinct workers, ten if possible; this will probably have to be preceded by teas and pleasant gatherings, addressed by speakers whom the organization office will gladly furnish.

When you have secured as many workers as possible, call them together and read out list of voters. As any woman hears the name of a man she knows or knows of any person who can reach him, she puts him upon her list. Subdivide entire list in this way. If there is a large number of voters left whom no woman knows, divide them among workers according to streets or any convenient way so that every woman shall be responsible for her list and hers alone. Each worker will be expected to see all voters on her list and find out from them if they are in favor, opposed or indifferent to woman suffrage; make note of same, report it to precinct chairman, who will report to central office.

See that those who are indifferent are approached by people able to interest and instruct them, and supply them with literature bearing upon the question. Such literature can be secured at the office of the Political Equality League.

Instructions to Precinct Workers

Urge all men in favor of woman suffrage to register and see that they vote.

Find women who will do one of the following things:

(1) Help as precinct worker.

(2) Volunteer clerical work, such as:

  (a) Writing letters,

  (b) Typewriting,

  (c) Directing envelopes, etc.

(3) Give Suffrage teas and meetings at her home.

(4) Get the question of Woman Suffrage before some church, lodge, club or society, either in the form of an entertainment or Suffrage address.

(5) Watch for opportunities to place posters and literature in stores, offices, shops, halls, churches or out of doors where some public affair is to be held.

(6) Secure the use of as many automobiles as possible for election day.

(7) Enroll the names of women of all ages who will be at the precinct booths, rain or shine, election day. The Washington women gained many votes by this method.

(8) Help to get into local papers matter relating to Woman Suffrage which will be furnished them weekly by the publicity Department of the Political Equality League.

(9) Wear a button and urge others to do the same.

Last and not least!

(1) Get as many voluntary contributions as possible.

(2) Get men and women to pledge monthly sums as large as they can afford. Even as small amounts as 10c per month help greatly if we have enough of them. All contributions to be made to Political Equality League, Choral Hall, Auditorium Building, Los Angeles.

Instructions to Chairmen of Precincts by Mrs. Charles Farwell Edson, Organization Chairman of the Political Equality League and Organization Representative of the California Equal Suffrage Association of Southern California.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON PRESIDENTIAL SUFFRAGE

The Chairman of the Committee on Presidential Suffrage has rather an argument than a report to make. Shortly after her appointment a letter was written to the Woman's Journal urging the petitioning of legislatures for Presidential Suffrage for women, as an effective means of propaganda, where work for full Suffrage is impractical. This resulted in inquiries in regard to the method of procedure, but no reports have been received, excepting from Rhode Island Woman Suffrage Association, which, in accordance with its usual practice, petitioned the legislature for this form of franchise. A hearing was given by which popular attention was called to

the political disabilities of women, and the press gave much space to the arguments offered for their enfranchisements. Those who are familiar with this line of work recognize at once as the most dignified and simple form of protest, that is at once radical in principle and conservative in practice.

There are two classes of States where it would be manifestly the best form of Suffrage work. Those where no serious consideration would be given to a measure asking for full Suffrage—and those which are not prepared for a campaign for full Suffrage and where it would be a positive embarrassment to our cause were the measure submitted to the voters.

Believing that once its advantages as an educational method are appreciated, it will be adopted by many States as the best form of legislative appeal, the continuance of this Committee is recommended.

ELIZABETH UPHAM YATES,
Chairman.

REPORT OF LEGAL ADVISER.

The Legal Adviser has answered legal questions submitted to her by the Board and answered a variety of questions from women all over the United States. The zeal for up-to-date information on matters concerning the Legal Status of Women is increasing.

Repeated inquiries led to the compilation of a set of questions, supposed to include all the things about which women would care to ask. This list of forty-four questions was sent to Presidents of State Suffrage Associations, Federated Clubs, W. C. T. Unions and to leading members of the bar. The first lot of letters went out from Headquarters, but the Legal Adviser has followed these up by many more letters and as a result the Woman's Journal is now publishing weekly, unless crowded by campaign matter, the answers to the forty-four questions, one State at a time. These are not sensational or calculated to amuse. They are dry facts but also instructive and the credit for them is given to the lawyers who prepared them. Instead of using the time allowed the Legal Adviser

in making a report of the details of her year's work, the space will be used for a paper on the guardianship of children which may answer the many questions on that always interesting subject. This can be printed in the minutes with all the legal citations.

This data is taken from the very latest copies of statutes as revised in each state and from the session laws following, down to date.

Guardianship of Children

The subject of the guardianship of children could have been treated a century ago in a few words. The father of the legitimate child was his sole guardian and the mother had no authority or right concerning their child except such as the husband gratuitously allowed her. She had, however, all the duties which the husband might put upon her. This meant that the husband decided about the children's food, clothing, medicine, school, church, home, associates, punishments, pleasures and tasks, and that he alone could apprentice a child, could grant him for adoption or control his wages.

Many mothers were kept in happy ignorance of such unjust laws, because their husbands voluntarily yielded to them much of the authority over the children. But this was not so in all families. Many mothers took cases to Supreme Courts, protesting against the absolute paternal power. When mothers learned what this sole guardianship meant, they urged legal changes. Our present guardianship laws, very few alike, show how women, each group alone in their own States, have struggled to mitigate the severest evils of sole fatherly guardianship, especially the guardianship of the child's person. This to mothers was more important than the guardianship of the child's property.

Perhaps the greatest suffering came from the father's power to deed or to bequeath the guardianship to a stranger and away from the mother. Most of the States now allow a surviving mother the sole guardianship of the child's person with certain conditions.

Six States have not yet thus limited the father's power: Delaware (Rev. St. 1893, P. 713, Sec .8). "The father may by

deed or will name a guardian for his child"; Florida has a similar provision (Statutes 1906, P. 1027, Sec. 2086); Georgia (Code of 1911, Sec. 3033) "He may appoint by will," (There is a little obscurity in this statute but as the mother "if a widow" is given power to appoint a guardian for such children as have none, as to their person, this is an implied admission of the father's higher power); Tennessee (Code 1896, Sec. 4258) "The husband may appoint by deed or will" "unless he has abandoned his wife without lawful cause" (Sec. 4251); Virginia (Sec. 2597, Code 1904), "Every father may by his last will and testament appoint a guardian for his child"; Maryland (Public Statutes 1904, Vol. 2, P. 2013, Sec. 179. See also P. 2003 and Sec. 145 and 147) possibly qualified by a reference to a mother being "left the natural guardian." (See also Hill vs. Hill, 49 Md., 450, Cornes Case, 2 B. Md. 488.) Alabama technically might be classed with these six States for the father by statute is specifically empowered to choose a guardian by his last will but the father's power is much limited (Code 1907, Sec. 4340), by this "The mother is entitled to the custody of the person of the ward until it is fourteen years of age." So Alabama is classed with another group of States.

In these States where the guardianship is not specifically granted to the surviving mother, the father's sole power of guardianship would cover his child even if yet unborn. Other States formerly so decided.

In North Carolina the father's common-law power to deed or will (Pell's Revisal of 1908, Sec. 1762) is limited (Statute of 1911, Chap. 120) by conditioning it upon the written consent and privy examination of the mother. In New Jersey (Gen. Statutes 1895, Sec. 1615) the mother's consent must be in writing and acknowledged before two witnesses. These last two States, though recognizing the old rule, fall into another group of more progressive States, where the surviving parent is sole guardian unless he or she has by duly executed instrument resigned his or her rights of guardianship.

Some of the States which allow the surviving maternal parent to be sole guardian, qualify it by the proviso that she

remain a widow or unmarried. If contracts in restraint of marriage are void some bright young lawyer may yet win her spurs by proving to some Supreme Court that laws in restraint of legal marriage are also void. If a widower's guardianship ceased upon his remarriage such laws would speedily be changed.

Among the States which thus discourage a widow's remarriage are: Arizona (Revised Statutes 1901, Sec. 1958).

Georgia (Code 1911, Sec. 3034) "If a widow."

New Jersey (Gen'l Statutes 1895, P. 1615, Sec. 2) "being a widow."

North Dakota (Revised Code, 1905, Sec. 8240).

Oklahoma (Compiled Laws of 1909, Sec. 5476).

South Dakota (Compiled Laws 1910, Vol. 2, P. 423, Sec. 370).

Wisconsin (P. 1282, Supplement 1906, Sec. 3964).

Wyoming being near the Western States, which thus discourage marriage might be expected to have a law which would follow the same wording and the law does in other respects. But as Wyoming women vote this provision was made that the surviving mother whether remarried or not, might be guardian. (Compiled Statutes 1910, Sec. 5739.)

In many of the States which allow mothers the guardianship after the father's death, the cautious legislators have hedged a little by providing that the mother may secure this guardianship only if she be competent to transact her own business or is not otherwise unsuitable or is a suitable person. Some provide for her removal if incompetent. Among the States showing this timidity are: Arizona, California, Michigan, North Dakota, Ohio, South Dakota, Vermont, Wisconsin.

This qualification of competency is in several States mentioned concerning both parents and might well be understood to be implied in all guardianship statutes, for the courts of almost all the States exercise the power of removing children from the custody of parents grossly incompetent, unsuitable or delinquent.

There is a long list of States where the father during his lifetime is sole guardian and after his death the surviving

mother is the sole guardian, either conditionally or unconditionally by definite words or certain implications, with the same powers exercised by a father in his lifetime. The guardianship laws in these States are a standing monument to the faithful legislative work done by women in their respective States.

Among these are:

Alabama (Code of 1907, Sec. 4339 in case of girl or boy under fourteen by implication).

Arizona (Revised Statutes 1901, Sec. 1958).

Arkansas (Kirby's Digest 1904, P. 855, Sec. 3759).

California (Kerr's Cyclopedia, Code 1907, Sec. 1751).

Idaho (Revised Code 1908, Sec. 5774).

Indiana (Burns Annotated Statutes 1908, Sec. 3065).

Louisiana (R. C. C. Art. 216 and 250).

Michigan (Vol. III, P. 2680 (8701) Sec. 5).

Mississippi (Code 1906, Sec. 2401) by implication.

Missouri (Rev. Statutes 1909, Sec. 403).

Montana (Rev. Code 1907, Sec. 7757).

Nevada (Compiled Laws 1900, Sec. 563).

New Jersey (Gen'l Statutes 1895, P. 1615, Sec. 1).

New Mexico (Compiled Laws 1897, Sec. 1434 to 1471).

North Carolina (Pell's Revisal, Sec. 1762) if father have not appointed with her consent.

North Dakota (Revised Code 1905, Sec. 8240).

Ohio (General Code 1910, Sec. 10928).

Oklahoma (Compiled Laws 1909, Sec. 54761).

Rhode Island (Gen'l Laws 1909, P. 1170, Sec. 5).

South Dakota (Compiled Laws 1910, Vol. 2, P. 523, Sec. 370).

South Carolina (Code 1902, Sec. 2689).

Texas (Civil Code 1897, Art. 2577).

Utah (Compiled Laws 1907, Sec. 3995).

Vermont (Public Statutes 1906, Sec. 3155).

West Virginia (Code 1906, Sec. 3220).

Wisconsin (Supplement 1906, P. 1282, Sec. 3964).

Wyoming (Compiled Statute 1910, Sec. 5739).

Although in California and Mississippi nothing specific is said about survivorship, these States are included in the above

list because it is generally held that the surviving mother succeeds to the guardianship when the father does not prevent it and because in California (Kerr's Cyclopedia, Code 1907, P. 2203, Sec. 1751) the words of the statute are "The father or the mother." The court has held that under this the father has superior rights but would probably allow the surviving wife to be sole guardian in order to give some effect to the words "or the mother." Mississippi recognizes the mother's right of guardianship over her "fatherless child" and as it also specifically gives the husband the right to grant the guardianship of his "motherless child" (Code 1906, Sec. 2401) a court would probably hold that he could not have such power should the mother survive. This makes twenty-seven (27) States in all with surviving mother the sole guardian.

Washington is not included in the above list though Sec. 1629 of the Code of 1910 declares the father sole guardian with the same right to a surviving mother. Another statute makes their rights and duties equal and lawyers report that this statute is followed. There are no decisions to guide us, so Washington is listed later among the States allowing joint guardianship. The same is true in Oregon. (Oregon Laws 1910, Sec. 1314, Sec. 2 of Married Woman's Act 1886.)

When statutes make no mention of the father's sole guardianship, a court would doubtless hold that the father had the sole right under the English common law and that the mother had no rights except such as were specifically extended by statute. Among States with such statutes we might count Maryland (Sec. 179, P. 2013, and Public Laws 1904, Sec. 147) where a wife may appoint a guardian when she is left the natural guardian. This means when a husband has bequeathed her the power, for decisions state that under the Statute of 12 Chas. II, Chap. 24 "still in force," the father can by will dispose of a child's custody, and Mississippi (Code 1906, Sec. 2401) where a wife may by will appoint a guardian for her fatherless child and the father may appoint one for his motherless child. In Virginia it is also allowed a mother to appoint by will if father did not.

There are some interesting variations of wording in these

statutes. Wyoming throws caution to the winds and lets a surviving mother be guardian, "whether remarried or not." This is much like the impetuous answer which Wyoming sent back to the U. S. Congress which, because of Wyoming's having had Woman Suffrage, had long delayed Wyoming's application for admission to the sisterhood of States.

New Mexico, Arkansas and Missouri are cautious to the extremity of reiteration. "The father while living and after his death and when there shall be no lawful father."

Missouri describes the guardian of the child by the almost forgotten term of "curator" while Louisiana uses the word "tutor."

Some States mitigate the rigors of the father's guardianship by allowing the mother a voice in the adoption of a child. Among these are Florida (Statutes 1906, Sec. 2639) if father has abandoned child, Mississippi (Code 1906, Sec. 542) and Wisconsin (Supplement 1906, P. 1282, Sec. 3964).

In Texas where the parents live together the father is the natural guardian (Civil Code 1897, Art. 2575), but when they do not live together their rights are equal and the guardianship is assigned to one or the other, taking into consideration the interest of the child alone.

When a father abandons his child, is insane or is sent to the penitentiary without disposing of his child's guardianship, courts would hold that the mother succeeded to the parental duties both maternal and paternal. Courts would generally also hold in the absence of specific prohibitory statutory provisions that such abandoned mother would succeed to all parental rights. Some States make such a provision definitely in the statutes. Tennessee (Code 1896, Sec. 4251), however, makes the abandoned wife's guardianship possible, "If it appear to the Court that he abandoned her without a lawful cause." Until a wife makes such proof, the husband could doubtless send for the children and might, if they were of working age, able to support him, compel them to do so.

In divorce proceedings without statutory provisions, making any such directions, the courts would to-day take full jurisdiction of the children of the marriage, generally awarding their custody to the innocent party, having in view not

the feelings of the parent so much as the welfare of the child. This would also be true in the few remaining States where joint or equal guardianship prevails. But in these latter States the wife comes into court the recognized equal of her husband in guardianship and her chances are far better than when legally handicapped by statutory disqualification. Even in some of the new Suffrage States where equal guardianship is not yet specifically provided, the voting mother feels quite sure of fair treatment.

There are sixteen States, including District of Columbia, which make parents joint guardians. In law "joint" has a meaning different from equal or similar. "Joint owners" of personal property have equal rights during the lifetime of both, but the survivor takes all and so their interests turn out not to be equal or similar. "Joint trustees" have equal control over the property of the cestui qui trust only while trustees live and then the surviving trustee has the sole power. "Joint tenants" of real estate have equal rights during the lifetime of all the joint tenants, but the survivor succeeds to all the rights. "Joint" preceding the word "guardianship" means, the duties and powers equal during the joint lifetime of the guardians with all power and duty concentrated in the survivor.

Idaho and Utah are not included in this list, for Idaho's statute (Revised Code 1908, Sec. 5774) says "Either the father or mother" which though practically the same, especially in Equal Suffrage States where women help elect officers, is not technically joint guardianship. Utah grants guardianship to "A parent but as between parents, other things being equal, if the child is of tender age, it shall be given to the mother or if it be of age to require education and preparation for labor or business, to the father" (Compiled Laws 1907, Sec. 3995). Utah also provides that in case of separation the mother unless immoral shall be entitled to the guardianship of minor children, etc. (Sec. 1212). A child can not be adopted without the consent of its parents (Sec. 4, P. 133). This, too, gives a mother as good a chance as a father. So for practical utility Utah and Idaho might well be among the sixteen joint guardianship States and on the honor roll which follows:

Colorado (Rev. Stat. Sec. 2912).
Connecticut (Gen'l Stat. 1902, Sec. 206).
District of Columbia (Code 1911, Sec. 1123).
Illinois (Rev. Stat. Chap. 64, Sec. 4).
Iowa (Annotated Code, 1897, Sec. 3192).
Kansas (Gen'l Stat. 1909, Sec. 3966).
Kentucky (Acts 1910, P. 93).
Maine (Rev. Stat. 1903, P. 617, Chap. 69, Sec. 2).
Massachusetts (Supp. 1902-1908, P. 1277, Chap. 145).
Minnesota (Rev. Laws 1905, Sec. 3834).
Nebraska (Cabby's Comp. Stat. 1909, Sec. 5376).
New Hampshire (Laws 1911, P. 110, Chap. 104).
New York (Wadhams Const. Laws 1909, P. 550, Sec. 81).
Oregon (Sec. 2 Married Woman's Act 1880).
Pennsylvania (Pepper & Laws Digest 1907, P. 4875, Sec. 23).
Washington (Remington & Ballinger's Code, Vol. 2, Sec. 5932).

Our bar associations, State and National, struggle with the problem of uniformity in legislation on a variety of legal topics.

The Governors' Conferences also discuss uniformity but there are few matters concerning which the laws are as dissimilar as are these. Uniformity is needed here and the Bar Associations and Governors' Conferences should help secure joint guardianship laws in the six States where father is sole guardian and in the twenty-seven other States where the father's sole guardianship is limited by the rights granted the surviving mother.

CATHARINE WAUGH McCULLOCH.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

The National American Woman Suffrage Association, assembled for its forty-third annual meeting in the City of Louisville, Kentucky, affirms for the forty-third time its article of faith to be the enfranchisement of women.

It calls upon all the States, its members, to rejoice over the victorious States, Washington and California, and the

triumphs won in the Legislatures of the States where Woman Suffrage amendments are to be submitted to the voters this coming year, Wisconsin, Kansas and Oregon.

It declares that we are on the dynamic eve of a more dynamic morrow. And it presents to its members, in convention assembled, the following resolutions:

Greetings to Washington

RESOLVED that the National American Woman Suffrage Association in Convention assembled sends greeting to the men of Washington in appreciation of the 24,000 majority vote, which gave their women the ballot, and thus gave to the electorate 175,000 new voters. Their example has already been and in the future must be an inspiration to the men of other States.

Greetings to California

RESOLVED that the National American Woman Suffrage Association send greeting to the men of California, who have given the women of their State the right of suffrage. To these justice-loving men is due the grateful thanks of the women and men of the whole world.

Peace

WHEREAS there is great danger that the United States Senate in December may vitiate the efforts of President Taft to secure adequate arbitration treaties with England, France and other nations, and

WHEREAS the proposed amendments to the treaties will be a distinct hindrance to the Peace movement and a weakening of our moral influence abroad and

WHEREAS upon women and children no less than upon men fall the hardships and sufferings of war, therefore

RESOLVED that the National American Woman Suffrage Association urges each Suffragist and each State branch and local league to secure at once as many brief letters as possible to their own senators, urging the passage of the arbitration treaties in the form desired by President Taft, also letters to President Taft and Honorable Elihu Root.

Finland

WHEREAS Russia proposes to deprive certain provinces of Finland of their constitutional liberties and

WHEREAS Finland has appealed against this wrong to all peoples who love justice, be it

RESOLVED that the National American Woman Suffrage Association in Convention assembled express its sympathy with the men and women of Finland and protest, is the name of human liberty against the course of Russia.

Petition to Congress

WHEREAS, the Woman's National Committee of the Socialist Party is preparing to submit to the Congress of the United States, a petition asking for the political equality of men and women be it

RESOLVED that the National American Woman Suffrage Association welcome the aid of political parties; that we endorse the petition and co-operate in securing signatures to it.

Joint Resolution

WHEREAS there is a joint resolution in the United States Congress, proposing an amendment to the Federal Constitution, providing for the election of United States Senators, by the people of each State; the electors in each State to have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature, thereby excluding women in all but six States, therefore;

RESOLVED, that the National American Woman Suffrage Association believes that the popular election of United States senators should be by the people, without any restriction as to sex.

Single Moral Standard

RESOLVED that the National American Woman Suffrage Association advocates the same moral standard for men and women and the same legal penalties for those who transgress the moral law.

Pure Food

WHEREAS we the members of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, in Convention assembled, endorse the campaign for pure food and drugs and

WHEREAS we believe without the earnest efforts of the supporters of this cause the people of this country would still be the victims of misbranded and adulterated foods and drugs; and

WHEREAS, as mothers, wives and daughters, we believe the welfare and safety of our homes depends upon the purity and cleanliness of our food, therefore be it

RESOLVED that we deprecate any movement to hamper or defeat the efforts honestly to enforce the law.

Angelina Napolitano

Be it RESOLVED that this Convention respectfully ask the immediate pardon of Angelina Napolitano, and the restoration to her of her children, and that a committee be appointed by the Official Board to take the necessary steps to co-operate with all other bodies desiring to work toward this end.

Mammoth Cave

RESOLVED that we sympathize with the effort of the Kentucky women to have the Mammoth Cave made a national reservation and wish the plan all possible success.

Peace Statue

RESOLVED that this Convention co-operate in memorializing the United States Government to erect a colossal statue of Peace at the entrance of the Panama Canal.

Memorial

Since our last convention death has taken from our membership certain valiant men and women. They were servers of the world, standard-bearers in the struggle for human liberty. We mourn the loss of

Dr. Emily Blackwell
Samuel Walter Foss
Thomas Wentworth Higginson
Lilian M. Hollister
William Keith
Elizabeth Smith Miller
Eliza Wright Osborne
Dr. Anice Jeffreys Myers
Narcissa Owen
Rosina M. Parnell
Elizabeth Augusta Russell
Ellen C. Sargent

and of others as valiantly-minded as these, who, since our last meeting have passed from the earth.

Thanks

In closing the forty-third annual convention the National American Woman Suffrage Association offers the following resolution of thanks:

RESOLVED that we extend the heartfelt thanks of this Convention to the Convention and Publicity League of Louisville for the use of the De Molay Commandery Hall, to the Remington Typewriter Co. for placing their machines at our disposal, to the press of Louisville for its reports of our proceedings; to the reporters present at our sessions, whose unfailing courtesy we sincerely appreciate, to the clergymen who have taken part in our exercises, to the officials of the Public Library for courtesies and published list of the Woman Suffrage literature in a special section of the library, to the local committees who have done so much for our comfort and pleasure, to the ushers and pages who have worked indefatigably, to those who furnished the music, to the speakers at the public meetings, to the owners of the automobiles so kindly lent to the delegates for the ride to Fincastle, to Mrs. Alex. P. Humphrey for opening her beautiful home to the convention members, to the Woman's Club of Louisville for its delightful entertainment, to the Kentucky Equal Rights Association for

the gracious spirit of hospitality with which they have received the assembled delegates.

BERTHA COOVER,
(Ohio) Chairman.

Mrs. Clara Laddey (New Jersey).
Miss Mary Johnston (Virginia).
Mrs. Antoinette Leach (Indiana).
Miss Emma Gillette (D. C.).
Miss Alice Henry (Illinois).
Mrs. Jence Feuquay (Oklahoma).
Miss Isabel Howland (New York).
Mrs. Philip Leakin (Connecticut).
Mrs. Nellie Somerville (Mississippi).
Mrs. Jeanette French (Rhode Island).
Dr. Ethel Hurd (Minnesota).
Miss Eleanor Garrison (Massachusetts).
Mrs. Fred Rowe (Michigan).
Mrs. Sarah Clay Bennett (Kentucky).
Mrs. Norah Perkins Jeanson (Wisconsin).
Miss Clara L. Hunton (New Hampshire).
Mrs. M. D. Miles (Iowa).
Dr. Madge Patton-Stephens (Tennessee). Secretary.
Resolution Committee.

REPORT OF THE SIXTH CONGRESS OF THE INTERNATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ALLIANCE, STOCKHOLM, SWEDEN, JUNE 11 to 17, 1911.

Woman Suffragists are sometimes like that man, who when traveling through a famous woodland region, complained that he was unable to see the forest for the trees. We, too, need to climb occasionally to some vantage point where we can survey our domain as a whole. It is from such an overlook as is afforded by the Convention of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance that we can best appreciate the magnificent stretches of country which already lie behind us, and can most plainly see the end of our journey, before us.

The Congress in Stockholm did indeed show us indica-

tions that before long we shall be out of the woods. Twenty nationalities were represented by the women gathered there, and we received applications for membership from still other societies in process of formation. Much of the inspiration of the gathering was due to the very fact that there were present women of every political status, from bond to free. To see women, who only a few years ago were on a level with ourselves, now full fledged citizens thrilled us all with a sense of the attainableness of our goal. Especially was this true when there were presented to the conference three Finnish Members of Parliament, live, flesh and blood women, inhabiting the same world as ourselves. The presence of women from coldest Iceland and hottest South Africa, from darkest Prussia and enlightened Australia, brought a keen realization that the womanhood of the four corners of the world is one in aims and hopes. The full importance of this world sisterhood was best stated by Miss Shaw, when she said, "The International Suffrage Alliance is a greater force for world peace than all the Hague Conferences ever held."

This spirit of unity is to be still further strengthened. One of the most clearly expressed sentiments of the Convention was the need for closer lines of communications between the suffragists of all nations, for the comparison of data, the interchange of experience, and the strength of united endeavor.

From the opening sermon by Dr. Shaw, to the closing remarks by Mrs. Catt, the showing made by the United States was one over which we may feel justifiable pride. All the Alliance is devoted to its able President, Mrs. Catt. All the Alliance unites in appreciation of Dr. Shaw. The suggestions for work, reports of progress, and exhibition of leaflets and other propaganda material, from America, were creditable in every way.

The first meeting was the sermon on Sunday in the Gustaf Vasa Church by Miss Shaw. Hundreds besieged the church in the vain hope that after the ticket holders were admitted there might still be an available inch on which they might stand, or perch, or cling. To avoid rousing Lutheran prejudice Miss Shaw spoke from the platform, without as-

cending into the pulpit, but that did not affect the quality of her sermon, which made a profound impression.

The regular business sessions were held in the Banquet Hall of the Grand Hotel. In addition there were four large meetings held elsewhere, meant to attract the general public. At one of these Selma Lagerlöf, the beloved author of Sweden, moved her audience to tears.

At another we listened to the stirring President's address, a speech to make the heart throb, so clearly did it bring to our ears the footsteps of victory hastening towards us. The official representative of the Swedish Government, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, who was a conservative and hardened anti, was present at that meeting. Those footsteps of the future affected him so powerfully that he turned Suffragist upon the spot, which in itself was no mean victory.

In my estimation the most significant event of the Congress was the formation of the International Men's League. Men were present as fraternal delegates from the Men's Congress of five countries. They became so fired with the enthusiasm that they held an organization meeting and reported to us that six nations had affiliated into an international league. In some amazement we inquired if they did not mean to say five, instead of six, when it transpired that one lone German man present became so inspired to action that he had pledged himself to organize a league in Germany, and had affiliated this unborn league with the others. Indeed, the men delegates were so enthusiastic that we felt that some of them were in danger of neglecting their homes to go gadding around to Suffrage meetings. The movement was also started for men's leagues in Sweden and Denmark, and in two days the Swedish league had enrolled forty members, including some of the most distinguished men in the country.

As to the social side of the Congress, it is impossible to describe the overflowing hospitality which greeted us on every side. Publicly and privately we were welcomed like homecoming wanderers. The Government made an appropriation for our entertainment, provided us with guide books of the city, and,—delicate courtesy,—flew from the flagstaffs along the magnificent quay the flags of all our homelands.

The thoughtfulness of our hostesses in arranging for our comfort, the prodigality of entertainment and instruction offered us were beyond words, and would easily have filled weeks of time. I cannot here speak of the two memorable banquets we enjoyed, but there is one festivity I must tell of, for its significance. One staunch Suffragist, a very old lady confined to her house, provided for all the delegates a drive through the city. There were several hundred carriages in line, and each one decorated with yellow and white pennants. We saw and appreciated to the full the magnificent city, "Venice of the North," seated on her islands, held in the clean fingers of the sea, and surrounded by splendid parks. But more interesting still was the way in which Stockholm saw us. All our route was one ovation of waving handkerchiefs, and smiles of greeting and encouragement. That sympathy, apparently, was not alone the warming of their hospitable hearts for these strangers, but a sympathy also for the cause which drew these strangers to their city. To the best of my belief that was the case. Such a public demonstration shows clearly how the holding of convention in any place helps to crystallize sentiment there. As one Swedish speaker phrased it, "The country in which the conference is held feels the benefit, just as a large ship going at full speed through the ocean sets in motion far distant waters, waters which could not be stirred by our own little national boat." It would be the fit reward of those splendid Swedish women if such might prove to have been the case. All indications point to their speedy enfranchisement. They have the sincerest well-wishes of all who were privileged to gather devotion, encouragement, and inspiration at the Stockholm Conference.

FLORENCE H. LUSCOMB.

FINANCIAL REPORT FROM JANUARY FIRST TO JUNE FIRST, 1910

HARRIET TAYLOR UPTON, TREASURER, IN ACCOUNT WITH NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

RECEIPTS

Alabama		
Logan, Adella Hunt	$1.00	
Humes, Mrs. Milton	5.00	
		$6.00
Arkansas		
Wright, Dillie & Maud	$1.00	1.00
California		
Bearby, Mary J.	1.00	
Baldwin, Isabel A.	1.00	
Keene, Mary S.	50.00	
Sperry, Mary S.	3.00	
Waters, Margaret E.	50.00	
Wills, M. Frances	100.00	
Balentine, Katharine Reed	20.00	
Bassett, Theophila E.	25.00	
Baker, Dr. Charlotte J.	5.00	
Baldwin, Isabel A.	1.00	
Bissell, M. Eleanor	10.00	
Burnham, Annie E.	5.00	
Chase, Anna E.	.50	
Canfield, Lepha J.	1.00	
Carter, Ella V.	.50	
Chico, E. S. A.	5.00	
College Park P. E. C.	3.00	
Deering, Mrs. Frank P.	20.00	
Faulkner, Miss A. R.	50.00	
Jewett, Fidelia	5.00	
Kirkbride, Eliza B.	2.00	
Martin, Miss L. J.	5.00	
McLean, Fannie W.	2.00	
Sargent, Ellen Clark	2.00	
Sperry, Mary S.	1.00	
Sears, Mrs. T. B.	2.50	
Sears, Ruth W.	2.50	
		$373.00

Colorado

Auxiliary Dues	$5.00	
Casper, Nettie Edwards	10.00	
Long, Dr. Margaret	10.00	
		25.00

Connecticut

Long Ridge W. S. C.	$5.00	
Hickox, Mary C.	1.00	
		6.00

Delaware

Cranston, Martha S.	$1.00	
Warner, E. P.	1.00	
		2.00

District of Columbia

District of Columbia E. S. A. for Theatre	$125.00	
District of Columbia E. S. A.	50.00	
Crocker, Charlotte H.	50.00	
Ezekiel, Rachel Brill	.50	
Gardiner, Helen	1.00	
Gillett, Emma	1.00	
Ham, Abbie L.	1.00	
Hillyer, Amy M.	1.00	
Hifton, Harriette J.	5.00	
Kelton, Anna C.	10.00	
La Fetra, Dr. Geo.	1.00	
Mills, Hannah Cassel	50.00	
Owen, Narcissa	10.00	
Swift, Miss	1.00	
White, Nettie Lovisa	5.00	
Abbott, Hattie E.	1.00	
Devine, Virginia	5.00	
Endicott, Elizabeth A.	2.00	
Ham, Abbie L.	5.00	
Hifton, Harriette J.	5.00	
LaFollette, Mrs. Robt. M.	5.00	
Parke, C. E.	1.00	
Pomeroy, Ruth E.	5.00	
Smith, Florence E.	2.00	
Solberg, Adelaide	5.00	
		$347.50

Florida

Dickinson, Melissa	$5.00	
Gore, Mrs. C. Groninger	10.00	
		15.00

Georgia

Atlanta Civic Club	$2.00	
Koch, Katharine	.50	
		2.50

Illinois

Butlin, Minerva	$50.00	
Elgin Civic Equality League	10.00	
Hall, Alice S.	6.00	
Illinois E. S. A.	50.00	
Rose, Mrs. M. R.	1.00	
Dingee, Martha Parker	5.00	
Edmonds, Mrs. F. A.	5.00	
		127.00

Iowa

Iowa E. S. A.	$50.00	
McCarron, Sarah T.	4.00	
Brown, Leah T.	2.00	
Gordon, Rev. Eleanor	1.00	
		57.00

Kentucky

Auxiliary Dues (1909)	$5.50	
Bruce Bequest Interest (Oklahoma)	57.00	
Clay, Laura (Oklahoma)	3.00	
Clay, Laura	11.00	
Hast, Emma	1.00	
Kentucky E. R. A.	62.70	
		140.20

Louisiana

Otis, Mrs. S. M.	$53.00	
		$53.00

Maine

Bailey, Hannah J.	$50.00	
Day, Lucy Hobart	1.00	
Maine, W. S. A.	50.00	
Bates, Helen N.	.50	
Clark, Susan A.	.50	
Fairfield, Martha W.	5.00	
Fuller, Dr. Jennie	90.00	
Greenwood, Isabel W.	1.00	
		198.00

Maryland

Bates, Octavia Williams	$50.00	
Baltimore E. S. L.	50.00	
Duvall, Mary E.	2.00	
		102.00

Massachusetts

Auxiliary Dues (1909)	$2.50	
Brookline E. S. A.	25.00	
Hollingsworth, Amelia G.	1.00	
King, Delaware	1.00	
Mead, Lucia Ames	1.00	
McCormick, Mrs. Stanley	1.00	
Newell, Gertrude B	1.00	
Page, Mary Hutcheson	1.00	
Page, Anne	5.00	
Whiting, Eliza R.	1.00	
Von Arnim Albertina	5.00	
Boston E. S. A. for Good Government	50.00	
Hollingsworth, Amelia G.	10.00	
Lyman, Robt. W.	3.00	
Newell, Gertrude B.	5.00	
		112.50

Michigan

Auxiliary Dues (1909)	$1.50	
		$1.50

Minnesota

Auxiliary Dues (1909)	$7.00	
Bright, Emily H.	5.00	
Bright, Katharine	5.00	
Farnsworth, Eva O.	1.00	
Schain, Josephine	5.00	
Stockwell, Maud C.	10.00	
Williams, Essie M.	1.00	
		34.00

Missouri

Richardson, Florence Wyman	$1.00

Montana

Dann, Mrs. P. A	5.00

Nebraska

Auxiliary dues (1909)	10.80

New Hampshire

White, Armenia S	50.00

New Jersey

Hill, Nellie S. Smith	50.00	
Wright, Phebe C	20.00	
		70.00

New York

Bates, Miss R.	$1.00
Belmont, Alva E. (for Press Department)	865.68
Brown, Mrs. Raymond	1.00
Catt, Carrie Chapman	20.00
Clark, Hannah B.	25.00
Carpenter, Mrs. Herbert S.	50.00
Chautauqua County W. S. A.	10.00
Co-operative Service League	10.00
Crossett, Ella Hawley	1.00
Dorman, Leta H.	1.00
Dunning, Effa C.	11.00
French, Blanche Culbertson	50.00
Geneva P. E. C.	10.00
Greenleaf, Jean Brooks	5.00
Griffiths, Anna B.	1.00
Gibson, Mrs. Henry S.	1.00
Howland, Emily	400.00
Howard, Harold Shafter	1.00
Kemeys, Mrs. Walter Schuyler (through Anne Fitzhugh Miller)	200.00
Knowles, Mrs. R. G.	1.00
Lovejoy, Owen R.	1.00
Lovejoy, Evelyn Campbell	1.00
Mackay, Katharine	100.00
Martin, Mrs. A. W.	1.00
Mercy, Dr. Anna	1.00
Mills, Harriet May	1.00
McFarland, Lillian Forbes	1.00
Munro, Sarah D.	30.00
Owens, Helen Brewster	2.00
Putnam, Caroline	5.00
Raynsford, Georgia F.	5.00
Rishpan, Bertha	1.00
Townsend, Marcia Allen	51.00
Westfield W. S. S.	5.00
Willard, Mary B.	1.00
William Lloyd Garrison E. R. A.	10.00
Williams, Alice	5.00
Curtis, Elizabeth Burrell	6.00
E. S. L. of the City of New York	20.00
Foote, Mary E. Bond	25.00
Gannett, Mary T. L.	5.00
Gannett, W. C.	1.00
Gleason, Dr. Kate	50.00
Howland, Emily	100.00
Howland, Isabel	10.00

Lewis, Agnes B.	25.00	
Miller, Elizabeth Smith	25.00	
Putnam, Caroline	5.00	
Roe, Gilbert E.	200.00	
Sweet, Emma B.	5.00	
Taylor, Rebecca N.	5.00	
Titus, Emily N.	5.00	
Woman Suffrage Study Club, New York	27.79	
		2,400.47

Ohio

Shoemaker, Ella O.	$5.00	
Toledo W. S. A.	10.00	
Upton, Harriet Taylor	35.00	
Warren P. E. C.	10.00	
		60.00

Pennsylvania

Adams, Lida Stokes	$6.00	
Atkinson, Gertrude	1.00	
Bradford P. E. C.	10.00	
Bakewell, Mary E.	5.00	
Campbell, Jane	5.00	
Costelloe, Ray	10.00	
Jones, Dr. Eleanor C.	5.00	
Lowry, Elizabeth	5.00	
Woodnutt, Margaret D.	1.00	
Barrett, Mrs. C. S.	1.00	
Burnham, Anna L.	10.00	
Concord Suffrage League	2.00	
Dulles, Julia M. P.	10.00	
Easton P. E. C.	2.00	
Hadley, Alice P.	25.00	
Katen, Mrs. S. J.	1.35	
Kunkel, Elizabeth Crain	10.00	
Lansdowne, E. S. L.	5.00	
Lewis, Charlotte S.	20.00	
Lewis, Mrs. Lawrence, Jr.	5.00	
Lippincott, Caroline	25.00	
Lippincott, Mary W.	25.00	
Longshore, M. Elizabeth	1.00	
Makefield W. C. T. U. A.	3.00	
Miller, Mary B.	5.00	
Myers, Dr. Jane V.	5.00	
Newtown W. S. L.	5.00	
Oxford E. S. A.	6.50	
Patton, Mary	1.00	
Peirce, Charlotte L.	15.00	
Pennock, Edith	1.00	

Pennock, Anna C.	5.00	
Purton, M. J.	50	
Quay, Lettie D.	1.00	
Richboro W. C. T. U.	2.00	
Robinson, Caroline Hadley	1.00	
Rosenberger, J. A.	1.00	
Sayers, Mary E.	5.00	
Scarlett, Ada M.	10.00	
Shaw, Anna H.	24.00	
Sellers, Sarah P.	25.00	
Stockdale, Elizabeth C.	2.00	
Taylor, Elizabeth B.	1.00	
Tilney, Robert	3.00	
Thomas, Ellen L.	1.00	
Troth, Anna S.	1.00	
Van Artsdalen, Rebie	1.00	
Verlenden, Mary S.	2.00	
Wrightstown W. C. T. U.	5.00	
Wrightstown E. S. A.	1.00	
A friend	1.00	
		324.35

Rhode Island

Daughters of the Heather	$2.00	
French, Jeanette S.	1.00	
Pawtucket W. C. T. U.	3.00	
A friend	25.00	
		31.00

Tennessee

Auxiliary dues	$6.00	
Brown, Frances Fort	1.00	
		7.00

Texas

Folsom, Ermina T.		50.00

Vermont

Benedict, Mrs. M. L.		5.00

Virginia

Brown, Mrs. Frank P.	$5.00	
Cadot, Mrs. Clarence	1.00	
E. S. L. of Virginia	25.00	
Johnston, Mary	250.00	
Johnston, Coralie	1.00	
Lewis, Mrs. John H.	1.00	
Meredith, Mrs. Charles V.	5.00	
Valentine, Lila Meade	1.00	
		289.00

Wisconsin

Bradford, Mary D.	$5.00	
Barlow, L. J.	1.00	
Brayman, Mary	30.00	
Boyles, Hannah D.	5.00	
Daniels, Carrie	1.00	
Patchin, Hannah	1.00	
Peabody, Marion G.	3.00	
Rhodes, Clara	1.00	
Ross, Mrs. Grant	5.00	
Richland Center W. S. C.	25.00	
Young Ladies' P. E. C., Richland Center	10.00	
		87.00

Friends E. R. A.

Philanthropic Committee of Baltimore Friends	$10.00	
Thomas Mary Bentley	6.00	
		16.00

Miscellaneous

Susan B. Anthony Woman Suffrage Fund	$1,104.76	
Susan B. Anthony Memorial Fund (refund of salary to Mrs. Ezekiel, paid from General Treasury)	50.00	
Susan B. Anthony booklets	30	
Bruce Fund—Loan for Oklahoma	1,000.00	
Collections in Arizona	151.64	
Collections at Washington Convention	405.47	
Collection at open air meeting, Washington	5.87	
Corresponding Secretary, Frances Squire Potter, lecture fees turned in on salary	145.00	
Headquarters supplies, New York sales	858.08	
Headquarters supplies, Warren sales	36.88	
Headquarters supplies, Convention sales	106.55	
Headquarters supplies, Washington Headquarters	1.60	
Headquarters, telephone tolls returned	7.00	
Histories, sales	135.60	
Histories, express returned	4.50	
Life and Work, sales	85.00	
Life and Work, vol. III, proceeds to date, including interest	409.73	
Jus Suffragii	1.64	
Minutes	45	
Progress	233.39	
Political Equality Leaflets, New York	244.25	
Political Equality Leaflets, Warren	10.85	
Progress advertising	67.50	
Program advertising	163.00	
Votes for Women Pins	72.20	

Washington Headquarters receipts (room rent, etc.)	139.05	
Friends	4.00	
Carnegie Hall meeting, balance	213.54	
A friend	2.00	
		5,659.85
		$10,669.67

Total Receipts

Balance from 1909 books—		
General Treasury books	$1,471.64	
Returned by Miss Shaw	149.21	
Returned by Miss Peck	30.66	
		1,651.51
		$12.321.18

DISBURSEMENTS

President

Clerk hire, January 1 to May 21	$373.50	
Office expenses	50.23	
Typewriters	170.00	
		$593.73

Corresponding Secretary

Salary, January 1 to May 1	$500.00	
Lecture expenses	79.93	
		579.93

Treasurer

Clerk hire, January 1 to June 1	$325.00	
Office expenses, including books and stationery	86.51	
Office rent, September 1, 1909, to July 1, 1910	100.00	
		511.51

Headquarters Expense

Rent to June 1	525.00	
Office salaries to May 21	827.70	
Office expenses	229.51	
Typewriter	100.00	
		1,682.21

Headquarters Supplies

1,000 Anthony portraits	$10.00	
Jus Suffragii	66.69	
Expenses, including express, postage, office expenses, etc.	209.01	
		285.70

Auxiliary Dues

Dues to National Council of Women	$33.33	
Dues to International Woman Suffrage Alliance	10.00	
		43.33

Committee on Church Work

Mary E. Craigie, Chairman		18.42

Literature Committee

Suffrage a Right	$10.00	
Status of Woman	14.00	
Mills' Subjection of Women	4.28	
The Modern City—Addams	90.00	
Mayors of Five States	150.00	
Equal Rights Between the Sexes	2.45	
Why Equal Suffrage Has Been a Success	5.00	
Bowne Leaflets	5.00	
		280.73

Educational Committee

Freight, drayage, envelopes, postage, etc		20.24

History

Storage, one year	$48.00	
Express, drayage, etc.	21.83	
Insurance	30.00	
		99.83

Life and Work

Express, drayage, etc.	$3.38	
Storage on volume III	5.00	
		8.38

Progress

Advertising slips	$10.00	
Expenses of mailing, etc.	110.71	
		120.71

Political Equality Leaflets

Technical Press, 30,000 leaflets		384.00

Organization

Arizona—		
Salary of organizer (Miss Gregg)	$500.00	
Expenses of organizer (Miss Gregg)	479.04	
Messenger, from hotel to Mr. Beveridge at Capitol, on Statehood business	1.25	
		980.29
Oklahoma—		
Salary of organizer (Mrs. Boyer)	$400.00	
Expenses of organizer (Mrs. Boyer)	154.90	

Headquarters expenses	461.60	
Special work (contributed by Bruce Fund and Miss Clay)	60.00	
Senator Robert L. Owen, for Memorial	148.50	
		1,225.00
South Dakota—		
Salary of organizer (Miss Penfield)	$390.00	
Headquarters, for rent	36.00	
Amount pledged at Washington	500.00	
Salary of Mrs. Tinsley	225.00	
Miss Shaw's pledge	24.00	
Miss Shaw, for expenses to mass meeting	30.02	
Soliciting letters and envelopes	15.75	
Cuts for soliciting letters	3.58	
Postage on soliciting letters	51.00	
		1,275.35

Press Department

Ida Husted Harper, April and May salary	$363.33	
Caroline I. Reilly, April and May salary	164.66	
Elizabeth J. Hauser, April salary	150.00	
Miss O'Brien, May salary	60.00	
Mrs. Harper, for April and May expenses	89.65	
		827.64

Convention Expenses

5,000 calls	$9.00	
Advertising slips	7.00	
Credential blanks	2.25	
Ballots	4.50	
Mrs. Avery, for expenses on program	27.01	
Mrs. Ezekiel, for expenses on program	3.98	
10,000 programs and badges	205.75	
Rent of hall	375.00	
Rent of theatre (paid by D. C. E. S. A.)	125.00	
Miss Blackwell, for Seattle expenses	130.00	
May J. Kenney (stenographer)	29.06	
Expenses of officers—		
Miss Shaw	$85.23	
Mrs. Avery	59.29	
Mrs. Stewart	84.02	
Mrs. Potter	45.45	
Mrs. Upton	102.75	
Miss Clay	62.20	
Mrs. Kelley	10.00	
		448.94

Expenses of Chairmen—			
Lucy E. Anthony		31.87	
Expenses of Speakers—			
Beatrice Forbes-Robertson	$21.50		
Charlotte Perkins Gilman	19.90		
"Dorothy Dix"	3.00		
Grace Strachan	25.75		
Rose Schneiderman	17.15		
Mr. and Mrs. Raymond Robins	101.40		
Alice Paul	9.55		
		198.25	
			$1,597.61

Miscellaneous

Washington Headquarters rent	$200.00	
Washington Headquarters expenses	108.63	
Petition expenses	274.75	
Petition Parade signs	94.50	
Petition Parade carriages and taxicabs	89.00	
Petition, typewriting	5.80	
Express on books to Auditor and return	3.13	
Laura Clay, expenses to Official Board meeting	43.20	
Mrs. Avery, expenses to Official Board meeting	13.75	
Mrs. Avery, expenses New Castle to Warren	2.70	
Mrs. Ezekiel, for salary, afterward refunded by Thomas Garrett Fund	50.00	
Congressional Hearing—		
Mrs. Fitzgerald, expenses	3.65	
Typewriting	20.00	
		909.11
Total disbursements		$11,443.72
Balance—		
Permanent Fund (Sarah L. Willis)	$500.00	
Susan B. Anthony Gold Pieces	46.00	
Balance in New York account May 1	119.96	
Cash sent to Miss Ashley June 6	211.50	
		877.46
		$12,321.18

JESSIE ASHLEY, TREASURER, IN ACCOUNT WITH NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

June 1, 1910, to January 1, 1911

RECEIPTS

Susan B. Anthony Memorial Fund		$15,089.24
Press Bureau Account—		
Donation, Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont		3,072.12
General Treasury Account—		
Donations		2,496.90
Balance, H. T. Upton	$173.46	
Balance, office books	84.20	
Rent, C. E. S. League	200.00	
Advertisements, Washington Convention	35.00	
Sale of badges	63.75	
Sale of doll, Bazaar	2.00	
Sale of multigraph	85.00	
Life memberships	250.00	
Direct memberships	6.00	
Laura Clay, Trustee, Sarah Bruce Legacy,	79.40	
Sale of furniture	25.00	
		1,003.81
Campaign Account—		
Donations		2,250.50
Literature Account—		
Appropriation S. B. Anthony Memorial Fund		1,078.36
Garrison Church Fund	$100.00	
Donation, M. W. Dennett	13.50	
		113.50
Sales		1,290.22
Auxiliary Dues Account		2,172.42
Woman's Journal Account—		
Shares stock sold:		
M. L. Taylor, five shares	$500.00	
H. L. Luscomb, one share	100.00	
H. D. Stearns, one share	100.00	
E. L. Blackwell, one share	100.00	
		800.00
Appropriation S. B. Anthony Memorial Fund		403.69
Receipts Boston office		1,579.42
Interest—		
Guarantee Trust Co. of New York	$91.26	
Willis Fund	25.00	
Laura Clay, interest on Coates note, L. S. Bruce Legacy	57.00	
		173.26
Total receipts		$31,523.44

DISBURSEMENTS

Susan B. Anthony Memorial Fund—		
Salary, President	$1,875.00	
Salary, Cor. Secretary	1,749.88	
Salary, Treasurer	499.98	
		$4,124.86
Traveling expenses, President		1,000.00
Appropriation official organ		403.69
Appropriation, literature		1,078.36
National College Equal Suffrage League		3,000.00
Repayment of C. P. Gilman lecture fee		125.00
Press Bureau Account—		
Salary, I. H. Harper	$1,140.00	
Salary, C. I. Reilly (December)	150.00	
		1,290.00
Stenographers	$1,035.00	
Water, ice, towels	24.50	
Telephone	60.12	
Clippings service	26.83	
Miscellaneous office expense	209.52	
		1,355.97
General Treasury Account—		
Lucy E. Anthony, Convention	$21.08	
H. T. Upton, Secretary	65.00	
Furniture	5.30	
Badges	128.14	
Miscellaneous	82.70	
		302.22
Campaign Account—		
Ida Porter Boyer, Organizer	$1,296.15	
Laura Gregg "	949.07	
Perle Penfield "	540.00	
		2,785.22
Headquarters, etc., South Dakota		375.00
South Dakota:		
Dr. Aylesworth, Organizer	$259.98	
Emily Gardner "	225.00	
Mrs. Fairbank	100.00	
		584.98
Oklahoma:		
Mrs. Biggers	$267.00	
Kate M. Gordon	200.00	
		467.00
Washington:		
Mrs. Eaton	$100.00	
Mrs. Hill	100.00	
		200.00

Arizona:		
Mrs. Munds		200.00
Literature Account—		
Printing	$1,497.01	
Pamphlets, etc.	13.29	
Buttons, pins, etc.	181.03	
Express	8.92	
		1,700.25
Woman's Journal Account—		
Rent	$175.00	
Printing	701.99	
Mailing	103.67	
Paper	77.52	
Furniture	120.50	
Engraving	25.44	
Light	3.00	
Office expenses	350.00	
Salary, Agnes E. Ryan	625.00	
Salary, Secretary	60.00	
		2,242.12
Headquarters Account—		
Stenographers and clerk	$1,708.46	
Rent	225.00	
Telephone	58.64	
Furniture	46.56	
Stamps	60.00	
Steamfitters	25.00	
Miscellaneous	36.32	
		2,159.98
Total disbursements		$23,394.65
Balance		8,128.79
		$31,523.44

CALIFORNIA.

The California Campaign for Equal Suffrage of 1910-11 was, in several respects, the most remarkable in the history of the movement. Our five political parties had a suffrage plank in their platforms. The Legislature was very progressive and included several eloquent and powerful advocates of our cause. The California Equal Suffrage Association appointed an able Legislative Committee, with Mrs. Lillian Harris Coffin as Chairman, and the work at Sacramento was conducted in a dignified manner, without criticism or unpleasant incident.

The Amendment carried by an overwhelming majority, and we immediately began in earnest our "Whirlwind Campaign."

The Legislature voted a special election to be held October 10th, at which the twenty-three Amendments were to be submitted to the voters.

We had six months in which to do our work..

In a circular letter which outlined the methods adopted by the California Equal Suffrage Association, and which was sent out all over the State, the President wrote:

"The eyes of the whole world are upon us, watching with intense interest the progress of another struggle for human rights. The results of this battle will be far-reaching; bitter disappointment will grip millions of hearts if we lose—a sense of joy and uplift will radiate around the world if we win. WE ARE GOING TO WIN!"

This proved a prophecy.

The situation was very different from that of 1895-96.

Not only were the suffragists better organized, but as a result of the previous campaign in which the National Association largely participated, there were earnest suffragists in every kind of association in the State. In the Federated Women's Clubs, the W. C. T. U., with a Franchise department in every local, the Socialists, the State Grange and the ever-growing Labor Unions.

It was simply a question of co-operation.

We determined to make a strenuous effort to get into touch with every progressive element in the State.

Our State Campaign Committee, with headquarters at 243 Pacific Building, San Francisco, consisted of Chairmen of the following departments of work: Organization of precincts according to Assembly Districts, Finance, Press, Literature and Printing, Lectures, Training of Speakers, Advertising Plans, which included posters and placing them, Dramatic Entertainments, Stereopticon Talks and Moving Pictures.

In addition to these Committees we had an Advisory Council comprised of picked men and women here and there over the State.

We made no hard and fast rules. We knew that we must adapt ourselves to the changing necessities, and seize opportunities as they developed.

During two years preceding the Campaign the State Association

had been carrying forward organization work under the able supervision of Mrs. Helen Moore as Chairman, but there still remained much to be done. Our territory was large, a portion of it immensely difficult. It was conceded that a house-to-house canvass, wherever practicable, was of the utmost importance, particularly in the large cities.

The suffragists of Southern California, whose work with the Legislature was of incalculable value, led by J. H. Braly, President of the Los Angeles Political Equality League, assumed the responsibility of caring for the ten Counties south of the Tehachapi; and nobly did they fulfil all expectations and promises.

We realized that the great interests were arrayed against us. Untold money was at the command at our enemies.

They were schooled in political methods. We had little money and less political experience. But we had consecration of purpose, and we gave ourselves to the work, North and South, with unbounded enthusiasm.

The Chairman of our Press Committee, Mrs. Mabel Craft Deering, succeeded in securing a Press Chairman in every county of the State. This was of inestimable value in the campaign.

Not only were all of the newspapers furnished with suffrage material, but they were watched so closely that every objection to suffrage was ably answered immediately on its appearance in print, the final result being the espousal of our cause by many papers that had been indifferent or opposed.

The last three months of the campaign were marked by a wonderful increase in enthusiasm. There was scarcely a corner of the State unvisited by good speakers, while literature was sent broadcast. Under the careful supervision of Mrs. Rose French, the State Association issued three million pages of literature, while the College Women's Equal Suffrage League, and other organizations in the North, and the Political Equality League of Los Angeles, also published thousands of leaflets besides ordering many from the National, especially those in foreign languages. Under the tactful management of Mrs. Rhody Ringrose, fifty thousand Catholic leaflets were distributed at the doors of the Catholic Churches.

The picture slides and stereopticon talks, superintended by Mrs. Lucretia Watson Taylor, were very effective, particularly in the outlying districts. Posters, pennants and benners played a conspicuous part in the campaign.

The attendance at the meetings held in theatres, churches, halls, and on the street corners was surprisingly large, and in many instances splendidly enthusiastic. The attitude of the public generally was respectful and often profoundly sympathetic.

Our country clubs and county organizations followed closely on the plans recommended by the State Association.

The Women's Christian Temperance Union concentrated on its

Franchise work, rendering great aid, and all of the suffrage organizations, whether affiliated with the State or not, cordially co-operated, often holding joint meetings, and manifesting a broad and generous spirit.

Ours was purely an educational campaign, without one shadow of partisanship or militant methods.

The victory in Washington and the manner in which the enfranchised women used their newly acquired power, was a splendid object lesson, and contributed much to the success in California.

The attitude of the press was friendly, several of the great dailies, notably the **San Francisco Call**, the **Los Angeles Express**, the **Sacramento Bee**, and the **San Jose Mercury**, did us splendid service. The pulpit was also very largely with us. We worked hard to make sure of these two great instrumentalities for the education of the people.

Our inland co-workers largely financed their own special lines of propaganda. The generous contributions of the National Association, and the smaller personal donations through that body amounting altogether to about eighteen hundred dollars, and the noble work of the National Vice-President, Mrs. Waugh McCulloch, were a large factor in our success.

The Woman Suffrage Party of New York sent us able and charming speakers, and among our many good fortunes was the coming of the National Educational Association Convention to San Francisco, during which several of the officers and members from New York, Illinois, Colorado and Washington delighted our hearts and added much to the interest of our great meetings.

Miss Gail Laughlin, of Colorado, was of immense service as a speaker and as Chairman of the Election Committee.

Election day dawned cloudless and beautiful as June, and our Assembly District Captains were out in their autos at 5:30 A. M., ready to direct the workers at the polls by six o'clock.

It was an experience which none who participated would willingly forego. Our alternate despair and hope during election week will never be forgotten. The scores of telegrams from every part of the country, showed the intense interest felt, and filled our hearts with pure joy.

The reports of County Organizations and Country Clubs are not yet received and therefore the expenditures for the campaign cannot be accurately estimated, but it is safe to say that the State Association has disbursed about ten thousand dollars, not counting the work of our affiliated Clubs in Southern California. Mrs. Mary McHenry Keith has contributed nearly three thousand dollars within the year; Mrs. Anna K. Bidwell a thousand dollars through our State Treasury, besides that done for her own County Organization.

Mrs. Charles D. Blaney has given generous sums during the two past years and particularly during this campaign, while others in an equally generous spirit have given from two hundred down to one

dollar, according to their means; and others again, having no gold or precious stones, have given what is best of all, themselves, nobly, untiringly, out of their love for justice.

And the small majority by which we won assures the least among us that we are all deserving of some share in the glorious victory.

Respectfully submitted,

ELIZABETH LOWE WATSON,
President.

HOW THE VOTE WAS WON IN SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA.

The second State on the Pacific Coast has granted Suffrage to its women. Organizations representing fully ten thousand members worked month after month in pushing to the utmost corners of the great State the fight on the Suffrage amendment. From the first of February when the measure finally passed the State Legislature until the last hour on October 10th—Election Day—there was no cessation of sacrificial work. In San Francisco the Suffragists knew that their city had defeated the Suffrage Amendment when it came before the California voters fifteen years ago and that though conditions had greatly changed it was very apt to do so again. And final results showed that San Francisco did give an overwhelming majority against Suffrage although it was counteracted by the country vote. However, had it not been for the work of the women of the North, it is probable that the country vote would have been inadequate in saving Suffrage to the women of the State. In the Southern part of the State, however, the work from the beginning was undertaken with the understanding that everything possible should be done to counteract the effect of the San Francisco vote on the final results and in Los Angeles the California Political Equality League concentrated its attention upon Los Angeles and the country districts throughout the State. The Executive Board composed of the following members, Mrs. Seward Simons, President; Mrs. Shelly Tolhurst, Chairman of the Speakers Committee; Mrs. Berthold Baruch, of the Meetings Committee; Miss Louise Carr, Literature Committee; Mrs. Chas. Farwell Edson, Organization Committee; Mrs. Martha Nelson McCan, Press Committee; Mrs. John R. Haynes, Finance, and Miss Annie Bock, Secretary, concerned itself, from first to last with effective publicity work. This work was divided into three parts: public meetings, the distribution of literature, and the press work.

Miss Louise Carr, of the Literature Committee, had printed leaflets and pamphlets that appealed to every type of mind. These were compiled from national leaflets, from addresses that were made by California speakers during the campaign and from statistics—not of the dry and uninteresting sort—but from those that bore upon

the California situation. There were leaflets to the amount of a million in round numbers. And every leaflet was printed on yellow paper—of the golden shade that stands for the equality of all people. Of the national leaflets, with which all Suffragists are familiar, the two that were most useful were "Women in the Home" and "Do You Know." These were issued and re-issued as the demand was persistent throughout the campaign. The statistics in the condensation of Mrs. Catt's pamphlet were a surprise even to the Suffragists who felt that they were thoroughly familiar with existing conditions of Suffrage. In San Francisco the leaflets compiled from Father Gleason's notable speech, "Why Wage Earning Women Should Vote," by Maud Younger, and Mrs. Alice Park's "California Laws," were each in their different field effective in the highest degree. The California Political Equality League issued a leaflet based upon actual investigation of the conditions in Los Angeles relating to the so-called professional "Bad Woman." (Incidentally it has been a surprise to know how much weight has been laid upon the potential political influence of the outside-of-the-pale woman.) Mrs. McCan, of the Press Committee wrote this leaflet called the "Undesirable Woman Voter" to place the unquestionable facts of to-day, before the prejudiced and socially uneducated. Other pamphlets issued by the league and which like the "six best sellers" went into the third and fourth edition were three pamphlets by Mrs. Seward Simons, "An Answer to An Anti-Suffrage Argument," "Why Women Should Be Given the Privilege and Responsibility of the Ballot," and the "Equality of Opportunity." Clifford Howard, the eminent writer, who from the beginning of the campaign gave his entire time to the Los Angeles Suffragists, both as a speaker and a writer, furnished one of the best pamphlets of an educational nature, in "Why Man Needs Woman's Ballot." Later he answered an article written by the foremost spokesman of the famous Committee of Fifty, with another effective article, "Why Women Should Be Given the Vote." A second answer to the Anti-Suffrage article, was that written by Mrs. Margaret Frick, to correct the erroneous impression given of the status of California laws in regard to women. This pamphlet, which was called "An Answer to George Patton's Half Truths and Untruths," was given thorough distribution during the last few days of the campaign. Beside the million leaflets, which were printed after the first of March, the pamphlets amounted to seventy-five thousand.

"Votes-for-Women" buttons to the number of ninety-three thousand and thirteen thousand pennants and banners, and thirteen thousand posters added their quota to the effectiveness of the publicity work. Post cards reproduced from the prize poster submitted by Julia Bracken Wendt, aided in gaining popularity as well as financial return. All of these post cards, leaflets, etc., are on exhibit at the convention, including the yellow blotters which were distributed throughout all of the office buildings in Los Angeles. This distri-

bution was effected through a Committee of Local Distribution under Mrs. Turley Talbert. The same committee attended to decorations for the mass meetings, large and small. A novelty of the publicity work, was the "Votes-for-Women" tea, which was prepared in attractive cartons by Mrs. R. L. Craig, who is the head of one of the largest retail grocery firms in the State. This tea was served at all of the Suffrage meetings and brought a neat sum to the League. It, in fact, proved so popular, that it is to be recommended in other campaigns which are to follow.

One of the most effective means of publicity in our experience was that of letters of a personal nature, addressed to members of the various professions and vocations. A letter was sent to two thousand ministers throughout the State asking their co-operation, in the Suffrage work, through sermons and the distribution of literature. A reply postal was enclosed in the letter and the proportion of favorable replies established the fact that the church of the State was in favor of the movement. Sixty thousand letters were sent through the country districts. It was called at the headquarters, the "Farmer" letter, in that its appeal was to the dwellers in the country as well as in the city districts. Enclosed in this letter were leaflets and the smaller pamphlets. This letter was printed in Spanish, in leaflet form and given wide distribution among the Spanish speaking people of the South. Other leaflets in Italian, German, and French were given out at the street meetings in the congested districts of Los Angeles. Still another letter was sent to the nurses of the State who had shown great interest in the movement through their endorsement at their State convention, which met in the South, in the early Summer. A circular letter was sent, in September, to every club and organization asking that they give an evening before the election to a Suffrage speaker to be supplied by the league. That this idea was popular was shown by the demand for speakers for October meetings. In this manner Suffrage was presented to every class in the community, from the men's clubs in the churches to the unions meeting in the Labor Temple, reaching in this manner all interests and affiliations.

As soon as the campaign was inaugurated the importance of getting the endorsement of large bodies of women in order to answer the statement that only a small minority of women were asking for the ballot, was recognized. A few of these endorsements by the women's organizations of the State are the Woman's Parliament, of two thousand members; the California Federation of Woman's Clubs, representing thirty-five thousand women; Federated College Clubs, representing five thousand women; State Nurses' Association, of eight hundred members; State W. C. T. U., of six thousand members; Woman's Organized Labor, representing thirty-six thousand, and the Los Angeles Teachers' Club of eight hundred members. All of these endorsements were secured at conventions held in

Southern California and the Northern women pursued the same policy. These do not include the endorsements made by organizations of men, nor those of men and women, nor do they include the clubs which were actively working for Suffrage alone. These organizations in the South alone exceeded fifty and each of these looked to the league for plans, co-operation and financial assistance. Most of the Suffrage Campaign Clubs were formed at the instigation of this league. The Southern California Suffragists feel that in a large measure the success of the campaign was due to the inestimable assistance given by the eminent speakers who contributed from their wisdom and experience so generously throughout the entire campaign. These speakers were thoroughly imbued with the conviction that this movement was for the interest of men as well as for the benefit of women. And their earnestness and enthusiasm aroused the indifferent and convinced the prejudiced. Among these speakers were supreme court judges, distinguished lawyers, prominent physicians and ministers, noted educators and philanthropists, as well as men and women from all the different callings and occupations.

Realizing from the first that newspapers are for the sake of printing news and that meetings supply news, the league from the beginning held a weekly public meeting at their headquarters in Choral Hall, offering a good program. It was the custom to ask the speakers to provide early in the week a copy of the address so that a satisfactory resumé might reach thousands upon thousands of newspaper readers, as during the hot weather of the Summer, but a few hundred comprised the audiences. During the last two months of the campaign meetings were arranged in all the towns of the Southern counties where it was possible. When a hall could not be obtained meetings were held in the open air and these proved both successful and popular. In fact so great was their success that many of the speakers for the direct legislation amendments, who were also speaking for the Suffrage cause, insisted that their meetings should also be out-of-doors. Many persons who would not commit themselves so far as to attend a meeting in a hall would, out of curiosity, linger on the outskirts of a crowd to hear what the speakers had to say. And many who came to ridicule remained to approve. The direct legislation advocates admit that the interest in the constitutional amendment election, was almost wholly due to the activities of women. An illustrative incident comes from one of the smaller towns, where an ardent worker for Suffrage arranged a meeting for Francis J. Heney, the hero of the San Francisco graft prosecution, at a cost of much labor and considerable expense, and when it was over she wailed: "That meeting cost me $100 and he spoke ten minutes for Suffrage and an hour for the initiative and referendum."

During the last month of the campaign from fifty to sixty meetings a week were arranged from the league headquarters. Not only were the meetings arranged but speakers were supplied and literature

sent for distribution. These did not include meetings arranged by local organizations in smaller towns, nor the many street meetings which were held by everyone who could command an automobile, oftentimes one party of speakers holding half a dozen meetings during the evening, speaking wherever an audience congregated. The climax of the meetings was held in the largest theatre in Los Angeles on the evening of September 30th, when over four thousand people listened to the best speakers of the campaign. In addition to the four thousand in the auditorium another thousand gathered in Choral Hall for an overflow meeting, while many hundreds were turned from the doors before half past seven. This meeting was conceded to be the largest political demonstration in the history of Southern California.

The most important phase of the publicity work has been left to the last—that of the Press Committee. Too great stress cannot be laid upon the effect that concentrated, systematic publicity through the country and city papers of the State, has upon a campaign which like Suffrage, is largely educational. Realizing this, a Press Committee of which Mrs. D. C. McCan, well known in newspaper circles, was Chairman, was formed of active newspaper women. The first of January when the committee was launched, a professional newspaper woman, Miss Bess Munn, was made Secretary, and her time was devoted exclusively to supplying material to the local press and the country newspapers throughout the State. Every possible means was resorted to, to create Suffrage news when the campaign was practically in its incipiency. Double postals asking individuals their opinion on the Suffrage movement were sent first to the members of the Legislature, which had established an enviable record through their vote on the Suffrage bill. These answers were printed in the local papers and were widely copied. Postals were also sent to the four thousand members of the league; also to city, county and State officials from San Diego to Siskiyou; to judges, to lawyers, to merchants, to bankers, to physicians, and all prominent visitors within the gates of the city.

This material was from time to time printed in the form of interviews and it is doubtful if any measure employed during the campaign had greater weight than this personal testimony. When the work among the country newspapers was first undertaken letters were sent to club women in every town in the State. These letters asked for the co-operation of one or more women in each community in securing space for Suffrage material in the local press. In this way press agents in each town were secured. These press agents by their solicitation established a demand for Suffrage items. At the same time that press agents were secured, personal letters were sent to all the editors in the State, informing them that, until the close of the campaign, a weekly Suffrage letter would be sent to them from the headquarters of the league. This letter contained nothing

but the shortest, pithiest items of Suffrage activities. There were no long, dry arguments, and no suggestion of controversy, but the subject was presented as one of vital, and timely interest. Enclosed with the letter were the leaflets printed by the league and in many instances these were often printed in full. In the beginning not more than ten papers printed portions of the newsletter, but before two months had elapsed between forty and fifty papers were swung into line for the Suffragists. At the close of the campaign more than half of the papers of the State regularly used the letter, either as news or as a basis for editorial comment. In addition to supplying Suffrage news for the California papers, material for articles was sent to Eastern magazines and papers. In Los Angeles alone more than ten thousand columns were printed on Suffrage. In monetary value this amount of space would have cost $100,000. The last week before election a cut of the ballot showing the position of the Suffrage amendment was sent to a hundred and fifty newspapers of the South. A letter accompanied each cut, offering the editor $5, for its publication. Many of the papers printed the cut without compensation.

Commenting on the work of the campaign I would personally reiterate the emphasis given in this paper to the press work. I would strongly recommend that every State contemplating a campaign employ from the outset a competent, experienced newspaper woman. No volunteer amateur work will suffice, for this arduous and most important phase of campaign publicity.

The wisdom of this course was proven by our recent experience in California where the majorities from the country districts won the victory for the women of the State by counteracting the immense majority rolled up against the amendment in San Francisco. It was proven, by the election's results, that the country residents are most satisfactorily reached by the country press.

The above is a report prepared for the Publicity Conference, by Mrs. Seward A. Simons, President of the California Political Equality League, Los Angeles, Cal.

CONNECTICUT.

The year 1910-11 was a year of rapid growth and great activity with the Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association. Early in the season, letters were sent to all the woman's organizations in the State of which the names of President and Secretary could be ascertained, asking them to make a place on their programme for a presentation of the case for Woman Suffrage. These included chapters of the D. A. R., college clubs and collegiate alumnae, mothers' clubs, literary clubs, and philanthropic associations. There were numerous sympathetic responses, though the actual results of the letters were not great.

The organized clubs held many public meetings; and parlor meetings to which women who were indifferent or were opposed to woman

Suffrage were specially invited, were held in Hartford, Greenwich, Bridgeport and other cities in the State.

In August an automobile campaign, through one of the rural and mountainous counties of Connecticut was carried out with great success. Thirty-one meetings were held, and over a thousand names were enrolled as members of the Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association. As a result of this campaign, fourteen new leagues have been formed in this county—leading all the counties in the number of leagues.

In Connecticut the Legislature is in session once in two years. The year 1910-11 was a Legislative year, and much patient work was put in at the Capitol educating the Representatives and Senators. The result of this work was apparent in the generous manner in which the Joint Committee of the two Houses conducted hearings on a constitutional amendment granting full Suffrage, and a bill granting municipal Suffrage to women. The hearings were in the Chamber of Assembly and extended over two days. The Committees afterwards reported both these measures favorably by unanimous vote. The bill for municipal Suffrage passed the Senate, but was defeated in the House. The constitutional amendment was also defeated in the House. It was the unanimous opinion of the members of the Legislature and of most of the newspapers that the question had now entered the stage of serious politics, and could no longer be considered as a matter for mild joking.

At the State Annual Convention of 1909 the membership of the Association was reported as being under 400, and the income for the year was under two hundred dollars. For 1910-11 the income of the Association was $3,966, and the number of enrolled members exceeded 5,000. The number of organized clubs and leagues had also more than doubled, and much money had been spent and active work done by these leagues in addition to the work done by the State Association.

ANNIE G. PORRITT,
Secretary.

DELAWARE.

The Delaware Equal Suffrage Association has very little work to report for this year. There have been several efforts made to organize an Association in Keny County, but for the want of a leader, these efforts have been unsuccessful.

The people of the State seem interested in the subject, for wherever an organization holds a debate on the question, it succeeds in drawing a large audience.

The Newport Equal Suffrage Club has held meetings each month, with the exception of July and August; it numbers thirty members, and has held one public meeting in the Methodist Church, and one public meeting. Each year the Club presents a picture to the Public

School; last Christmas it presented a picture of Abraham Lincoln and his cabinet signing the Emancipation Proclamation. It also had a Norway maple tree planted in front of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union headquarters.

With the State President's assistance throughout the State, this Club raised thirty dollars for the Susan B. Anthony Memorial Fund.

On November 10th, 1910, the Fourteenth Annual Convention of the Equal Suffrage Association of Delaware was held in the Unitarian Church, in Wilmington. Reports of our several officers were made, and one of the National Convention held in Washington, D. C., by Mrs. John A. Cranston, our State President.

An address on "Higher Education of the Young Women of Delaware," prepared by Dr. H. H. Hayward of Delaware College, was, in his enforced absence, read by Prof. Melville T. Cook, of the same institution.

A fine tribute and "Memorial to Julia Ward Howe" was read by Miss Emma Worrell of Wilmington.

Two valuable addresses were given by Miss Lida Stokes Adams of Philadelphia and Mr. Frank Stephens, of the "Arden Colony" near Wilmington.

Our city papers sent their reporters and were anxious for news of the Convention.

Election of officers resulted in the choice of: Mrs. Martha S. Cranston, President; Mrs. Adda G. Quigley, Vice-President; Miss Mary R. deVou, Corresponding Secretary; Miss Helen Cranston, Recording Secretary; Miss Emma Lore, Treasurer; Miss Mary H. A. Mather, Miss Alice P. Smyth, Auditors.

Previous to March, 1910, our Wilmington Equal Suffrage Association, the largest in the State, and numbering nearly 70 members, had held annual and special meetings only. Since that date, when we met to consider the raising of funds for South Dakota, we have held monthly meetings, with one or two exceptions.

At the meeting in March, 1910, it was decided to raise a contribution for South Dakota, which was subsequently forwarded to the proper authorities.

In response to a letter from the National Corresponding Secretary, a committee, consisting of Miss Mather, Miss deVou and Miss Lore, was appointed to investigate the laws of Delaware as affecting the legal status of women in the possession of their property rights and of their children.

The Association has also put itself on record as in sympathy with the effort to secure higher education for the young women of Delaware.

A paper prepared in 1899 by Mrs. Wm. S. Prickett for the Milford New Century Club, was read at one of our meetings, in pursuance of the investigation of the "Laws of Delaware" affecting married women, and showed that while these laws are more nearly just than in some

of our States, "there are still some few marks of the mediaeval fiction of inferiority which mar our statute books."

The codification of our laws, now in process by a committee of the Bar Association, will, when complete, make it possible for us to ascertain with ease, the exact legal status of women in Delaware, hitherto difficult to discover, unless the inquiry were conducted by a lawyer.

A committee from the Equal Suffrage Association of Wilmington was also appointed to represent the Association at the hearing in behalf of a Juvenile Court before the Wilmington delegation of the Legislature on January 27th, 1911. The Court has become a fact.

The death of former Chief Justice Charles B. Lore, has removed from among us, one who was a member of the Society since its organization in 1897, framed the petition presented that year to the State Constitutional Convention, asking that the word "male" be stricken from the new Constitution; and who, so long as he was able, opened the public sessions of the Association, addressed its meetings, and stood unalterably for the political equality of men and women before the law.

A Committee appointed on "School Elections" backed the candidacy of Dr. Josephine M. R. White de La Cour for member of the Board of Education in Wilmington to which women are eligible and for members of which they can vote.

Dr. de La Cour was defeated by a majority of 94 votes out of a total in her ward of 729 votes cast. Under the circumstances, we thought it a good showing.

Three women hold office of School Commissioner in Delaware.

The press is always ready for reports of our meetings, and we feel that through the newspapers, we have made inroads on conservative sentiment in our little State of Delaware.

MARY R. DE VOU,
Recording Secretary.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

The first work for the Equal Suffrage Association of the District of Columbia at the close of the last convention was the keeping of its pledge to see to the proper indexing of the Reports of the Hearings of April 19, 1910, before the House of Representatives and the Senate. Two members of our Association undertook this labor outside of office hours. Considerable proof reading and about two dozen letters were necessary, and over a dozen visits were made to the Capitol while the matter was in press. More interviews were necessary to secure the printing of additional copies, which were unfortunately not requested at the hearings themselves.

The Suffrage work in Washington partakes of a National as well as a local character, all Federal offices being centered here, as also the representatives of foreign nations; naturally it is therefore not sur-

prising that requests of a National character are received. The Swiss minitser was referred to us for information. He said: "There is now a movement in Switzerland to give women the right to vote in certain affairs," and he requested material on the subject, which was very cheerfully supplied.

In response to the National Corresponding Secretary's "Convention Resolution prods" the woman Suffrage question was laid before the Bill Posters' Convention, and the National Dentists' Convention. While resolutions were not actually adopted by these bodies, the question was so well received that those of our members who participated regretted their inability to get before all the conventions which come to Washington, the greatest convention centre in the country. The Postal Progress League invited our Association to be represented at its convention, and to assist in pushing its demand for a parcels post. At the hearing before the House Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads the question of a parcels post was urged by two of our members as a necessity for Suffragists especially, because of the exorbitant fees charged by express companies for carrying literature, and for women generally who form such an enormous purchasing class.

All these matters were significant and helpful for agitation, because the newspapers gave them considerable publicity.

Our sister Associations throughout the Nation cannot conceive of our anomalous situation, because the District of Columbia is an absolutely disfranchised community. Fortunately, however, the men have been roused to demand the Suffrage, and whenever a meeting is held by them favoring a restoration of the vote we always help them by adding our demand: "Give the ballot to the women too." Our co-operation does not seem very welcome, and we were almost frozen out of the men's meeting last Spring; but our effectiveness as agitators was proven by the fact that the newspapers, much to the disgust of the men, reported their gathering as a "Woman Suffrage" meeting. The District men always politely hand us out the same historic old "dope"—"let us get it first, and then we will look after the women." But we demand all the time that whenever the men get the vote, the women must get it too—at the same time and on the same terms.

We have found a comparatively easy way of raising funds, and it might be widely copied, viz.: Women Suffrage Benefit performances, such as the play of "The Servant in the House," given in the Columbia Theatre during the Summer. Our Association received half the proceeds from tickets actually sold by our members.

Among the many lectures during the year the most successful and sensational was Miss Pankhurst's lecture on the morning of Washington's Birthday. We distrdibuted announcement cards on the streets, in the large apartment houses, and before office hours at the doors of some of the Federal departments, including the Post

Office and the Treasury. We reached the Labor people by visiting the Central Labor Union, and after listening to a five-minute speech that body voted unanimously to buy "all the tickets the ladies had in hand"—sixty. We were profoundly thankful, but it was discouraging to find that only four of these were actually used. We feel that Suffragists generally must make a special effort to arouse personal interest among organized labor men and their families. It is a delusion to trust in formal and nominal endorsements of good sentiments, or even mere money, as in this case. The unions themselves suffer in lessened effectiveness, in their own movement, from this practical indifference to their own pledges and policies. Worse than all, we were not permitted to enter the meetings of the women's unions, the members of which seemed either too deeply engrossed with their social pleasures, or indifferent to anything more serious. They seemed to regard us as mere outside philanthropic meddlers—would-be condescending "charity snobs." If this were true their action would be to their credit; but it is unfortunate that we who battle for justice alone, and not charity, should meet with such unfriendly suspicion. But we shall try again.

The maintenance of headquarters has been continued at 1823 H Street and it has been a source of strength under the watchful care of Mrs. Rachel Brill Ezekiel, whose prompt and efficient service has been beyond praise. I repeat that it is the general hope that the National Association may some day come to the National Capital with its headquarters.

HARRIETTE J. HIFTON,
President.

GEORGIA.

The Georgia Woman Suffrage Association cannot report a great increase in membership. "The faithful few" are ever ready and willing to do all that is possible within their limited means and opportunities. We are still hoping that Georgia women will soon see that they are handicapped in the race for life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness because they have not the ballot, the right preservation of all rights. An effort was made to address the Alpha Tau Omega when it held its annual meeting in Atlanta; also the Undertakers' Association, the two college Sororities, the Alpha Delta Phi and Mu, but failed to gain a hearing before any of these organizations. Fraternal greetings were sent through our President to the Georgia Woman's Christian Temperance Union, in which the hope was expressed that this organization would adopt the Franchise Department endorsed by the National W. C. T. U. and thus place itself in line with its National and nearly all of the State Unions in working for the enfranchisement of women.

Our fraternal greetings were graciously received and the Convention ordered them printed in the minutes of this flourishing organiza-

tion of women. Letters have been written to Representatives and Senators of the United States whenever our National officers have reminded us that we should do so. From the majority we have received respectful and prompt replies. The press of Georgia is no longer filled with contemptuous and sarcastic allusions to Woman Suffrage, and we take that to mean that we are to succeed in our endeavors. Over 6,000 pages of Suffrage literature has been distributed in Georgia, and a considerable amount of this has been sent (by request) to young people who expect to engage in debates and write essays. The Atlanta papers are good to us and publish our meeting announcements, reports, and articles in favor of Woman Suffrage without charging us anything. The Journal of Labor and the Atlanta Journal are especially kind and polite to us along this line. Dr. James W. Lee and Dr. Frank Siler, Methodist ministers, have openly expressed themselves in their own pulpits as favoring the enfranchisement of women. Dr. Len G. Broughton, Baptist, and Dr. Ellenwood, Universalist, have also expressed themselves fearlessly as favoring equal rights in church and State for women who compose more than two-thirds of the church members in Georgia. Judge John L. Hopkins, one of our foremost lawyers, who had codified the laws of Georgia, has over his own signature in the Atlanta Constitution proclaimed himself a believer in granting equal rights to women. Hon. Claude Payton, representative from Worth County is a firm believer in the right and expediency of Woman Suffrage in Georgia and proved it when he introduced a bill to give Georgia women equal political rights with men in 1908. He was left at home for two years but returned in 1911. On July 21st, 1911, he introduced the same bill, but like its predecessor it was killed as dead as Hector in the Committee room where so many excellent reform measures meet an untimely death. But Mr. Payton is endued with an immense amount of "stickability" and will again try to have a Constitutional amendment referred to the people. The Victory won in California has added new courage and hopefulness to the Suffragists and to those men who sympathize with them in their efforts to be considered the equals before the law with their fathers, brothers, husbands and sons and the slaves they once owned. Mr. Payton was also an eloquent champion of the bill to allow women to practice law in Georgia. This bill was introduced the first day of the last session by the Speaker, Mr. Holder, but this measure was also killed in spite of the earnest efforts and hard work of the enlightened and progressive element among our Georgia law makers.

Last Summer, the women of Union Point, under the leadership of Mrs. Jennie Hunt Sibley, asked that a clause be inserted in the new Union Point Charter giving the widows of the town the right to vote on all municipal questions. As usual, the women lost, and are realizing that we should have women in the legislature to look after the interests of widows and orphans. Mrs. J. H. Sibley is our

State Superintendent of Legislation and petition work, and has succeeded in getting several bills introduced by Mr. Merritt of Greene County. But they were suppressed in the Committee rooms. We decided to hold an all-day Convention on August 8th, and to ask for the Hall of the House of Representatives for the evening session. This same hall had been refused to the National Women's Suffrage Association in 1895 by Governor W. G. Atkinson on the plea that it would be "unconstitutional" for him to let women hold a meeting in the State's house. Since that time we have always had it whenever we asked for it. Hon. Walter McElreath, one of the representatives from Fulton, offered a resolution that the hall should be given the Georgia Woman Suffrage Association for the evening of August 8th. Joe Hill Hall, of Bibb County, marshalled his forces and out-voted the men who were willing for the women to use the hall that evening. Joe Hill Hall is the man who proudly and unblushingly proclaims the fact that he drinks one quart of whiskey before retiring as he is affected with the gout, and keeps it on hand to give to his prohibition neighbors. He is a law maker and yet fearlessly, on the floor of the House of Representatives declares he violates the State-wide Prohibition law which he fought with might and main in 1907, and is now doing everything in his power to have it repealed. We were not surprised at the action of the legion leaders, for everybody knows that men in favor of legalizing the liquor traffic are always opposed to the enfranchisement of women. They are instructed by their bosses to "fight women suffrage wherever you find it. When women vote we must go out of business." Our speakers were to be Hon. Claude Payton, Hon. A. S. Merrett and six students of the Boy's High School of Atlanta, the boy who made the best speech to be presented a beautiful gold medal by the Suffrage Association. The Federation of Trades tendered the use of their hall, and we held our State Convention, celebrated our twenty-first birthday, elected our officers and passed red-hot resolutions, scoring the legislature for not passing the women's lawyer bill and for treating disfranchised women citizens discourteously just because they had the brief authority which they abused. Mr. McElreath promised all the organizations of women that he would introduce a bill to raise the age of consent in Georgia from ten to sixteen years. He absolutely refused to consider our proposition to ask for eighteen years. He ended by failing to do anything whatever about this very necessary piece of legislation in the interests of women and girls, and furnished another illustration of the fact that we need women in our legislature to take care of our interests.

Last June, when it was proposed to revise the Charter of Atlanta, a committee from the Atlanta Civic League, the Suffrage organization of that city, went before the Charter Revision Committee and asked that the women of Atlanta be given Municipal Suffrage under the revised Charter. At a later meeting of our City Fathers the petition of the women was brought up for consideration and was treated with

ridicule and contempt, although the women of Atlanta pay taxes on something like $20,000,000 worth of real estate. The Atlanta Civic League has done splendid work in securing for hundreds of tired workers in the large dry goods houses a half holiday on Saturday during two Summer months.

The League is now at work to have the questionable resorts in the centre of the city closed up. Many young girls are unsuspectingly lured to these dives of vice, especially from out of town, as these resorts are generally disguised as small hotels. Some of the members of the police force and a number of prominent ministers are making investigations and have promised to support the League in its warfare against immorality. The half has not been told of the work the few women have tried to accomplish because of lack of numbers and means, and because women who could help are either apathetic or afraid to come out into the open. With Olive Shreiner, the Georgia Woman Suffragist exclaims, "All I aspire to be, and was not, comforts me," and we feel like going on, until we can join the six free States with an emancipated, enfranchised band of Georgia women, who, by right of age, being one of the "Original Thirteen States," should have led their younger sisters into the promised land of freedom.

MARY I. McLENDON,
President.
KATHERINE KOCH,
Cor. Secretary.

ILLINOIS.

Since the last National Convention the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association has held open-air meetings in the county seats and the towns in eighty-nine of the one hundred and two counties of the State.

These tours affected, favorably, the character of the Legislature, and awakened great interest in suffrage work. Thousands of names were added to our enrollment.

The organization of clubs was continued with success by Miss Harriett Grim, Miss Perle Penfield and Dr. B. O. Aylesworth. Twenty new clubs resulted.

In Cook County organization without dues by political districts was in charge of Miss Mary Miller, the constitution of the State Association being changed to admit one delegate for every twenty-five enrolled group in any political district, on the payment of two dollars. Organization is rapidly proceeding according to this plan. One club in Evanston added thirteen hundred names to its lists by this method.

A very effective lobby was maintained at Springfield during the entire session of the Legislature. Our bill passed the Senate by a large majority, and failed in the House by only a few votes. Brilliant hearings were conducted and a special train was run from Chicago with speaking from the rear platform at the principal places en route.

Several new Illinois suffrage leaflets were published, and more literature distributed than ever before. The Press Work, Lecture Bureau, Work with Religious Organizations, Publicity and other departments were most vigorously pushed.

Illinois headquarters have not only proved most valuable for Illinois workers, but have become in a measure sub-national headquarters, the workers from the Middle and Western States applying frequently for suggestions and for supplies. The Treasurer's books show that fifty-five hundred dollars, above the amount received for dues, passed through her hands during the past year. This is a good proof of increased suffrage interest and activity in Illinois.

ELLA S. STEWART,
President.

IOWA.

Increase in membership, nine.

Kind of work carried on, largely writing letters and sending out literature.

The most successful method used, my judgment is it would be district organization; have not tried it as yet.

Money raised, $700.

Iowa Legislature met last Winter; we had one paid worker all the time, and part of the time two, any many helping all they could. Miss Pankhurst spoke before a joint session of House and Senate, and was accorded great courtesy. Our bill was lost by three votes in the House, and six in the Senate.

RUBY J. ECKERSON.

INDIANA.

The Indiana Equal Suffrage Association in coming to the National Suffrage Convention for the first time, does not come with a large delegation, but it does come with loyal hearts filled with earnest purpose.

Our work in Indiana has been largely seed sowing, and everywhere the scattered seed has been germinating, hundreds of letters have brought us the assurance of hosts of suffragists all over the State. But limited means has handicapped us and interfered with extensive organization.

Considerable literature has been distributed. A number of women's clubs, high school students, debating societies, and others have asked for and received suffrage literature.

The publication of a twelve-page monthly called the "Woman Citizen," was commenced in August of this year. It is devoted to the cause of full suffrage for women, but its columns are open and free to every branch of the suffrage movement. The editor, Mrs.

Antoinette D. Leach, of Sullivan, Ind., is contributing all of her time to suffrage work.

We presented to the general assembly last Winter a bill to amend the constitution by striking out the word male, giving to all citizens of our State the right to vote regardless of sex. Mrs. Leach, author of the bill, the officers of the Suffrage Association, and many friends, zealously watched the bill in its progress. It passed the committee by a unanimous vote, passed the second reading before the House without amendment, but when brought forward for the third reading it was laid on the table, because as the Hon. Speaker stated, "There is no time to consider such foolish questions."

A bill for Municipal Suffrage introduced by the Franchise League met with the same treatment.

Responding to the invitation of the Municipal League of Indiana we provided suffrage speeches for this annual meeting. This gave us an audience of some four or five hundred prominent men of our State. They gave us a courteous welcome and kind attention, but the same fellow-citizen who foiled us in the Legislature, tried to rob us of our time and thus present a discussion of the suffrage question. He did crowd us for time, but brought general condemnation on himself. We feel that it is a sign of the growing importance and influence of the Suffrage Association when shrewd politicians trouble themselves to lay plans to defeat us.

The political conditions in Indiana are such that the immediate concentrated effort of every suffrage force must be brought to bear against the situation that threatens us, the success of which will retard the progress of suffrage in Indiana for years.

The central location and radiating influence of this State will have much to do with the success or failure in surrounding States, so turn the glass our way and study the conditions in Indiana; your neighborly interests and assistance will be appreciated in Indiana and will eventually be reciprocated.

We believe it is our privilege to make life and duty easy for those who live with us, and those who come after us. We want to do our part in the dear old Hoosier State and if days of discouragement sometimes come, and the comrades to whom we have looked for cheer seem to forget us, we will earnestly grasp the staff of hope and press on.

"Press on! surmount the rocky steeps,
Climb boldly o'er the torrent's arch;
He falls alone who feebly creeps,
He wins who dares the hero's march."

ANNA DUNN NOLAND,
President.

KENTUCKY.

The Kentucky Equal Rights Association added 279 to its paid-up membership in 1911, though no organizer was put in the field, and the labor of the Suffragists in Louisville was chiefly directed to preparations for the National Convention, the invitation given by the State Association in 1910 to the N. A. W. S. A. to hold its convention there in October, 1911, having been accepted.

A committee representing the State and National Associations obtained a hearing before the Conference of Governors at its meeting in Louisville, December 1, 1910, at which time Miss Laura Clay made an address and urged the Governors to give consideration to the subject of Woman Suffrage and use their influence to secure favorable action upon it from their respective Legislatures.

One of the great gains in indorsement of Suffrage by influential bodies was made when the State Federation of Labor assembled in Lexington, January 10, 1911, gave a hearing to representatives of the State and County Equal Rights Associations, at which short addresses were made by Dean Irene T. Myers, Dean Anna Hamilton, Miss Linda Neville, Mrs. W. T. Lafferty, Mrs. Mary C. Cramer, Mrs. Norah B. Taylor, Mrs. Mary G. Morton, Mrs. Desha Breckinridge and Miss Laura Clay. Major F. C. Leaming then introduced a Suffrage resolution, which was supported by effective speeches from himself, Messrs. Carl Bolander, John Schneider, John B. Gamble, and T. J. Smith, delegates in the convention, aruging its adoption, which was done immediately by a unanimous vote. The resolution was as follows:

Resolved, That we affirm our allegiance to the American Federation of Labor in its repeated declarations in favor of Suffrage for women on equal terms with men, as necessary to their economic independence in all branches of labor; and we pledge the aid of the Legislative Committee of the Federation to work for a State law giving women the right of Suffrage.

The Kentucky State Grange has for years stood for Woman Suffrage, and it declared again for this principle in its annual convention in 1911.

The press work has been ably conducted by Mrs. Margaret W. Castleman, who has had much success in obtaining space in the Louisville papers; and in general the press of Kentucky has shown great liberality and fairness in discussing our cause, and many of the leading journals advocate it editorially.

Valuable work has been done under our departments of Prize Contests for the best argument in favor of Equal Suffrage; church work, education, and peace and arbitration. No Legislature was in session in 1911.

We have organized an Equal Rights Lecture Bureau of Kentucky Women who will make public addresses on Woman Suffrage and allied subjects. We already number among the speakers Mrs. Charles P. Weaver and Mrs. Lucy A. Nield, of Louisville; Mrs. A. M. Harrison

and Mrs. Desha Breckinridge, of Lexington; Miss Belle H. Bennett and Mrs. Mary C. Roark, of Richmond, besides others who are officers of the Kentucky Equal Rights Association; and we hope to add to this number from time to time. We look upon the formation of this bureau, which affords opportunity for our people to hear our cause discussed by well-known speakers near at hand, as an important factor in our work.

The Kentucky Equal Rights Association held its annual convention immediately after the National Convention, on October 25th. It was the unanimous opinion that the National Convention was a magnificent success, presenting our cause to our people on a grander and more impressive scale than we could have done in any other way. The impetus given by it and the glorious victories in Washington and California inspired the association with new confidence that the time is ripe for it to undertake the initial steps toward an Amendment of the Constitution of Kentucky granting full Suffrage to women; and the convention voted to go forward on that line with concentrated effort. It modernized its own constitution by the adoption of an amendment presented by Miss Clay for a rotation in office, limiting the time of holding office to two years, and no consecutive term in any office; the amendment being retroactive one year, and increasing the number of officers from seven to nine, five of whom are to be elected on the odd years and four on the even years, which are the Legislative years.

The officers elected for the year remaining of the even-year term were: Miss Laura Clay, President; Mrs. John B. Castleman, First Vice-President; Mrs. Mary C. Roark, Corresponding Secretary; Mrs. Isabella H. Shepard.

Those elected for the odd years or two-year term were: Mrs. Mary C. Cramer, Second Vice-President; Mrs. N. S. McLaughlin, Third Vice-President; Mrs. Emma M. Roebuck, Recording Secretary; Mrs. Lucy A. Nield, Auditor; Mrs. Mary E. Giltner, Member of N. A. W. S. A. Executive Committee. Mrs. Mary B. Clay and Mrs. Susan Look Avery were elected Honorary Vice-Presidents for life.

LAURA CLAY,
President.

MRS. MARY C. ROARK,
Corresponding Secretary.

MAINE.

The reports of our officers, departments and local clubs give little idea of the devotion of the leaders and workers. A large quantity of literature has been distributed, the press is liberal and for the most part fair.

We may not report increase in total paid membership, but we

have 3,500 names on our enrolled list, with here and there a worker added to the ranks.

We have made modest contributions to the National Treasury, to the Susan B. Anthony Memorial Fund, and to the California campaign.

Field Day at Old Orchard, August 28th, was notable for the presence of Mrs. Florence Kelley, who delivered the afternoon address.

Mrs. Ryan, business manager of The Woman's Journal, presented the claims of the National organ, and secured subscribers which resulted in placing Maine—the following week—second in the list of new subscribers.

Miss Luscomb, a leader in the street meetings in Massachusetts, spoke of the International Conference and the work in England. Mrs. Thomas spoke of the campaign in California, a portion of which she witnessed.

Mrs. deGrys, accompanied by her little daughter, sang "The Battle Hymn of the Republic" and other Suffrage songs. The interest in the literature was more marked than in any previous year.

Our efforts were concentrated upon the Legislative campaign and the constitutional amendment conferring the right of Suffrage upon women, and Maine this year, true to her motto, led the New England States in the vote for Suffrage.

Following the suggestion of the National Association and the lead of other States, we sent a letter to each member of the Legislature asking an expression of their attitude toward the question. The replies showed more sympathy and contained more promises of support than at any time during the last six years.

In the judiciary committee of ten, four voted in favor and six opposed. In the House of Representatives it was moved to substitute the minority report for the majority report, and seventy voted in favor and sixty-six opposed.

The Senate by a vote of fifteen to ten refused to concur with the House.

Hon. Ira Hersey stood for the measure in the House, and Hon. Lindley M. Staples in the Senate.

Of the four in the committee who voted it ought to pass, two were Democrats and two Republicans. Of the seventy in the House, thirty-eight were Democrats and forty-two Republicans. Of the ten in the Senate, eight were Democrats and two Republicans.

We may not give the entire credit for this good vote to the Democratic party, which this year came to power for the first time since the measure was presented to the Legislature, since the vote was so equally divided between the two parties it might easily be traced to the rising tide of Democracy, and the demand of the plain people for their rightful portion of power, a spirit which is applauded in men, but in women it is derided and condemned.

The hearing was of the usual high order. The home speakers numbered the President, Mrs. Fernald; Mrs. Pepper, Mrs. Wallace,

Miss Bates, Miss Fairfield, and Hon. Geo. H. Allan. We were greatly aided in presenting the scope and power, and the results of Woman Suffrage, by Mrs. Maud Wood Park, Secretary of the Boston Equal Suffrage Association for Good Government, and Miss Harriet May Mills, President of New York State.

We are glad to believe that if the resolve has passed which at times it almost seemed as if it might, it would have been not a partisan political measure, but a social and economic reform.

The Maine Federation of Women's Clubs in their annual convention, devoted the evening of October 4 to Woman Suffrage. The address by Mrs. Maud Wood Park, of Boston, the gracious introduction by the President, Mrs. Flagg, will make the occasion memorable.

Respectfully submitted,

FANNIE J. FERNALD,
President.

MARYLAND

Since the National Convention of 1910, our efforts in all lines of work have had a determined character, and the results are everywhere evident and encouraging. In years of service we are old, but in methods we are new, and as to which methods we can look for best results, or the most promising for future results, must be a matter of conjecture.

Our annual State Convention was held in Baltimore City November 28, 1910. The State President reported a number of meetings held in the counties and that a number of new friends had been enrolled in the State membership. All the County clubs reported progress.

A resolution expressing the love, esteem and appreciation of the Suffragists of Maryland for the many years of faithful service rendered by Emma Maddox Funck, State President, was unanimously adopted and ordered to be placed upon the minutes.

The reports of the Committees, viz., Press, Literature, Woman's Journal, and Peace and Arbitration, were inspiring.

Our daily papers have been generously supplied with original articles by the State President and Miss Beveridge.

The Chairman of Legislative Work, Etta H. Maddox, sent memorials to the Democratic and Republican State Conventions, requesting that a Suffrage plank be placed in their respective platforms. A bill will be introduced at the coming Legislative session, asking for Suffrage for women on the same terms as men. We will also have a bill asking for the appointment of women with police power for Baltimore City. Miss Edna A. Beveridge, Chairman of this work, has secured the endorsements of three-fourths of the clubs in the city, and we are very sanguine as to the results of her splendid work.

The Woman Suffrage Club of Baltimore, is as it always has been, the largest club in the State and the stronghold of the State. Its district organization work during the Winter of 1910 and 1911 was marked by much expense, hard work and gratifying results. A large store in the western section of the city was rented, decorated and placarded with banners, flags and Suffrage posters. Meetings were held each week and house to house visiting was carried on by volunteer workers. The members of this club have distributed literature at the polls and have furnished watchers on election days. Decorated wagons and automobiles have passed through our principal streets and contributed a conspicuous part in our election day methods.

Within four months this club held fifteen public meetings. Three mass meeting were held in the theatres, and were addressed by Sylvia Pankhurst, Dr. John Roach Straton, Rev. Olympia Brown, Grace C. Strachan, Emma Smith DeVoe. We have had valuable assistance from the clergymen of our city. The officers and workers in this Association received no compensation for their services, but give their time and contribute liberally to its support. In this connection we desire to name besides those already mentioned, Mrs. Frances J. Woodford, Miss Julia F. Abbott, Mrs. Emma Engelbach, Mrs. Mary Badders Holton, Miss Ethel Warfield, Miss Mary E. Ward, Miss Rebekah Mitchell, Mrs. Margaret G. Weilepp, Miss Anna Abbott, Mrs. Caroline Bullock, Mrs. Josephine E. Smith.

At last we have reached the stage where opportunities for work are limitless, but the necessary machinery (money and self-sacrificing women) is not sufficient.

Respectfully submitted,

EMMA MADDOX FUNCK,
President.

ETTA H. MADDOX,
Corresponding Secretary.

MARYLAND STATE EQUAL FRANCHISE LEAGUE.

The State Equal Franchise League of Maryland was formed February 13, 1911, with the nucleus of a body of 600 women of the Equal Suffrage League, of Baltimore, already connected with the N. A. W. S. A., but disbarred from membership in the Maryland State Association by action of its State executive. At that time the Montgomery County Suffrage Association, the oldest in the State, withdrew, and the Talbot County League, already a flourishing and active political body, met with the Equal Suffrage League and formed the present State body. The following leagues, with a total membership of 1,100, now make up the State League: Equal Suffrage League of Baltimore, Just Franchise League of Talbot County, Woman Suffrage League of Montgomery, Equal Franchise League of

Emmittsburg, Equal Franchise League of Thurmont, Bryn Mawr School Suffrage League, and the Woman Suffrage Club of Frederick.

From the start, a policy of co-operation on lines of definite organization was planned. It was recognized that the greatest mass of unorganized labor in the world is women—and the constitution was framed to work in sympathy with as many phases of women's work as possible. The W. C. T. U., already committed to Suffrage, have been sought, and have propmtly responded to our advances, and many of their meetings have been addressed and literature distributed. The Federation of Women's Clubs, at first very reluctant, have become helpful, and almost the first work undertaken was the formation of the Woman's Trade Union League in Baltimore. It was realized that Suffrage work among working girls was a complete failure unless their own needs and requirements were reached. The State Federation of Labor warmly supported the movement, and a flourishing League has been started with propaganda for organizing women into branch trade unions. Next to co-operation the most important policy was felt to be intensive organization by the districting of Congressional districts in the counties and by wards in Baltimore. The E. S. L. has six wards actively organized for propaganda and educational purposes, and for preparation in political work in Baltimore, and the State League is endeavoring to district the six counties in which it is already at work. It will be some time before the untrained volunteers in new localities learn to be active citizens, but this policy will be steadily pursued until Maryland is penetrated in every possible locality. The most important subject which arouses interest next to Suffrage itself is civics, and as they both really rest on the same foundation, we have been able to stimulate public opinion by talking about civics first and then pointing the moral to the franchise. In one apathetic old town, Emmittsburg, we asked what was the greatest grievance that beset the housekeeper. The instant reply was, "Pig pens in back yards!" and with this unsavory text the writer formed a Suffrage League on the spot.

The campaign in the Counties was launched in May, 1911. West Arlington, Baltimore County, was canvassed, and parlor meetings held. Several devoted women in the town are now organizing a local club, which is to become affiliated with the State Equal Franchise League.

A period of three weeks was devoted to further organizing work in Talbot County. A series of open air meetings was held, and the five districts are presided over by a Chairman of Election District, under whose direction all propaganda is done, and who keeps in touch with the local political situations. Talbot is the best organized County in the State, and is our model for future work. This is directly due to the untiring zeal of Miss Mary B. Dixon. The Talbot League is especially strong in its press activities. For two years all newspapers in that section have regularly printed a column of Suffrage

material, and a number of original pamphlets have been printed by the Committee.

During the Summer, initiative work was done in Washington, Frederick, and Carroll Counties. Believing that much time is wasted in impromptu open air meetings, the towns were visited in advance, the press and various women's organizations solicited for support, and much literature distributed. The result was that the meetings were largely attended by the responsible residents of the community, and two new clubs formed at Emmittsburg and Thurmont.

Meetings have been held in Montgomery County this Autumn, to strengthen the Montgomery Woman Suffrage League, by increasing membership, and by appointing district chairmen as in Talbot County, and meetings are also planned for Baltimore County.

Literature and placards are relied on extensively for education, and in each town an endeavor is made to get a Suffrage column in the local paper. The newest feature is a traveling library. Two small boxes, each containing standard Suffrage books, such as Women and Economics, What 8,000,000 Women Want, etc., are making the rounds of our County towns, and much interest is aroused by them.

A Legislative Committee has been formed which has addressed a letter to every Republican and Democratic candidate to the Legislature, and has under consideration the terms of a bill for the coming Legislature. As there are now four State Leagues, the proposition was made that we should confer and agree upon one bill to be actively supported by all Suffragists. These conferences are now going on, and it is hoped it will be possible to unite.

In conclusion we send heartiest greetings to the N. A. W. S. A., and strongest convictions that in union is strength.

ELIZABETH KING ENDICOTT,
President State Franchise League of Maryland.

MASSACHUSETTS.

Since the last National Convention, the Massachusetts Legislature has voted twice on a joint resolution for the submission of a constitutional amendment granting full Suffrage to women. In 1910 the vote in the House stood: Yes, 47; no, 148. In the Senate: Yes, 6; no, 31. Each year there was an impressive and very largely attended hearing.

The Association voted at its annual meeting in 1910 to make its chief work for the year the organization of the Woman Suffrage Party. Active efforts have been put forth along this line, and considerable progress made. In addition, a great number of meetings have been held, indoors and outdoors.

An extensive Summer campaign was carried on in Middlesex County, our speakers meeting a cordial welcome almost everywhere, and a series of meetings was also held at Summer resorts. A Speakers' Class has been carried on in Boston; "At Homes" have

been held at Headquarters; several great mass meetings have been organized, with distinguished speakers, and much literature has been distributed. A group of good speakers have been enlisted, who are ready to give a Suffrage talk in any church that may be opened to them, for their traveling expenses only.

It has been found useful to concentrate effort for several days or a week upon one city, as was first done in Springfield, and has since been tried with great success in Fall River during the Cotton Centennial. Several new branches have been organized. A new line of work which has attracted great attention from the politicians and the press has been Miss Margaret Foley's attending the political rallies of candidates for the Legislature, and at the close of their speeches asking them how they stand on the Suffrage question. She secured pledges from many, and won the sympathy of the audience in almost every case. Miss Foley and other speakers have also given many Suffrage talks outside of factories at the noon hour. While the paid membership of the Association has remained almost stationary, the enrollment shows a substantial increase, and a great growth of public interest and sympathy is visible to all.

ALICE STONE BLACKWELL,
President.

MICHIGAN.

The Suffragists of Michigan have had a busy and successful year. The intense interest aroused by the activities of Suffrage workers everywhere, the victory in Washington and the campaign in California, afforded a stimulus and gave a new and dignified status to the whole woman movement in Michigan.

The chief work of this Association was the attempt in Legislature to pass a bill to submit to the voters an amendment to the Constitution which should enfranchise women. The Vice-President of the Association, Mrs. Huntley Russell, Chairman of the Legislative Committee, gave her entire attention to the session of the Legislature in Lansing, assisted by the members of her committee. Women from all over Michigan came to the Capitol to hear the debate on the bill in the House on January 31st. Many excellent and eloquent speeches were made by the friends of the bill, and one speech by Representative Warner, who spoke in opposition, might be used as a Suffrage leaflet, so illogical were his so-called arguments. He compared womenkind to a glass of wine, saying: "There are three classes of women: the four hundred, or club class—these are the foam of the wine; the middle class—mothers and wives—the good, pure wine; and the tenderloin class. With Woman Suffrage in force, the foam and the dregs, as it were, would vote. The greatest and most highly respected would not." The vote was a majority one—55 ayes to 44 no's—but under the new Constitution a two-thirds vote is required, and the bill was defeated.

Continuous calls for information on the rights of women under the new Constitution, which gives women a certain tax-paying franchise, prompted this Association to issue a hand-book on Michigan Laws Relating to Women and Girls. This book, gratuitously prepared by Harry E. Hunt, counsellor-at-law in Detroit, and passed upon by other eminent lawyers, is now on sale and it is expected to prove of great interest and advantage to the women of the State. Another booklet just issued, which it is hoped will prove of value, is one prepared by the President of the Association, entitled "Progress of Michigan Women," a brief record of the effort and achievements of the women of Michigan in the struggle for equality before the law. Much literature has been distributed and no appeal for literature is unheeded. A noteworthy fact, just now becoming noticed, is that our literature is beginning to be purchased, not demanded.

The year has seen the conclusion of the effort to form a Men's State League for Woman Suffrage, which is now officered by prominent men living in various parts of the State, the President being the Hon. Levi L. Barbour, ex-Regent of the State University and a life-long advocate of votes for women. The Men's League is affiliated with this Association and will doubtless prove of great value in the work, particularly in legislative effort.

The Women's Independent Voters' Association of Detroit, a well-known organization, whose object is the enrollment of women in city wards for the choice of efficient school inspectors, has become auxiliary to this Association.

The State Organizer, Mrs. Mary L. Doe, has during the year formed eight local Suffrage clubs in various towns, these clubs at once affiliating with the State Association.

Since the last report this Association conducted a Suffrage campaign at the State Fair, where a large tent was decorated with Suffrage pictures, cartoons and banners, and from which a constant stream of literature was distributed by eloquent and ardent Suffragists.

In Grand Rapids the local club participated in the festivities of Old Home Week, joining in the parade with beautiful Suffrage floats which evoked much enthusiasm from spectators. The Grand Rapids Club had also a Suffrage booth at the Western Michigan State Fair. The Detroit local club has enjoyed a large membership increase and has also organized classes for the study of government and citizenship. On July 4th this club and the College Equal Suffrage League had an appropriately decorated tent in the midst of an all day patriotic celebration in one of the best residential portions of the city, where the club members served cooling refreshments and distributed the rainbow fliers. A "moonlight" attended by over five hundred persons, was held in August by a joint committee of the Detroit Suffrage Club,

the College Suffrage League, the Men's League and the Women's Independent Voters' Association.

This Association has prepared and sent resolutions of endorsement of Woman Suffrage to many conventions meeting in various parts of the State. Most important of these was the Republican State Convention, held in Saginaw in March. A committee of women, from this Association, representing five of the largest cities, appeared before the Resolutions Committee of the Convention and requested that a Woman Suffrage plank be submitted in the resolutions for the endorsement of the Convention. The committee was politely received, and its request as politely ignored.

The annual meeting will be held in Kalamazoo November 16th and 17th. The chief speaker of the Convention will be Beatrice Forbes-Robertson, and the Convention promises to be one of special interest and value to the Association.

CLARA B. ARTHUR,
President.

CLARA C. HECKEY,
Recording Secretary.

MINNESOTA.

The principal interest during the early part of the year was centred around the legislative work, as the Legislature, which convenes biennially, was in session. Headquarters were established in St. Paul, the capital city and the home of the State President. A most comfortable office was set up in the commodious reception room of Dr. Edith Fosnes, an earnest Suffarge worker in St. Paul, and Mrs. P. T. Eckenbeck was installed as a regular Secretary, and for the first time in the history of the Association this secretaryship was put on a sound business basis. Mrs. Eckenbeck's incoming to this official work was providentially supplied, for no one could have taken better care of the details of keeping clippings filed ready for all sorts of occasions, sending out literature just where it would do the most good, to the Senator who most needed it, and materials for school and college debates constantly being demanded. The office was a clearing house for all kinds of Suffrage work.

The Suffrage bill passed into the consideration of the Senate, where it received a vote of 30, with 32 against it. The legislative work was attempted along different lines this year, being done almost entirely by one or two women, instead of by the large number of women in the State and Twin Cities working with the Legislature. But one single occasion gave the legislators any true idea as to the number of women in Minnesota who really cared anything about the ballot, and that was on February 15th, the anniversary of Miss Susan B. Anthony's birthday, when a great many of the Suffragists of St. Paul and Minneapolis presented a memorial for Miss Anthony to the Senate, House, and the Governor of Minnesota.

The Suffragists had one very fine champion in the Senate—Mr. Ole Sageng, the only Populist now in the Legislature, a man who commands the respect of friend and foe. The conversion of this man from a state of placid approval to one of active interest is rather illuminating. In the Autumn of 1909 a committee was endeavoring to find some Senator who would present the Suffrage Bill, and after several discouragements had the pleasure of hearing Mr. Sageng say he was in favor of Suffrage, and believed it would come in time and in the course of the evolution of the race, but he saw no occasion for hurry. One member of the committee responded very impulsively that if the men of Minnesota continued to take that complacent view of the situation, saying that when women wanted the vote they would get it, we would wake up some day and find the Turkish women voting before the Minnesotans, as the step Mohammedan women had taken just before this date, with the aid and connivance of their men, in appearing on the street unveiled, was a much greater stride in advance than Suffrage now would be for advanced American womanhood. This statement seemed to startle Mr. Sageng, and he consented to espouse our cause, with most vigorous earnestness, and has done so ever since. But what was our amazement and chagrin to learn that at the election of February, 1910, seventy-eight Turkish women actually voted, one of them being an Armenian, one a Catholic and, seventy-six Mohammedans!

The Suffrage Clubs in the cities of St. Paul and Minneapolis have worked along entirely different lines this year. In the former city the club has met regularly and had prominent speakers, both men and women, address the club and friends on various topics of interest to anyone alive to the importance of civic responsibility and municipal reforms. These subjects have covered a broad field—"Social Purity," "Woman's Stake in the Schools," in "City Government," in "New City Charter," in "Juvenile Court Work," and so on. Besides these regular meetings, several public meetings, at which appeared famous lecturers from afar—as Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Miss Sylvia Pankhurst—were held. A very beautiful reception was given to the wives of the legislators at the Saint Paul Hotel, and later in the Spring a luncheon at the same place, when plans were laid for the procuring of a detention home for girls who are under the jurisdiction of the Juvenile Court. Early in the legislative session a bill was introduced by a St. Paul Senator which jeopardized the interests of the women of Minnesota, by permitting a husband or wife to sign away real property other than the homestead, without the consent of the other party. While this seemed equal, giving the same right and freedom to each, of course, as economic conditions now are, most real estate is actually in the name of the man of a household, even when the property represents the economies and sacrifice of both husband and wife. This bill was so bitterly denounced and effectively exposed by the St. Paul Political Equality Club that it was with-

drawn before the committee having it in keeping had a chance to vote upon it one way or the other. For this deed the club has been praised throughout the length and breadth of Minnesota, wherever their decisive action was understood.

The Suffrage sentiment in Minneapolis is not concentrated in one club, but there are several. None of these meet regularly, but consider they can do better work by simply holding themselves in readiness for the call when it comes. When the Suffrage Bill was before the Senate, an anti petition sprang up, and was signed by a few of the social leaders of Minneapolis and many of their followers. The Suffragists of the two cities in a few days had a very good-sized petition as an antidote, and this had been filled by the endeavors of the club members for the most part.

Another very important work of the Minneapolis Suffragists was a series of "Legislative Luncheons" under the auspices of the Minneapolis Political Equality Club and the able management of one of their members, Mrs. Grace Putnam Pollard. These luncheons took place on alternate Saturdays for several months in Midwinter, at the West Hotel. All subjects of legislation of particular interest to women were ably discussed, and led up gradually and naturally to the subject of Suffrage at the last luncheon of the series. Although men had very often requested permission to attend, they had to be excluded by the limitations of space, until finally they were invited to the last one. The number of women in attendance who were not Suffragists was very gratifying, as it provided a field for our work among the unconverted. Many were made converts by seeing the incontrovertible logic of political equality as the remedy for the evils disclosed in the course of the meetings.

One more new work was undertaken and executed with a great success, considering the unfavorable weather conditions, and that was the installation of a lunch counter at the State Fair, one of the big annual events for the people of Minnesota. Men and women from town and farm come into the Twin Cities the first week of September, to this great exhibition, where all the arts and crafts which interest women are displayed, and where all the industries which interest business men, manufacturers, farmers, or implement-makers, are also studied. Of course, all these people have to eat, and we find some of them made that one of their chief occupations. So we adopted the slogan of a square lunch deal, and fed the brutes—and their wives—and found it a very profitable, if very arduous business. The numbers who generally visit the Fair were greatly decimated on account of the weather, as rain descended nearly all week, but we felt a start had been made, an experience for next year's effort, which would be of inestimable value.

The enrollment plan recommended by the National Association last year was adopted by the Minnesota Association with a very slight change, which seemed to make it in harmony with the peculiar

form of Constitution we suffer from, and as far as the plan has been tried it seems to have presented great opportunity for doing propaganda work. Asking a stranger, or even an acquaintance, whose sentiments are unknown, to sign a card showing favor to the cause, brings out the sentiment for or against, and serves as a means of starting the question. But it is only a beginning wedge in most cases, and the medicine has to be applied after the card diagnoses the case. Many men and women need a great deal of reassurance as to their "joining" something, even after reading the card's statement that there is no club back of this signature. no obligations to pay dues, or attend meetings, but once convinced of that fact, they are willing enough to express themselves in favor of the principle of political equality which the mere signing of the card implies. My advice concerning the enrollment plan would be to continue it, with sufficient leeway to permit future perfection of the plan.

The administration was very fortunate in having on the Board two former Presidents of the Association—Mrs. Maude C. Stockwell, of Minneapolis, and Mrs. Julia B. Nelson, of Red Wing. The advice and information obtained from these two experienced Suffrage workers was often of incalculable value to a Board having many who were comparatively new in the administrative line of work.

EMILY E. DOBBIN,
President.

MISSOURI.

The Missouri Equal Suffrage Association, which has been organized during the past year, has for its objects at present the awakening of interest in Suffrage, the extension of its membership and the organization of clubs throughout the State.

Only four clubs have been organized as yet, but these four are well established and are doing effective work. The eldest of these clubs is the Saint Louis Equal Suffrage League, with a membership of 265, which is steadily increasing. This League has established branch organizations in the different public library centres of the city. Each of these branches elects its own officers, has regular monthly meetings and conducts work according to its own methods, which so far have been entirely on educational lines. Under the direction of the President, Mrs. Florence Wyman Richardson, this League has brought many prominent public speakers to St. Louis; among them were Ethel Arnold, Francis Squire Potter, Hon. and Mrs. Philip Snowdon, Lucia Ames Mead, Nathaniel Schmidt, Earl Barnes and others, while many of the leading men and women of the city have taken part in the monthly meetings, with addresses and discussions.

Various plans for raising funds are now being considered by this League, among them the play of "How the Vote was Won," is

in preparation, Miss Kate Gordon will be entertained on October 27th, and Mrs. Pankhurst is engaged to speak on November 3d.

The Kansas City League, with Mrs. Henry N. Ess, President, was organized with seventy-two members, following a lecture by Miss Sylvia Pankhurst. This club also had the advantage of hearing Miss Laura Gregg several times, and reports activities in the way of giving picnics, dinners and other meetings, with Suffrage speakers.

On September 22d the members of this club were invited to meet with the Kansas City Council, when, at the instigation of one of the members of the Lower House, a committee was appointed by the Council to give a hearing to any who were interested in Municipal Suffrage for women. A large delegation availed themselves of the opportunity; stirring speeches were made by Dr. Dora Green Wilson, Anna Gilday, Helen Osborne, Mrs. Leavens and others, which were respectfully listened to by the committee.

The Webster Groves League, Mrs. Lee Rosborough, President, has twenty-five members.

The Warrensburg League, Miss Laura Runyan, President, reports fifty members, and these four clubs, with a temporary club of twelve members in Sedalia, completes our number.

Our State Association is as yet little more than a name; we are very new, but that name was honored and brought into notice last Spring by having its Vice-President at large, Mrs. B. Morrison-Fuller, appointed one of the twelve delegates from the United States to the International Convention in Stockholm.

Last Fall Mrs. Robert Atkinson, the President of the State Association, addressed a large audience in the city of Sedalia, at the dedication of a Woman's Building which had been erected by the State Legislature on the State Fair grounds near that city. Mrs. D. W. Kuefler, of the Saint Louis League, spent several days at the same Fair, distributing Suffrage literature.

The Missouri Federation of Women's Clubs gave Mrs. Atkinson a place on the program of its last convention, which was held in one of the interior cities, and on both these occasions the subject of Suffrage was well received, proving that our people are thinking of the great woman question. We have many speakers who are capable and willing to go through the State and organize clubs, and it is only our lack of funds that prevents our sending them.

This same lack of funds has confined our efforts to educate the people of our State to the co-operation which the press and public libraries will give.

Our aim, therefore, is to secure as many papers as possible, to use the National Press Bureau reports, and to get the libraries of towns and colleges to supply themselves with Suffrage literature. This work is in charge of our State Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. W. W. Boyd, who has also informed the libraries of the generous offer from National Headquarters, to give them the "History of

Woman Suffrage," so that the great store of Suffrage history, Convention and Congressional hearing speeches, which these volumes contain, may be at hand to furnish material for the growing demand for school and college debates.

In St. Louis the Public Library authorities have agreed to make a special exhibit of Suffrage literature, much of which they have bought at our suggestion, in one of their large show windows on the street. List of books especially adapted for debaters' use will be placed in the window, and to give it local color, a large picture of William T. Harris, former Superintendent of the St. Louis Schools and later United States Commissioner of Education, is to be placed in the exhibit, with a placard stating his strong testimony to the value of Woman Suffrage.

Owing to our very recent organization, the request of the last National Convention, that each State should compile its laws relating to women, by answering the fifty questions prepared by the legal adviser, was not complied with as early as we should have liked, and when we had secured a very full and finely prepared legal compendium of such laws, with references to statutes and authorities, we found Missouri's list of replies to these questions printed in the Woman's Journal, supplied from some source unknown to us.

We are asking the Leagues of the State to celebrate the 22d of December as Foremothers' Day. For two centuries this day has been set aside in honor of our forefathers, and we now ask that the honor be shared by the mothers who endured every trial with our forefathers, in addition to those peculiar to their sex.

Material for this day's program is abundant and offers a surprise to those who think of our foremothers as "patient Griseldas" of the hearthstone, and we hope to make it plain in this retrospect that we honor our forefathers no less, while we honor our foremothers more.

On the Suffrage map that was recently published by the Woman's Journal Missouri is found in the centre of black States. This is a true showing of our condition, for Missouri women have no voice in any measure, either municipal, educational, or political. We Missouri Suffragists are trying to find a way for brightening the picture of States and lighting our own darkness.

FLORENCE ATKINSON,
President.

MISSISSIPPI.

Since the last National Convention two State Conventions have been held. In April, 1910, our great National President came. She created an enthusiasm without precedent in this State, and did good which cannot be expressed here. This year, April, 1911, Miss Kate Gordon spoke for us, adding to the debt of gratitude we owe her. We are already planning for the next State Convention in Flora, April, 1912.

Progress is indicated by the following: A more complete set of State officers, reliable financial support for necessary expenses, increase in meetings held. The greatest advance is in the increased courage and confidence of our own women and in favorable public opinion. The Association is recognized as a factor in upbuilding the State. Wide-awake public officials invite our co-operation. By invitation of Dr. H. L. Sutherland, Health Officer of Bolivar County, our State Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. Dell Kelso Mohlenhoff, assisted in a series of health institutes covering the entire county.

As to plans: We try to read the signs of the times and adapt plans to conditions.

1. Civic improvement work is urged upon our members. We assist in education, sanitation and philanthropy. In short, our members are advised to set an example of good citizenship by taking an interest in public affairs.

2. Press work always. We are proud of our press work, due largely to Mrs. Lily W. Thompson.

3. Parlor meetings rather than public ones, as suited to our present conditions.

Public meetings, of course, when possible.

Push enrollment and work for the Woman's Journal.

Legislative work for this Winter is to ask for an amendment making women eligible for office of County Superintendent of Education. We will ask the next Governor to appoint women on Boards of State Institutions. If declared not eligible, we will take this to the Legislature.

Our list of enrolled members covers thirty-six places.

Honorable mention is due Mrs. Augusta Cox, of Columbus; Mrs. Fannie Clark, of Okolona; Mrs. Roby, of Sardis; Mrs. Chambers, of Ellisville; Mrs. Jimmie A. Lipscomb, of Flora; Mrs. Biggs, of Crystal Springs. Many have helped, but these in particular have cheered my heart and made rough places smooth.

Miss Belle Kearney's valuable service is well known, and all State officers are helpful and faithful.

Our one great need is for money. I hope our friends will soon realize this—they have the money, but have not felt the need of giving largely.

The progress of the work elsewhere and mention of it in papers does much for us.

For the future we have hope. Those who believe in truth have no right ever to be discouraged.

NELLIE NUGENT SOMERVILLE,
President.

NEBRASKA.

Nebraska has been keeping up lines of work already begun and moving toward new ones, including political district organization and open-air meetings. Since the last National Convention we have had between three and four months of organization work with Dr. B. O. Aylesworth, by whom twenty-four new clubs were formed and Men's Leagues started in Omaha and Lincoln.

An essay contest was held at the Peru State Normal School, and a debate between two State University students at the State Fair.

A two days' State Convention, with new delegates, was held in March, 1911; Mrs. Ella Seass Stewart, of Chicago, and Dr. B. O. Aylesworth speakers.

Headquarters were kept open at the Epworth Assembly, Lincoln, by the Table Rock Club, with a regular program.

The new organization in Omaha has been working energetically and enlarging its membership. It expects to have Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst to speak on the 17th of October.

In the town of Kenesaw the women held an election in April on the regular election day, after the same manner as the men, but having their own booth, judges, clerks, etc., and voting on the same issues. A large percentage of the eligible women voted, although the day was cold and rainy, and much interest was manifested by both women and men.

On two different occasions in the Fall automobiles filled with speakers were ready to start from Lincoln for a tour of neighboring towns, when rain prevented. Trial will be made again in the Spring.

A State Convention will be held in Lincoln on November 21 and 22, and Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst, of England, will speak in the Auditorium on the evening of the 21st.

INEZ C. PHILBRICK,
President.

MARY H. WILLIAMS,
Corresponding Secretary.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

One hundred and thirty-five new members have been added to the list of membership this year. Clubs have been organized in Hudson, Cornish and Plainfield combined, and Portsmouth.

Through the generosity and co-operation of Miss Martha S. Kimball, of Portsmouth, a very taking booth was arranged for the Rochester Fair. The booth was decorated in a very novel and attractive way, and drew crowds. Miss Martha S. Kimball, Mrs. Mary I. Wood, Miss Mary N. Chase and Miss Spencer, of Cambridge, assisted, besides several ladies in Rochester, Portsmouth and

Boston. About 10,000 leaflets were given away, hundreds of Suffrage buttons and pennants were sold, and many names secured on petitions to present to the Constitutional Convention. It is felt by the workers that the influence of this new line of work will be felt in the State.

At the last Legislature an active and aggressive campaign was conducted by the Legislative Committee in behalf of a municipal bill. W. F. Whitcher, of Haverhill, introduced the bill early in the session. A similar bill was also introduced by George S. Sibley, of Manchester, before Mr. Whitcher's bill was introduced. Letters and literature were sent all members by various friends throughout the State. The bill was referred to the Judiciary Committee. The large committee room was packed for the hearing. Mrs. Agnes M. Jenks, Rev. John Vannevar, Mrs. Mary I. Wood and Miss Mary N. Chase were the speakers. Miss Chase presented a petition of over 1,100 names, headed by Governor Quinby and his wife and Hon. Clarence E. Carr, candidate for Governor in the Democratic Party. The committee reported that the bill ought to pass, but it was refused a third reading in the House by a vote of 160 to 121.

Mrs. Agnes M. Jenks, President of the Concord Equal Suffrage Association, attended the International Woman Suffrage Conference held in Stockholm, Sweden, as alternate delegate. Mrs. Jenks and Miss Clara L. Hunton were delegates to the National American Woman Suffrage Association held in Louisville, Kentucky, October 19-26, 1911.

Resolutions favoring Woman Suffrage have been passed by the Free Baptists of New Hampshire, by the Universalists' Convention, held in Claremont, and by the State W. C. T. U.

A resolution presented by Hon. H. H. Metcalf, of Concord, was brought before the National Convention of Universalists, held in Springfield, Mass., in October. The first vote was 61 to 59, favorable, but it was finally lost after a discussion of some length, by a vote of 74 to 65.

An unusual amount of field work has been done by Miss Chase this year. She has spoken at public meetings in Meredith Center, Newport, Hooksett, Hudson, Hampton, Raymond, Wolfeboro, Berlin, Gorham, Whitefield, Rochester, Fitzwilliam and Plainfield. Grange meetings open to the public, Pomona Grange, Newington, Pittsfield, and Swanzey, field meetings, East Andover and Lebanon, East Manchester Grange, open to the public; also at Grange meetings for grangers only, at Salem Depot, Northumberland, Goffstown, Portsmouth, East Jaffrey, Troy and Claremont. Rochester, Derry and Epping Granges should have been mentioned. She has spoken at parlor meetings at East Rochester, Hudson, Portsmouth and Andover.

She has done personal work in Franklin, Derry, Nashua, Manchester, Newport, Keene, Marlboro and Durham.

Miss Chase has regularly supplied twenty newspapers with Suffrage items.

Reports have been received from the Suffrage clubs as follows:

North Conway—This club held its annual meeting October 20, re-electing its officers: President, Mrs. G. F. White; Vice-President, Miss Annie Ricker; Secretary and Treasurer, Miss L. G. Allard. Plans were also made for afternoon meetings. This club has eight members who are heartily interested and hope to enlarge their borders during the year.

Berlin reports much work done all along the lines by Mrs. M. E. Corbett. A Suffrage lecture was given in the Universalist Church by Miss Chase. This lecture was well advertised by window cards; 300 "Votes for Women" leaflets were distributed. A Suffrage song, written by Mrs. Corbett, was sung at the State W. C. T. U. Convention at Claremont. Several Suffrage petitions have been circulated in Berlin the past year.

The Andover Equal Suffrage Club has twenty-four members. It has held six meetings since the last State meeting. December 2 Miss Chase spoke on "How the Vote was Won in Washington." January 9 Mrs. Agnes M. Jenks spoke on "The Three-Sided Woman Question." February 2 Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead spoke before the Suffrage Association and the Proctor Academy students on "Some Grave National Dangers."

March 3 a benefit was given. An impersonation of "Josiah Allen's Wife" was given by Miss Eastman, of Haverhill, with music by Miss Rubelle Kimball, of Boston; $6.13 was raised.

May 5 the W. C. T. U. sent Miss Lillian M. Phelps, of Niagara Falls, who spoke on "The Eternal City of Rome." There was music by the school choir, and the students were present. A collection of $5 was taken for the W. C. T. U.

October 29 the annual meeting was held, with Mrs. Susan W. Ives. After the reports, remarks were made by Mr. J. T. B. Ives on "The Suffrage Position in England at Present"; Miss Mary N. Chase, "The Summer Campaign in New Hampshire"; Mrs. Lydia M. Graves, on "What the Woman on the Farm Can Do."

Mrs. Susan W. Ives spoke on "The California Success" and other States likely to have Suffrage soon.

The meetings have been held in parlors and in halls.

The large peace and temperance meetings with Proctor Academy students have been particularly helpful.

Six dollars have been sent the State Association for dues and five dollars given to help the State work.

Franklin—The Franklin Equal Suffrage Club has made good for the year 1911. It has more members than the previous year, with a good sum in the treasury after paying the State dues for the present year. This club has never had a phenomenal growth, but has kept the even tenor of its way. Its prosperity is due largely

to the visits of our devoted State President, Miss Chase, who never fails to enthuse the members to work for the best interests of Suffrage.

Concord—The Concord Equal Suffrage Association for the year ending 1911 has held, besides its annual meeting, October 31st, its regular monthly meetings, together with several meetings where the technical study of the Suffrage situation, both at home and abroad, has been taken up.

The annual meeting was addressed by Mrs. Lillian C. Streeter, followed by Rev. Virgil V. Johnson on "Baby Farming." This meeting, which was held in the drawing-room of Mrs. Jenks' home, was very largely attended, nearly every member of the Association, besides others by invitation, being present.

This Association took active part in legislative work, the Rev. Dr. John Vannevar opening the discussion before the Judiciary Committee.

The most interesting public feature of the year was the open meeting under the auspices of this Association, held in Memorial Hall, on the afternoon of January 20th, at which the Concord Woman's Club was the special guest. This meeting attracted a large and interested audience of the representative people of Concord and vicinity, which filled the hall to overflowing. The speakers were Judge Charles R. Corning, Mrs. Winston Churchill and Mrs. Agnes M. Jenks. At the close of the meeting tea was served.

On the evening of March 30th a public lecture was given by the charming young English Suffragette, Miss Sylvia Pankhurst. Miss Pankhurst's remarks were the sort called illuminating, and led to the contrasting of the Suffrage Movement in America with its stormy course in British politics.

The Concord Association was organized December 11th, 1901, with eleven charter members. It now holds the banner place, with a list of one hundred and four members. Its outlook is more encouraging than ever before. The strides it is making are best shown in the public attitude to it, and we hopefully feel that the day is not far distant when all women will realize that the higher duties of women will be assisted and not hindered by an intelligent use of the ballot.

Respectfully submitted.

MARY N. CHASE,
President.

OLIVE M. KIMBALL,
Secretary.

NEW JERSEY.

The New Jersey Woman Suffrage Association sends greetings to you all, and is very happy to report decided progress in New Jersey since we met together in Washington, D. C.

We have six new leagues and one affiliated society — the Equality League for Self-Supporting Women, comprising 424 members. Most of the older leagues also show an increase in membership.

Our activities are various and quite modern. In the beginning of the year we gave our first Suffrage Luncheon, which was largely attended.

The first publications ever issued by the State Association were, first, a booklet entitled "A Brief Synopsis of the Laws of the State of New Jersey Relating to Women and Children," which sold splendidly, so that a second edition of one thousand copies had to be printed; second, a Manual, our first printed yearly report.

We had a table at the State Fair, and distributed a great amount of literature.

Besides well-attended indoor lectures, which supplied our treasury with a snug little sum, we also held open-air meetings—the Woman Suffrage Association of the North Jersey Shore is the result of one held at Asbury Park.

Throughout the State mass meetings were held by our leagues, with prominent speakers, and I myself spoke over sixty times for our cause.

Lucy Stone's birthday was celebrated at six places by New Jersey women. Of the money raised by these various activities, about $225 went to the National Treasury.

New Jersey has contributed to the campaign fund of every State Association. By request, we conformed our standing committees to those of the National Association.

We asked for a hearing before the Governors' Conference at Spring Lake, New Jersey. In answering, Governor Wilson wrote that he was glad that a hearing was granted to Miss Shaw, but he was not present when she spoke so impressively, as Miss Shaw could not be present in time.

Mrs. Van Winkle had an opportunity to present to the Governor a memorial in behalf of the Working Women of New Jersey.

In co-operation with the Equal Franchise Society, we had also a hearing before the School Committee of Senator Frelinghuysen. As a result, school Suffrage was recommended by this committee, but rejected by our legislators. Again, in co-operation with the E. F. S., we are making preparations to present the first Woman Suffrage Bill to our Legislature, and Senator Gibhard has offered to introduce it. Woman Suffrage endorsements have been secured of church organizations. Our Chairman on Church Work, Mrs. E. T. Bartlett, succeeded in getting twelve statements of New Jersey clergymen, which are printed in pamphlet form.

Our Chairmen on Peace and Arbitration, Press, Education, and Library worked also successfully.

A Men's League for Woman Suffrage has been organized at our

last Convention in Plainfield, but, what is more, the men are active in press work, speech making, and help wherever they can.

The Political District Organization, which we named "The Woman Suffrage Party of New Jersey," has a fair start. We feel sure of success in the future.

Harmony prevails among all the Suffrage societies in New Jersey, and in loyal co-operation we are making arrangements in Newark for a gigantic meeting in the New Symphony Auditorium, seating nineteen hundred people, where Mrs. Pankhurst is to speak.

This is the largest enterprise ever attempted by the State Association, and by this we are hoping to awaken for our cause the people of New Jersey.

We are even aspiring to having headquarters established in not too far a time.

The past shows progress, the present is aglow with earnest endeavor, and the future is looked forward to with the conviction that New Jersey women are nearing their enfranchisement.

Respectfully submitted.

CLARA S. LADDEY,
President.

NEW YORK.

A year which begun with the victory in Washington and ended with that in California, has been full of significance for the workers in New York State.

While the greater dramas have been enacted outside our borders, we, too, have been actors on a stage where there have been no long waits. We have grown in numbers, in power and in strength.

In October, 1910, we reported at our annual Convention a membership of 5,252 paid members. In October, 1911, we report 6,474. If we continue to increase at this rate we shall soon be able to demand justice of legislators, instead of suing on bended knee, as we have been forced to do in the past.

We have continued our legislative work, the developing of the school and tax vote, which we already possess to a limited extent; the active propaganda in connection with State, county and local fairs, organization work with three new organizers, the Literature Committee, the publication of our State newspaper each month, and have maintained headquarters in New York. We have also added the Assembly District work, making it by a vote of the officers a department of our clubs' activities. We have carried on a great campaign of open-air meetings in the northern counties.

Another new form of activity was the bazaar held in New York on February 14th, under the management of our able Treasurer, Mrs. William M. Ivins. This added over $2,500 to our treasury, though the day was a stormy one.

Our legislative work lasted from January 1st to July 12th. During three of these months we maintained headquarters at Albany, with a clerk and with different officers in charge. Here we gave weekly receptions, thus reaching many members of the Legislature and their wives. We had some member of our Legislative Committee at the Capitol almost constantly, and our Chairman had assistants in thirty-eight counties, who did effective work with their legislators, and kept her posted, while she in turn informed them of crises or possible lines of action at home.

Our bill, introduced by Senator Stilwell, a leading member of the dominant party and one of the Judiciary Committee, had many vicissitudes. After reposing in the hands of the committee for four months, it was reported by a vote of 7 to 2. For the first time since 1905 it was printed on the Senate Calendar. There it remained. After eight weary weeks of waiting, with trip after trip to Albany, the debate came on July 12th, when a motion to advance the bill to third reading was lost by 17 to 16. This was close enough to make us resolve that another Winter we shall reverse this, and make it seventeen in favor of advancing, to sixteen against.

The usual hearing was an effective one. It was held on the afternoon of February 22d, in the packed Assembly Chamber. The opposition presented the weak Richard Barry as its star speaker. We had Mr. Creel and Mrs. Reynolds to annihilate him, and Dr. Shaw to settle every other opponent.

The Assembly Judiciary did not report our bill. After the body had gone under rules, the introducer, Mr. Spielberg, attempted to have the Assembly instruct the Committee on Rules to advance the bill. This was lost by a vote of 38 to 90. Some men declared they would have voted for the bill itself, but could not instruct the Rules Committee, which is contrary to the code of the Assembly!

One of our most active departments has been the State, county and local fair work. It is not new, but it has been undertaken with a new enthusiasm in many of our counties. We furnished literature and buttons free. In a number of the counties open-air meetings were held from grandstands, autos or soap boxes. Dr. Shaw spoke at the State Fair and at the Dutchess County Fair in Poughkeepsie.

The Summer campaign of open-air meetings proved that this form of work is to be one of the best and most helpful methods of the future. During July fourteen counties were traversed by a troupe of five, and thirty-three meetings were held. Later an organizer was able to form five new clubs, with more to follow.

Another method of the future which we are urging is the substitution of training schools for speakers in our clubs, instead of the literary programs of the past.

To make the parades and the open-air meetings successful, we

must have more trained speakers. The clubs must give them to us and to themselves.

Our total receipts for the year, from October, 1910, to October, 1911, were $8,484.04. A small portion of this came from the club dues. The rest was secured through the bazaar, sales of literature, banners, and through private contributions.

We have issued our own blanks for the Assembly District work and have furnished them to clubs free. Thousands were signed at the open-air meetings and at the fairs. We have not yet secured the reports from the local clubs as to their totals. This form of work has not yet been generally adopted by our clubs. I know of but one county outside of Greater New York where thorough work has been done. In several others it has been started, but has languished for lack of those who would devote time and strength to it. The difficulties in the sparsely settled districts are hard to meet. They involve an expenditure of time and money not at the command of our members, whose Assembly Districts include a large area with scattered residents. Men hire canvassers to do their political work in such territory. We must do this. Our hope of accomplishment must lie in the clubs and in keeping them knit together by strong county and State organization, under which the practical political work can best be done.

HARRIET MAY MILLS,
President.

OHIO.

Some one has truly said that the growing good of the world is partly dependent on unhistoric acts. While the cause of Woman Suffrage has made progress in Ohio in the past year, we cannot point to any especially great achievements, but a little gain here and a forward move there have placed our forces on higher ground than we had previously occupied.

In November, shortly after our annual State Convention of last year, a meeting of our State Executive Committee was held in Cleveland, Ohio. At the close of our executive session we were met by a strong and representative committee of Cleveland women in the interest of furthering the movement there. Practical talks were given by Mrs. Pauline Steinem and Miss Elizabeth Hauser on the Woman Suffrage Party plan of organization. Temporary officers of Cleveland women were chosen, with the ultimate result that an efficient and active Woman Suffrage Party organization has been formed in the Forest City, the first in the State, which promises to be a most valuable factor in our Ohio work.

Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton planned to bring our cause before agricultural communities by writing to the secretaries of the Farmers' Institutes of the State, asking that a Woman Suffrage speaker be placed on their programs. So generous were these responses

that most of our State officers, chairmen of committees and other helpers were called into requisition to fill these places. The results were most gratifying, nearly every institute almost unanimously adopting a resolution favoring the granting of full Suffrage to women in Ohio's new Constitution.

For some years the Ohio Woman Suffrage Association has been on record as favoring an eight-hour day for laboring women. A bill to this effect was introduced into the Legislature last Winter, which had the endorsement of the Ohio Federation of Labor and a number of women's organizations, including our O. W. S. A. At the hearings on this bill before the House and Senate committees our State President, Mrs. Steinem, and Corresponding Secretary, Miss Coover, appeared as speakers. Letters in behalf of the bill were sent to every member of both houses. The bill finally passed with some amendments, as a fifty-four hour per week bill, no day to be longer than ten hours, a few industries being excepted, which, though not all that we had wished, was really a great victory.

In view of the Constitutional Convention to be held in Ohio this coming Winter, much work and agitation has been done and will continue to be done in trying to secure edorsements for Woman Suffrage, interviewing candidates, etc. It is earnestly hoped that Ohio will do this act of justice to its women citizens in the new Constitution.

In various places in the State women have received the nomination this Fall for members of Boards of Education, and women are everywhere being urged to use the school franchise.

While many of our workers have spent years in the struggle, our number is from time to time being augmented by new and vigorous helpers, and all are animated with the divine enthusiasm of every martyr for freedom:

"Who fights for justice hath already won,
He knows but triumph in the work well done."

BERTHA COOVER,
Corresponding Secretary.

PENNSYLVANIA.

The Pennsylvania Woman Suffrage Association reports a year of unprecedented activity. For the first time in more than a quarter of a century a bill for a constitutional amendment enfranchising women was presented to the Legislature. The work in connection with this effort brought to the front many Suffragists who had not before acknowledged their interest in the cause, and revealed the existence of Suffrage sentiment far beyond the most sanguine expectation.

The hearing before the Joint Committee of the Judiciary on March 14th was a notable event. The Senate Chamber was packed.

Helen Hoy Greely, Minnie J. Reynolds, Bishop Darlington, and Miss Shaw spoke for the bill, and although the audience was evidently sympathetic, and a high official of the State, who was present, declared that the weight of the argument was with our side, the committee temporized by referring the bill to the Election Commission. This said Commission seems to be seeking light, as it has appealed to National Headquarters for "full data to be obtained in regard to the progress of Woman Suffrage."

The great amount of work necessitated by the effort to get this bill before the Legislature temporarily interfered with the organization of the Woman Suffrage Party, which our State Association approved at its last annual meeting and recommended to its auxiliaries. However, we hope to accomplish this organization during the present year, and to use it in a more successful effort to have a bill presented to the next Legislature.

Throughout all our work this year we have been gratified by the changed attitude of the press toward the principle for which we stand. All the important dailies have given us fair reports of our meetings, and occasional editorial comment. Especially has this been the case in the street meetings held for this first time this Summer in Philadelphia. This is a new kind of work for Pennsylvania, and was undertaken with some hesitation; but these meetings, ably conducted by Miss Alice Paul, assisted by Mrs. Mary C. Morgan, Recording Secretary; Miss Caroline Katzenstein, Corresponding Secretary of the State Association, and others, have proved most effective propaganda. At the last of these meetings, held in Independence Square, September 30th, speakers from five different platforms simultaneously addressed the people. It is estimated that about two thousand were present. The speakers included the National President, Dr. Anna Shaw, Miss Eleanor Brannan, Miss Alberta Hill, Miss Harriet May Mills, Dr. George E. Reed, Mr. Earl Barnes, Miss Florence Sanville, Mrs. William L. Colt, Mrs. Rheta Childe Dorr, Miss Inez Milholland, Rev. Arthur Hilton, Miss Jane Campbell, Chairman; Mrs. Leonard Averett, Miss Beatrice Brown, Miss Jane Burgess, Miss Alice Paul, Mrs. C. H. Robinson.

The sale of literature and badges and the collections at the meeting amounted to about $134.00. The expenses of the whole campaign were $181.27. The total receipts (including contributions from interested Suffragists, collections taken at the street meetings, etc.) were $298.90. Besides the regular dues and subscriptions for other special purposes, $1,256.66 has been raised for the support of the State Headquarters at 208 Hale Building, Chestnut and Juniper Streets, Philadelphia; $556.64 has been contributed for legislative work, and the organization of the Woman's Party. There has been considerable increase in membership, but it is not possible to give accurate data.

The existence of State Headquarters has proved invaluable in

getting our cause before the public, and in making possible more effective methods of work.

ELLEN H. E. PRICE,
President.

RHODE ISLAND.

The past year has been the most successful in the history of the Rhode Island Woman Suffrage Association, both from the standpoint of increase in membership and advance in popular sentiment. Against a dense conservatism, unequaled in any other State, we have advanced as an organization, which commands the consideration of the public and the attention of the press.

At our monthly meetings topics of popular interest bearing upon the "common good" have been presented by able advocates, with a view to training women to a better comprehension of the problem of civic and social life and the duties involved in citizenship. The scholastic and persuasive presentation of Suffrage by Prof. H. S. Nash made a deep impression upon the community.

In accordance with a policy adopted by the Rhode Island Woman Suffrage Association several years ago, the Legislature was petitioned for Presidential Suffrage. A hearing of unusual interest was granted, and the press gave generous space to our arguments.

Perhaps the most significant sign of the advance of sentiment in favor of our cause is the fact that the "antis" have organized in our State the past year, having become alarmed at our progress.

ELIZABETH UPHAM YATES,
President.

TENNESSEE.

The past year has been full of duties, and the wonderful change of sentiment in favor of Suffrage, but in spite of favorable increase of sentiment there has been a falling off in payment of dues. Yet there has been an increase of new members since last Convention, six or eight paying members, besides some sympathizers.

We presented a bill in the Legislature asking the change in our Constitution to remove the word "male." It was read once by Senator White. Educational methods by distribution of literature and through the press have been kept up. One lawn party, where cream and cake were served, brought in a few dollars, but was more successful as bringing our work before the public. The large lawn was decorated with Japanese lanterns, the tables with flowers making a picture. Our fondest hopes are along lines for securing members. We secured a booth at the Tri-State Fair in Memphis again this year, as a rest room, where literature was supplied all who are interested, and a guest book for names of visitors. Several hundred names were secured, and the interest in Suffrage was great. Names

from the three States registered in separate pages for use in the State where they live, was the plan adopted this year. Mississippi sent literature twice for the booth—literature of its own publishing. We also hope for results from the work of the East Tennessee workers at the Appalachian Exposition, in Knoxville, again this year. The money for different branches of our work to the amount of some sixty dollars was raised by dues, lawn party and contributions from individuals.

I have made one trip to Little Rock, Arkansas, in the interest of Suffrage, and found a strong sentiment in its favor; also a trip to Jackson, Tennessee, brought out the fact of strong sympathy there, but a reluctance on the part of most to take the leadership in the work. Four trial subscribers to the Woman's Journal were sent there. A trip also to Nashville resulted in the formation of a live, working club there, and the securing of an alternate delegate to the National Convention in Louisville.

We have not tried the political district work, for lack of some one to take charge of it.

I have taken the first steps to organize a Men's League and hope to soon have a few workers in that line.

We have mailed copies of our last annual printed minutes to different parts of the State, hoping thus to attract some to the work. The press is still helping us, but want original articles, which we have not been able to furnish, for lack of time. We furnish one Socialist paper, which carries a woman's page, items of our Suffrage work each week. A great need just now is a press superintendent, who could give the time required and prepare a personal letter for papers each week, or at least once a month, throughout the State.

We lost a dear friend to our cause the past Summer in the death of Mrs. H. C. Myers, of Memphis. Her sympathies were with us, and but for her failing health the past few months she would have aided us much with her pen. Her paper on Authors' Day at our Nineteenth Century Club last Spring was a strong plea for Suffrage.

MARTHA ALLEN,
President.

UTAH.

The year 1911 has been an unusually busy one for Utah women. The State Council of Women, in connection with other women's organizations in the State, in all representing fifty thousand women, secured the passage of a number of laws affecting women and children, and endorsed several other bills of vital importance to the State. Among the bills submitted and successfully passed were the nine-hour law for women, child labor law, five improved juvenile court laws, carrying with them an increased appropriation for the work of the court; prevention of white slave traffic, law for the

prevention and spread of venereal diseases, husband desertion bill, anti-gambling, anti-cigarette bills. Those bills defeated were the Sunday closing law, bill to prevent the sale and manufacture of cigarettes and the marriage law.

We have also inspected the laundries of Salt Lake City relative to sanitary conditions, and the safeguards employed to protect women. All were reported to be in excellent condition, with one exception. Steps are being taken to compel this establishment to remedy conditions.

We also held a memorial meeting to commemorate Miss Anthony's birthday, at which money was raised for the Susan B. Anthony fund.

During the past month all of the women's organizations of the city called a meeting to protest against the prevalence of vice in this city, which has increased to an alarming extent as a result of the protection given by the administration to the segregated "red light" district, commonly known as the "stockade." At this meeting a resolution was passed "denouncing the continuance of the stockade." The next day the mistress of the "stockade" announced that she would close the place, throwing about one hundred poor unfortunates into the street without money or shelter. The women of the city who were not responsible for this action opened headquarters at St. Paul's Episcopal Church and invited these poor girls to come there and they would provide them with homes if they were willing to give up their mode of life. With the exception of three, all refused to do so, and the responsibility of the women ended so far as they were concerned. Of the three who accepted the offer, two were provided with homes through the aid of Miss Colbourne, principal of Rowland Hall and Chairman of the "Big Sisters" organization. The third, whose story, on investigation, was found to be true, will be be sent home to her sister and brother in a distant city. Meanwhile, the committees appointed have planned a mass meeting, to be held in the Salt Lake Theatre October 15, to report conditions as found by the Investigating Committee. Timely subjects will be discussed by a local speaker, and Mr. Frank B. Smith was recommended by the Welfare League of Seattle, which city has recently succeeded in effecting a municipal house-cleaning by means of the recall.

Salt Lake is now on the eve of election for the first time under the commission form of government. Unfortunately, the best features of the commission form of government, such as the recall, etc., were omitted from the bill. At this mass meeting the women expect to create and crystallize public sentiment, which, when fully aroused, will demand that none but honest men, who will enforce existing laws and ordinances against vice and crime, be nominated and elected. And as a means to that end the following questions will be submitted to each candidate for office:

(1) Will you endeavor to suppress prostitution by enforcing the law against owners and lessees of hotels, rooming houses and residences, as well as against the persons who practice prostitution?

(2) Will you suppress a restricted district or a stockade for vice?

(3) Will you enforce the law against the illegal sale of drugs and liquor?

(4) Will you suppress gambling by enforcing the laws which exist against that crime?

(5) Will you voluntarily submit your official record to the recall of the people, as some candidates have done, upon the petition of 20 per cent. of the registered voters of the city?

Since the commission form of municipal government, which the Legislature has enacted for Salt Lake City, is without the recall, it seems fitting that the candidates should be given an opportunity to express themselves on the needs of the community. Economic and business methods, needful as they are in the administration of municipal affairs, are less important to the welfare and prosperity of the city than decency and respect for law and order.

The women expect to succeed. We have an equal right with men in the government of this State and city, and we will not vote for men who will not agree to do the things we ask them to do. We expect to make the present vice commission a permanent one. It will be untiring in its labors to see to it that the new incumbents fulfill their pledges. If we fail it will not be because of lack of earnest, faithful workers.

Respectfully submitted,

EMILY S. RICHARDS,
President.

ELIZABETH M. COHEN,
Secretary.

VERMONT.

We have nothing startling to report, but are moving along at an even tenor, with no new work undertaken.

Our Press Correspondent has kept the subject before the people, and the press continues to give us respectful attention.

We are rich in sentiment, and it is steadily increasing in every part of the State, but our laborers are not easily obtained. If clubs and committees were formed, they would probably not survive unless an able and enthusiastic Suffragist could be found to lead in the work, and there seems to be no one in sight with ability who could devote his or her time to the cause.

We are remote from localities where the Suffrage speakers are heard, and many people fail to realize the results which are every-

where evident, so it is difficult to estimate how far the movement has progressed in our State since the last report.

Very truly,

JULIA A. PIERCE,
President.

VIRGINIA.

The State Association at present comprises the Parent League at Richmond, with flourishing branches in Lynchburg, Norfolk, Williamsburg and a scattered membership in country districts.

The Richmond League, which carries an enrollment of 301, is well organized, its activities including regular weekly meetings, monthly business meetings, public lectures, drawing room talks, and co-operation with other organizations along various lines. The regular weekly and monthly business meetings have been addressed by local leaders, both men and women. The League has also had the pleasure of having its cause ably presented by Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, Mrs. Charlotte Gilman, Col. George Harvey and Dr. Max Eastman to large audiences in The Jefferson Auditorium. Two mass meetings, conducted exclusively by members of the League, have proved successful innovations. The first, at Liberty Hall, suggestive in name, was addressed by Miss Mary Johnston, Miss Cocke and Mrs. Harvey Clarke. The second took the form of a Suffrage symposium, at which a dozen or more of the League members presented their arguments for political recognition.

The Literature Department of the League has done good work this past year, supplying high schools all over the State with material for suffrage debates, shipping literature to various places where needed aand getting new subscriptions to the "Journal" which is invaluable in the work. An excellent advertising medium was furnished by a booth at the State Fair, held in Richmond, October last, when thousands learned, for the first time, something definite con cerning the character and extent of the Suffrage work, through the distribution of rainbow flyers and open air speaking. Miss Florence Luscomb of Boston was our main dependence in this new departure for Virginia. This year the booth was again successfully carried on with exclusively local speakers. The Legislative Committee is making preparations looking forward to the biennial meeting of the Legislature, when the presentation of a Suffrage amendment to the Constitution will overshadow everything else. With this in view, the League has arranged to move its headquarters from its present residential district to rooms in a prominent business section; and a business secretary has been engaaged.

Especial gratification has been felt at the encouragement of Woman Suffrage by organized labor in this State. In March an invitation was extended the League by the Central Labor Union of Richmond to appear before that body and present its claims; as a

result of this occasion, endorsement of the League by all the trade unions of the city followed. Of even greater import to the League was the convention of the State Federation of Labor in June, when Suffrage delegates were given opportunity to address that body. Miss Mary Johnston, representing the League, made a deep impression on the convention which, together with the Farmers' Alliance meeting at the same time, voted its endorsement of the League. This means the support of about 23,000 voters in the State.

It is the good fortune of the Richmond League to carry on its roll the names of a number of prominent men. These will soon be organized into a Men's League for Woman Suffrage, which promises to give substantial backing to the Woman's Cause, especially in the anticipated legislative contest.

In finances, the League has held its own, largely through the generosity of a few of its members. The Treasurer's report shows receipts from all sources amounting to $977.68, with equal disbursements. Pledges amounting to $1,300 have also been received to guarantee the expenses of the new headquarters and paid secretary.

1. The Norfolk League, Mrs. Walter J. Adams, President, claims a roll of nearly one hundred, among whom are ministers, naval officers and wives, lawyers, teachers and five professional writers. The interest of its members is evidenced by the fact that their Fall work includes the establishment of branch Leagues in Portsmouth and Newport News; the formation of a Political Economy Club as a factor in disseminating Suffrage doctrine; and arrangements for public lectures.

2. The Equal Suffrage Club of Lynchburg, Mrs. John H. Lewis, President, reports a steadily growing sentiment in its community. The main activities of the Club have been manifested in public lectures and drawing room talks.

3. In Williamsburg, the ancient capital of Virginia, the League claims a roll which, though not lengthy, comprises the names of distinguished people, notably Dr. Lyon G. Tyler, President of William and Mary College, the first man in the State to speak for Suffrage, whose wife is the League chairman and a delegate here to-day.

In conclusion, the Equal Suffrage League of Virginia looks forward to the coming year, entered upon with renewed hope and vigor, with confidence in its final success.

LILA MEADE VALENTINE, Pres.

WISCONSIN.

The year just passed has been most eventful and fraught with great interest, not only to the people of our State, but to friends of Woman's Suffrage the world over. The year has been to us the culmination of many previous years of seemingly unavailing effort, and the realization of long cherished hopes. It has also summoned

us to new and arduous duties. The progress of democratic ideas and the more general recognition of the rights of women has made our work easier and has brought more apparent results. Since the last report we have added to our membership 150 names, and have provided for the recognition of campaign members, persons who are ready to render service, but who, for one reason or another do not wish to pay dues; thus many to whom a dollar a year would be a heavy tax are able to join us and render valuable aid. Of these we have already from two to three hundred and are daily adding more. We have raised in money during a little more than a year $1,000, and have thus been enabled to publish sixty thousand sheets of campaign literature, beside inaugurating some plans for carrying forward our cause during the coming year.

During the session of our Legislature of 1909, the full Woman's Suffrage bill passed the Senate with a very large majority. Reverend Jenkin Lloyd Jones, of Chicago, gave an able address before the Legislature which was listened to by a large audience completely filling the assembly chamber, but several circumstances prevented a fair consideration of the question by the Assembly and, consequently, the measure was lost, although the majority against us was small. Immediately after the close of that session of the Legislature the Executive Committee decided to concentrate, as far as possible, their efforts upon those districts represented by men who had voted against us. We, accordingly, began an educational campaign sending literature into those districts, and continued the Citizen to several people of the principal towns in those districts through the two years before the next session. As the time approached for the session of the Legislature of 1911, we requested our friends throughout the State to interview their representatives and learn their views of the subject. This was done to a considerable extent. When the Legislature convened the President of the Association sent Full Suffrage bills to Assemblyman Kemper of the Racine district, and to Senator David James. She also prepared a letter urging upon the members the importance of the question and requesting them to give it their candid and careful consideration. This letter was accompanied by packages of literature for each member. The Executive Committee also requested our friends about the State to send letters to their members asking each one to vote in favor of the measure. Consequently, a large number of letters were sent in. All this time our Chairman of the Legislative Committee, Mrs. Jessie Luther, of Madison, was working with members in her usual quiet way. Miss Ada James, of Richland Center, and Mrs. Nellie King Donaldson, of Racine, our Vice-Presidents, and Mrs. G. A. Hipke, of Milwaukee, all spent some time in Madison interviewing members of the Legislature. On the 14th of March, a hearing was arranged by Mrs. Luther, assisted by Senator James and Miss Mary Swain Wagner, who had been employed by the Association. This was very

effective, many of the best speakers in Wisconsin taking part, as well as Mrs. Grenfell of Colorado and Mrs. Emma Smith DeVoe of the State of Washington. On the evening of that day, namely March 14, a meeting of the Wisconsin Women's Suffrage Association was held, at which meeting it was voted that, should the bill pass, the campaign should be carried on, as far as possible, in accordance with the methods which proved so successful in the State of Washington. The President of the Association consulted with many of the members of Congress from Wisconsin and other men experienced in carrying elections. They were almost unanimous in advising what they called "the house to house canvass," which seems to be essentionally the same as the methods adopted in Washington; namely, a complete organization of the whole State by counties, by towns and by voting precincts, thus, through committees, reaching every voter either by letter or by personal interview. Nearly all advised a "quiet" campaign"; to use the words of the politicians, "a still hunt." The President of the Association, with the members of the Executive Committee, wishing to abide by the vote of the Association, passed on the 14th of March, purposed to carry on such a campaign, and undertook the stupendous work of organizing a whole State by voting precincts. Our State is peculiar in many respects; there are elements here which, if aroused, might make trouble for our cause, but, if left to themselves, might be quite indifferent to it, and, by failing to vote on a subject which would seem to them unimportant, would greatly lessen a vote against us. We hoped to so conduct our campaign of organization as to arouse little opposition. But there were influences at work over which we had no control, and the result is that the Germans, at a recent meeting passed a resolution against Woman's Suffrage, and that money is being raised at the present time by the brewers to inaugurate a vigorous campaign having for its object the defeat of the Woman's Suffrage bill. There are times when discretion is the better part of valor. It is best not to arouse our opponents by boasting of what we shall do with the ballot. The use that we shall make of the ballot will be proven when we get it, and cannot be foretold by anyone.

Meanwhile, the Wisconsin Woman's Suffrage Association is carrying forward its work of organization. We have two or three counties of which we already feel quite certain, and several partial organizations in thirteen counties. In some of these the organization has extended through most of the county. We have done work at fairs and picnics and Chautauqua assemblies. Our tent at the State Fair attracted a great deal of attention, and the speeches made there aroused an interest in thousands of people. We have distributed a large amount of literature and are beginning to hold meetings in the school districts, hoping thus to reach the farming community. In the early Spring the Executive Committee appointed a central committee to take direct charge of the campaign work. Mrs. G. A. Hipke,

of Milwaukee, was made Chairman of this committee. She has done, during the Summer, an immense amount of work. Her methods of raising money and propaganda have been unique and effective. She has made use of the theatre as a means of advancing our cause, and has inaugurated the method of distributing literature on the railroad trains. This has proved most admirable, as travelers are for the most part glad to obtain something to interest them on long and dreary journeys. The President of the society has written a small book of personal reminiscences, written in a familiar and colloquial style which it was hoped would interest the average reader. The proceeds of the book are to be given entirely to the campaign while it lasts.

In spite of the forces which seem to be arraying themselves against our work, we have great hopes of carrying the State and winning a victory in 1912. Our great need at this time is money. We need money to go into those counties in which as yet there is no organization; in many of which there never have been any meetings held, and where the cause is entirely new. We have among our officers and co-workers persons who might be employed to do good work if only there was money to pay their expenses and in some cases a small salary. Our officers at present are giving their time and effort freely and paying their own traveling expenses. We cannot do this through an entire campaign. We expect friends of Woman's Suffrage to make contributions which will enable us to carry out our plan of a complete organization of the whole State of Wisconsin. There is public sentiment enough in the State in favor of Woman's Suffrage to carry the day if only it were organized and united to withstand the opposition. We think it is better to spend our energies in gathering up our friends by organizing than in contending with those who are opposed to us, and hence we are working to that end with the greatest hope and utmost determination. We have received valuable aid and encouragement from the National Association and your President has given assurance of further assistance; for this we are most grateful and trust by our fidelity and zeal to merit your favor and also when the campaign is over and the victory is won to return in kind the aid you have given.

OLYMPIA BROWN,
President.

FRIENDS EQUAL RIGHTS ASSOCIATION.

We regret there appears to be no increase of membership in our Association during the past year, but this is not discouraging, because we constantly urge recruits to transfer their names to active local Suffrage Clubs as opportunity may offer.

A Philadelphia friend reports good service done by our people in connection with city, county and State Suffrage Leagues; in or-

ganizing Ward Suffrage Clubs, and speaking at open-air meetings in various parts of the city.

Friends also appeared frequently before Legislative Committees at Harrisburg, notably when bills relating to women and children were pending.

We aim to co-operate with all other denominations in philanthropy, generally, and in Suffrage primarily.

As no list of contributions from friends to our National fund has been forwarded to us, as yet, we shall have to refer you to the Treasurer's report.

Several workers mention a large distribution of Suffrage literature, especially copies of "The Woman's Journal." This valuable paper is sent regularly to friends, libraries in Baltimore and Philadelphia, to Abington and George schools, and to Swarthmore College, as well as to Buck Hill Falls Inn, Pa.

It is gratifying to hear that the Suffrage question is being discussed, more and more, by our boys and girls, and whenever debated in a friend's school, the affirmative side invariably wins. To quote Dickens, "This may be a political straw showing which way the country wind blows."

MARY BENTLEY THOMAS,
President.

EQUAL FRANCHISE SOCIETY.

The activities of the Equal Franchise Society during the year 1910-1911 were divided into three different channels: First, a course of lectures at the Maxine Elliott Theatre; second, the legislative work done by our two committees under Mrs. Blatch and Miss Lexow; and third, the publication and sale of our pamphlets.

A course of six lectures, beginning January 5 and occurring every fortnight until March 16, were given at the Maxine Elliott Theatre. These lectures dealt mainly with the achievement of women in the past, and were delivered by Miss Sarah Barnwell Elliott, Miss Ida Tarbell, Professor Charles Zueblin, Miss A. J. G. Perkins, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, and Professor Edward Howard Griggs. In addition to these meetings, tableaux illustrating women's achievement in the past were given on the afternoon of January 17 at the Maxine Elliott Theatre. The other Suffrage organizations were all asked to participate with this Society in these tableaux, and the proceeds were divided in proportion to the number of tableaux each Society had. From this entertainment the amount realized was $3,579.00.

The work of our two committees under Mrs. Stanton Blatch and Miss Caroline Lexow consisted in interviewing legislators and keeping them supplied with Suffrage literature; stirring up interest and holding meetings in the different counties which had not been reached by other Suffrage organizations; and arranging for a "Suffrage Week"

in Albany from February 21-28 inclusive. The following is an extract from Miss Lexow's report of this week's activities:

"While the events for this week were arranged by this Society, several other Suffrage organizations co-operated. The first event was a reception at the Hotel Ten Eyck at which Miss Fola La Follette read, "How the Vote Was Won," and Miss Marjorie Benton Cooke gave Suffrage monologues. This was followed by a series of meetings addressed by Mrs. Florence Kelley, Rev. Dr. Anna Shaw, Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer, Mr. Max Eastman, and Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, who spoke under the auspices of the Women's Political Union on the last evening. In addition to these meetings a number of trade unions were addressed by Miss Frances Ecob, most of which passed Suffrage resolutions at the end of her speech. The Association of Collegiate Alumni invited us to send a speaker to their meeting, and the moving picture shows allowed us to display the Suffrage slides which were loaned for the purpose by the Woman's Suffrage Party. In spite of bitterly cold weather, a number of open air meetings were held under the auspices of the Women's Political Union.

"The most prominent event of the week was a meeting held in honor of Judge Ben B. Lindsey, who telegraphed this Society that he would be in Albany on a given date to answer the Anti-Suffragists who had misquoted him before the Judiciary Committee at the hearing of the Suffrage measure. Owing to the courtesy of Speaker Frisbie the Assembly Chamber was placed at our disposal, and an enormous audience, brought together in less than twenty-four hours, heard Judge Lindsey's brilliant reply to the Anti-Suffragists, which was taken down verbatim by the Senate Stenographer and afterwards printed:

"Besides the concentrated activity during this week, an unusual feature was to be found in the advertisements. Every available method of advertising, not only the meetings, but the Suffrage cause, was utilized. The result of this advertising and this tremendous Suffrage activity in a city where practically no Suffrage meetings had been held previously, was an enormous amount of press notice, extending sometimes over two pages of some of the Albany journals. Many of the New York papers had special reporters in Albany to follow up our work, which was extensively reported here as well as in many of the cities in the neighborhood of Albany."

Through the courtesy of Mrs. Mackay we have been able to continue our headquarters at 1 Madison Avenue, in the Metropolitan Tower. During the past year we have published eight new pamphlets and sold about 1,500. Our membership up to date numbers 672, twenty-one life members and 651 active members.

On April 12, 1911, Mrs. Mackay resigned the Presidency of this Society, and Mrs. Richard Aldrich, our First Vice-President, assumed this office until the close of the year. At our last annual meeting on November 13, 1911, the following Board of Trustees was elected: Mrs. Richard Aldrich, Hon. P. T. Barlow, Mrs. Stanton

Blatch, Mrs. J. W. Brannan, Mrs. Bourke Cockran, Mrs. J. G. Finch, Mrs. Robert Goelet, Col. George Harvey, Mrs. Alonzo Hepburn, Mrs. Mackay, Mrs. Howard Mansfield, Rev. Dr. J. H. Melish, Mrs. H. W. Miller, Mrs. Frederick Nathan, Mrs. Philip Lydig, Mr. Rollo Ogden, Mrs. Simkhovitch, Professor W. P. Trent, Mrs. Schuyler Warren, Mrs. Egerton Winthrop, Dr. S. S. Wise.

Our plan for the coming year is to hold two large Carnegie Hall meetings, at one of which three prominent men be requested to speak, and the other of which should be a political meeting held at the time that pressure is most needed in Albany. We also plan to establish a permanent and thoroughly equipped Reading Room and Library, where the papers, magazines and pamphlets published in every country on Suffrage and the general woman's movement should be kept on file for reference, and where books on the same subject should be kept, both for reference and circulation. It is the plan of our Library Committee to make this Library of enough permanent value to women, by not limiting it wholly to the Suffrage question, so that it can be carried on even after New York has won the fight for Equal Suffrage.

ETHEL GROSS,
Secretary.

NATIONAL COLLEGE EQUAL SUFFRAGE LEAGUE.

The National College Equal Suffrage League has increased its membership during the last year. It now numbers twenty-three State or City Leagues and twenty-five College Chapters, and is entitled to send twenty-six delegates to the National American Woman Suffrage Convention.

During the absence of the President of the League in Egypt, the National President, Miss Shaw, who is also First Vice-President of the National College Equal Suffrage League, kindly consented to act as President and conducted the work of the League in conjunction with the Secretary of the League, Miss Martha Gruening.

The most progressive work of the year was done under the leadership of Miss Charlotte Anita Whitney by the College Leagues and Chapters of California. Many men and women who were unwilling to work with other Suffrage organizations joined the College women in the fight for Equal Suffrage. The League numbered over one thousand members, and played an important part in winning the Suffrage for California women. The College women of the State of Washington also did good service.

During the coming year the National College Equal Suffrage League will try to organize the College women in the campaign States of Oregon, Nevada, Kansas, and Wisconsin, in the hope that the College women of these States may be able to give as much help to the Suffrage cause as in California and Washington.

The following extracts from the annual report of the Secretary of the League will give some idea of the work of the past year:

Apart from the aggressive propaganda conducted in California, the work of the League has been as usual along educational lines consisting chiefly in organizing new Chapters in Colleges and supplying lectures to Chapters already organized.

The following lecturers have spoken before Chapters and Leagues: Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman, before the Chapters of Oberlin College, Milwaukee-Downer College, Ohio State University, University of Minnesota, University of Chicago, Lombard College, Leland Stanford, Jr. University, Bryn Mawr College, and before the Cleveland League; Mrs. Helen F. Grenfell, before the Chapters of the University of Nebraska, Rockford College, University of Wisconsin, Rochester University, Wells College, and before the Louisville, Baltimore, Washington, and Providence Leagues; Miss Shaw, before the Chapters of Wellesley College; Cornell University, and Syracuse University; Mrs. Philip N. Snowden, before the Barnard College Chapter, and the Law School of New York University.

Through the interest of members of the Smith College Faculty lectures were also arranged for Miss Shaw and Mrs. Grenfell at Northampton, Massachusetts, which were attended by a large numbe of Smith College students. "How the Vote Was Won" was read at Swarthmore College by Miss Fola LaFollette.

The Secretary of the League also did speaking and organizing work at Oberlin College, Western Reserve University, University of Chicago, Northwestern University, Lombard College, Earlham College, Wells College, Wellesley College, and Cornell University.

Three new Chapters were organized in the State of Illinois, in Illinois College, Jacksonville, Eureka College, Eureka and Shurtleff College, in Upper Alton, by Miss Harriet Grim, who worked for the League for a few weeks.

Nearly all Chapters which were supplied with lectures reported an increase in membership, in some cases a large increase.

Another form of educational work has been the circulation of "Homo Sum, a letter to an anti-Suffragist from an Anthropologist," by Miss Jane Harrison, Staff Lecturer of Newnham College, Cambridge, England. During the past year 3,000 copies of this pamphlet have been sent to the Faculties, and in some cases to the students, of more than twenty colleges in this country and Canada. Repeated requests were received for more copies in nearly every case.

The League has also circulated its four travelling libraries, containing twenty-five volumes and pamphlets on Woman Suffrage. These libraries were in great demand in the California campaign, where they were in charge of the Collegiate Equal Suffrage League of San Francisco. The libraries have also been lent to other societies in New York including the Equal Franchise League.

M. CAREY THOMAS, President.

REPORTS OF NATIONAL ORGANIZERS.

South Dakota—Barton O. Aylesworth.

I have to report three months and six days spent in the Equal Suffrage Campaign of South Dakota between June 6 and November 8, 1910, under the direction of the National American Woman Suffrage Association. Itemized reports have been forwarded to the Secretary of the Association.

I held one hundred and three public meetings in fifty-four towns and cities.

Among the most notable assemblies addressed were the State W. C. T. U. Convention at Huron, the State Federation of Women's Clubs at Aberdeen, the Chautauqua at Canton, the State Conservation Congress at Pierre, the Old Soldiers' Reunion at Colton, the District Fair at Scenic, the District Teachers' Normal Association at Mitchell, and the State Fair at Huron.

Several days were given to State organization work at headquarters in Sioux Falls.

The collections taken at these meetings amounted to $301.74. The expenses of traveling, entertainment and occasional hall rent were $226.19.

The meetings were all fairly well attended. In more than half the towns visited ours was the initial Suffrage meeting. Notwithstanding this the interest was good, and substantial foundations laid.

The newspapers were generous with space and fair in attitude without exception.

The Amendment failed of passing for two reasons, principally: An almost utter lack of local organization work previous to submitting the Amendment, and the fact that the liquor interests, in order that they might be sure their ignorant voters would put the cross against the County Option Amendment, issued the command to vote "no" on all Amendments.

South Dakota will win in the next contest. The heroic and self-sacrificing labor of the workers in that State can bring but one result eventually.

WISCONSIN.

By Harriet E. Grim.

The month of August, 1911, was spent working for the Political Equality League under the direction of Ada L. James, President. Most of the work was done by automobile tours—practically all of the speaking was out of doors. During the month we worked in the following counties, speaking in about three towns daily: Milwaukee, Waukesha, Jefferson, Dane, Iowa, La Fayette, Rock, Watworth.

We had large and attentive audiences and left organizations in a number of towns. As half the population of the whole State of Wis-

consin is in six Southern counties, and as we worked chiefly in all but one of the six, I feel that this month had particular value. We did not go into Racine County, as Mrs. Brown, President of the Wisconsin W. S. Association, has always lived there, and Miss James felt that it would not only not be courteous for the League to work there, but that the other association could do better work—being familiar with the territory.

From September 12th to October 12th I worked for the Woman Suffrage Association under the direction of Rev. Olympia Brown, President, and Mrs. G. A. Hipke, Chairman of the Central Committee. As this Association did not believe in automobile work, we tried other methods.

The first week was spent at the State Fair in Milwaukee. The Association and the League had tents side by side in a very prominent part of the grounds. Mrs. Hipke managed that part of it. Literature was given away constantly; buttons sold; also cook books presented to the Wisconsin Association by the Washington Suffragists; and Rev. Olympia Brown's latest book, "Memories Old and New." I spoke from a bench outside the tent, two or three times daily. We usually managed to speak just after the aeroplane flight. The crowd was there ready to hand—all we needed to do was to begin speaking. It was sometimes a little difficult to speak above the band and other attractions, but I think there was never a crowd of less than 200, and usually it was much larger.

Between this and the State Convention, which was held the last three days of September, in Racine, I spoke at a few County Fairs and in a few scattered towns. At the Watertown Fair we were permitted to speak in front of the grand stand just before the races. At the Elkhorn Fair we were given the use of one of the band stands for the whole day.

Mrs. Brown planned a series of schoolhouse meetings for her County, and I spoke at three of these.

The most valuable work of the month, in my estimation, was done the last few days. Mrs. Hipke, herself a German, arranged seven meetings in a decidedly German community where the prejudice against the movement was very strong. Mrs. Hipke had lived in this community for many years, and because of her large audiences, we spoke in Sheboygan Falls, Kewanee, Casco, Algoma, Chilton, New Holstein, and Kiel.

At the Convention of the Association a committee of three was appointed to confer with a committee of like number from the League, to confer on matters of policy and general work. This seems to me to show the right spirit.

If the Suffragists of Wisconsin work harmoniously from now until the end of the campaign—which I believe they will do—I believe there is great hope of victory. The Socialists are strong all over the State, and, of course, they stand for Suffrage. The Progres-

sives, with La Follette as leader, ought to help much. Mr. La Follette told Mrs. Brown that he would bring the subject up in all of his speeches, and that certainly ought to help. The enemy most to be feared is, of course, the brewing interest in Milwaukee. They have said they are not going to fight the measure, but that remains to be seen.

Altogether the outlook is bright. We can at least hope that Wisconsin will come in line next Fall.

SOUTH DAKOTA.

Perle Penfield.

The work of the National Organizer in the South Dakota campaign began the first week in September, 1909, and closed Election Day, in November, 1910. It ranged over all phases of Suffrage activity in the field and in headquarters.

Making a rough and somewhat arbitrary division of the duties, they may said to have covered:

1. Field work—speaking, organizing, etc.
2. Work at State Fairs of 1909 and 1910—handling booth.
3. Temporary duties as Headquarters Secretary.
4. Acting as manager for Miss Fola La Follette.
5. Two months' campaign for Beadle County.

While acting strictly in the capacity of Speaker and Organizer, the eastern and central part of the State were covered with considerable thoroughness, and a chain of campaign committees were organized. Where clubs had existed effort was made to put them on an active campaign basis. Work of this sort necessitated much speaking in any sort of a place offered, from business offices and private houses to churches and schools. The main strength, however, went into personal calls on all the leading women and many of the leading men of every town visited. This personal work was followed by an organization meeting and the formation of the local committee wherever possible. The greater part of the Winter of 1909-10 was given to this work, often under difficulties imposed by extremely cold and stormy weather, and delayed train service. In all, the Organizer personally visited between forty and fifty towns, and covered about 2,500 miles traveling within the State.

The first thing accomplished after entering the State was the securing of a booth at the State Fair in Huron. The State President, Mrs. Johnson, and the Organizer, worked together in this, assisted by the Suffragists of Huron. Literature was distributed, and many men and women appealed to personally by the workers of the booth. About nine hundred names of sympathizers were secured, which justifies an estimate of between two and three thousand persons spoken to on the subject. Both the Organizer and Mrs. Johnson

delivered Suffrage addresses in the auditorium of the Woman's Building on Woman's Club Day.

The booth at the Fair was prepared by the Beadle County Association and the Organizer, also a booth in the Beadle County Building. State officers and the Headquarters Secretary from Sioux Falls, assisted by local workers, handled the crowds in the Woman's Building, while the local Suffragists and the Organizer attended to the booth in the Beadle County Building. Speeches were made every noon from the staircase in the Woman's Building by prominent State speakers and some sent into the State by the National Association. Your Organizer spoke twice a day in her booth and assisted in the work from automobiles during the closing days. Both years the ground were well placarded, much literature was distributed, and effective propaganda accomplished.

Early in May, 1910, the illness of the Headquarters Secretary, Mrs. A. D. Tinsley, necessitated the abandoning of a trip throughout the western part of the State, and a return to Sioux Falls to fill in at Headquarters until a new Secretary should be elected. This was not done until the latter part of June, and until then your Organizer was busy with speakers and manifold executive tasks. Literature was sent out daily and systematically, speakers were routed and innumerable letters arranging their engagements were written. At one time six speakers were being handled. A monthly Headquarters Bulletin was published and effort made to keep in touch with campaign committees throughout the State. It would be unprofitable to enumerate the tasks involved in campaign headquarters work, and unnecessary, also. This was a very busy period.

As arrangements for Miss La Follette's tour, reading "How the Vote Was Won," did not prove satisfactory, and as Mrs. Sheldon was well started in Headquarters, your Organizer left Sioux Falls late in June and went on the road as manager for Miss La Follette. Dates were arranged through the central part of the State and in the Black Hills—sometimes in theatres, often in churches. Her tour turned a snug sum into the campaign fund.

After an enforced vacation during August, arrangements were made for a campaign in Beadle County by the County Committee located in Huron, and your organizer spent the time up to election there. The county was most thoroughly covered by an automobile campaign. The cars left Huron every afternoon carrying speakers and entertainers, and meetings were held in every town and nearly every rural schoolhouse in the county. Literature was mailed and distributed, sample ballots sent out, also cards of instructions to voters. Several large public meetings were held in Huron, including one for Miss Shaw and one for Mrs. Craigie, a booth at the Fair was cared for, and money for all those expenses raised by the local committee, captained by Mrs. Pyle, of Huron.

The State Convention, which organized the Campaign Committee,

and inaugurated the campaign work, was held in Sioux Falls in November, 1909, and was attended by Dr. Shaw and Mrs. Avery. Your Organizer helped to arrange for this Convention, and also in carrying out the Convention plans for organization and the establishment of Headquarters. About three weeks were given to this. She was one of the speakers o nthe Convention program and also on the program for the annual meeting of the State Federation of Clubs, which immediately preceded the Suffrage Convention. During the year she addressed the students of the State University, Yankton College, and three of the State Normal schools.

That the election in South Dakota was lost is a disappointment, but it is only a temporary set-back, for the question will be submitted until settled in favor of Equal Suffrage. There were many elements contributing to the defeat, not the least being the complicated political situation in the State, and a campaign on State-wide prohibition.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON REVISING THE CONSTITUTION.

Proposed Constitution for the National Woman Suffrage Association.

Article I.

Name.

The name of this Association shall be the National Woman Suffrage Association.

Article II.

Object.

The object of this Association shall be to secure the right to vote to all women citizens of the United States.

Article III

Membership.

There shall be two classes of membership, consisting of: 1, Organizations; 2, Individuals.

Organizations.

Section 1. Any Suffrage organization with not less than fifty members may belong to this Association upon payment of the prescribed dues, and shall be entitled to representation in the National Convention by duly appointed delegates, as hereinafter provided for.

Sec. 2. National organizations may become affiliated members of the N. W. S. A. on approval of two-thirds of the National Executive Board, and upon payment of $10.00 annual dues—these affiliated organizations to be entitled to one delegate only.

Individuals.

Section 1. Any person paying $50.00 at any one time into the National Treasury may become a life member of the Association, and

shall be entitled to attend all its public meetings, to participate in all its discussions, and to receive reports and other documents published by it, but not entitled to vote.

Sec. 2. Individuals may become co-operating members of the N. W. S. A. by payment of $1.00.

Article IV.

Officers.

Section 1. The officers of the Association shall be a President, Vice-President, a Corresponding Secretary, a Recording Secretary, a Treasurer, and two Auditors.

Sec. 2. The duties of the officers shall be those usually pertaining to the office.

Sec. 3. The Treasurer shall keep an accurate account of receipts and disbursements, shall report at each meeting of the Executive Board, and shall present a detailed report thereof at each annual meeting. She shall collect all dues and pledges, and pay all bills authorized by the Board. She shall provide the State Associations with blank credentials for delegates to the annual meetings, and shall be ex-officio Chairman of the Committee on Credentials. The books of the Treasurer must close the first day of January, and the Treasurer's report shall be read at the second business meeting of the Annual Convention.

Article V.

Executive Board.

Section 1. The officers of the Association shall constitute an Executive Board, which shall transact all business of the Association between Conventions.

Sec. 2. The Executive Board shall meet at least once a month, except during the months of July and August.

Sec. 3. Five members shall constitute a quorum.

Article VI.

Advisory Council.

Section 1. There shall be an Advisory Council, consisting of the President of each organization belonging to the Association. It shall be the duty of this Advisory Council to promptly consider and reply to such questions as may be submitted to it by the Executive Board concerning the welfare of the Association.

Sec. 2. This Council shall hold an annual meeting preceding the Convention of the Association, and there shall be a joint meeting of the Executive Board and the Advisory Council the day after the Convention.

Sec. 3. One-fourth of the members of this Council may require the President of the Association to call a general meeting of the Council and Executive Board.

Sec. 4. The decisions of the Advisory Council shall be presented in the form of recommendations at the business meeting of the Convention, and to the Executive Board.

Article VII.

Basis of Representation.

Sec. 1. Every Suffrage organization belonging to the National Association paying at least $10.00 into the National Treasury shall be entitled to one delegate to the Annual Convention, and to one additional delegate for every additional $10.00 paid to National Treasury; provided, however, that each $10.00 shall represent at least fifty bona fide members of the local organization, which local organization shall decide what shall constitute bona fide membership.

Sec. 2. Each delegate present shall be entitled to cast one vote, and shall cast it personally, except on the election of officers, when the delegates present from each auxiliary Association may cast the full vote to which that organization is entitled.

Article VIII.

Election of Officers.

Section 1. The officers of this Association shall be elected on the last day, but one of the annual meeting. They shall be nominated by informal ballot. The three persons receiving the highest number of votes for any office shall be considered nominees, and the election shall be decided by a formal ballot.

Sec. 2. The terms of the General Officers shall expire at the end of the last session of the Convention.

Sec. 3. The Executive Board shall fill any vacancy on the Board which may occur during the year. The person so appointed shall serve until the next election.

Article IX.

Amendment of Constitution.

The Constitution may be amended at any annual meeting by a two-thirds vote of the delegates present. Such proposed amendment shall be published in the official organ of the National Woman Suffrage Association at least six weeks before the meeting at which it is to be voted upon, and shall be sent out with the call to the meeting.

By-Law I.

Annual Convention.

Section 1. This Association shall hold an Annual Convention of regularly elected delegates for the election of officers and the transaction of business.

Sec. 2. Delegates must present credentials signed by the President and Secretary of their respective organizations.

By-Law II.

Committees.

Section 1. At its first meeting after the Convention, the Executive Board shall appoint such committees as it may deem necessary to carry on the work of the Association. Committees so appointed shall serve until the close of the next Convention.

Sec. 2. The Executive Board may from time to time appoint special committees, as occasion may require.

Sec. 3. The Chairmen of these Committees shall be members ex-officio of the Advisory Council.

By-Law III.

Amendment of By-Laws.

These By-laws may be amended by a two-thirds vote at any annual meeting thereof, one day's notice having been given in Convention.

The following amendment is proposed by Miss Laura Clay:

Amend Article VIII., on Election of Officers, Section 1, by adding after the last line, "and the election shall be decided by a formal ballot," these words: "The result of the formal ballot for the preceding officer nominated shall be announced before taking the informal ballot for the next."

MARY WARE DENNETT,
JESSIE ASHLEY,
HARRIET BURTON LAIDLAW,
HENRIETTA W. LIVERMORE,
KATHERINE HOUGHTON HEPBURN,

MINUTES OF THE FORTY-THIRD ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

Meetings of the General Officers.

October 17th, 7.30 P. M.

The Board of the NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION, met in Parlor B, Seelbach Hotel, Louisville, Kentucky, at 7.30 P. M., October 17, 1911.

Present: Anna H. Shaw, Catharine W. McCulloch, Kate Gordon, Mary Ware Dennett, Ella S. Stewart, Jessie Ashley, Laura Clay and Alice Stone Blackwell.

The meeting was called to order by the President.

The roll was called for topics of discussion and recommendation. Miss Clay suggested New Hampshire and Oregon.

Miss Gordon suggested Convention resolutions and amendments. Scope of National work. Direct election of Senators.

Mrs. Dennett, date for next Convention, mid-Winter.

Mrs. Stewart suggested Organizers and campaigns. Recording Secretary and records. Personal privilege.

Miss Blackwell, Memorial resolutions, literature, temperance leaflet. Woman's Journal. How money for campaign States shall be raised. Headquarters, where and how to provide rent.

Miss Ashley suggested Wisconsin and Kansas.

Mrs. McCulloch moved to recommend to Executive Committee that our next Convention be held in November, between Election and Thanksgiving. Seconded by Miss Clay. Carried.

Miss Gordon moved to recommend that all contributions for campaigns outside the campaign States themselves be sent through the National Treasury. This money to be expended according to instructions. Carried.

Miss Blackwell moved to recommend that the officers of any State auxiliary be permitted to solicit funds through the Woman's Journal, provided they do not take too much space.

Miss Clay moved to amend by substituting the words "campaign States" for "any State auxiliary." The amendment was seconded by Mrs. Dennett. Carried.

Motion as amended carried.

Mrs. McCulloch called up the subject of campaign States.

Miss Clay presented situation in New Hampshire where a Constitutional Convention is to be held next June.

Miss Gordon moved to recommend that steps be taken to improve the opportunity for a Suffrage campaign which the situation in New Hampshire presents. Prevailed.

The situation in Oregon was discussed. Moved to recommend

that the request of Wisconsin Suffragists for Miss Harriet Grim as Organizer be granted. Carried.

Moved and carried to adjourn to 8:30, October 18.

October 18th.

Board met at 8:30 a. m., all members being present, the President in the Chair.

Minutes of the preceding meeting read and approved.

The question of National Organizers in Wisconsin was taken up.

It was moved and carried that if finances warrant it that the Association supply both Miss James and Mrs. Brown with an Organizer.

The situation in Kansas was discussed, and Mrs. Boyer's qualifications as manager or worker in the Kansas campaign were presented, and it was moved and carried that the employment of Mrs. Boyer be recommended to the Kansas Suffragists.

It was suggested that the California delegation be consulted as to a list of the best California speakers available for the present campaigns.

Mrs. Dennett suggested that the situation in Maryland be considered and on motion of Miss Clay the question was taken up.

The protest of the Equal Suffrage League of Baltimore against the legality of its expulsion from Maryland State Woman Suffrage Association was read by Mrs. McCulloch. Letters were read and discussion followed.

On motion of Miss Clay the question was laid on the table until called up.

Mrs. McCulloch moved a two-minute time limit on all discussions. Carried.

Miss Ashley brought up the question of Mrs. Boyer's account in Oklahoma and explained the difference of opinion on that matter, Mrs. Boyer claiming $200 still due her, and Miss Ashley claiming that Mrs. Boyer had already been paid $500 more than amount appropriated. After lengthy discussion, Miss Clay moved, seconded by Miss Gordon, that Mrs. Boyer's claim for headquarters expenses and salary, and personal expenses, now including only $200 due to Miss Blackwell, unpaid, shall be paid, with a statement to Mrs. Boyer that the Board is not unanimous about its being in accordance with the previous vote of the Board. Motion carried.

Mrs. Stewart moved and it was carried that all financial arrangements with field workers in the future be in the form of contracts signed by contracting parties, copies of which shall be held by each.

Miss Ashley asked whether this $200 might be paid from the Susan B. Anthony Memorial Fund.

Miss Gordon asked time to consult with certain parties before giving consent.

Discussion followed on the disposition of Susan B. Anthony Memorial Fund.

Miss Ashley reported on money raising trip of Miss Gruening and Miss Fleming.

Moved and carried to adjourn.

2.45 P. M.

Minutes read and approved, after correction.

Moved by Mrs. McCulloch that the Maryland matter be taken from the table. Carried. But by consent the consideration was waived until it could be ascertained if the Board might agree upon certain phases of the revision of the Constitution which might have a bearing on the Maryland situation.

It was moved by Mrs. McCulloch that we agree on 300 members as the basis for admitting a second organization in any State, as proposed in Article III, Section 1.

Amended by Miss Blackwell to 100.

Yeas: Blackwell, Dennett, Ashley and Shaw. Nays: Stewart, McCulloch, Gordon. Clay not voting.

On the amendment to substitute 400 for 100, the vote was:

Yeas: Gordon, Stewart, McCulloch. Nays: Blackwell, Shaw, Ashley, Dennett. Lost.

On the amendment to substitute 300 for 100, the vote was:

Yeas: Gordon, Stewart, McCulloch, Clay. Nays: Ashley, Dennett. Carried.

The amendment was afterward adopted unanimously.

Mrs. John W. Wilson, of Maryland Equal Franchise League, was introduced and made a statement regarding the difficulties in Maryland.

Mrs. McCulloch moved:

Whereas, Our National Constitution does not forbid the auxiliaryship of more than one State organization; and

Whereas, The Maryland Equal Franchise League had paid its dues before January to our National Treasury; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the official Board instructs the Credentials Committee of this Convention to accept the credentials of the Maryland Franchise League.

Carried.

Miss Clay moved that Mrs. Wilson be asked to withhold her credentials until the Convention has acted upon the revision of the Constitution. Carried.

On Constitution.

Mrs. McCulloch moved to recommend that the Editor-in-Chief of the Woman's Journal shall be an officer of the Association.

Six affirmative. Miss Shaw opposed. Miss Blackwell not voting.

Moved by Mrs. McCulloch to reconsider the vote just taken.

Mrs. McCulloch moved to amend by substitution of Editor of official organ for Editor of Woman's Journal. Carried.

Miss Ashley moved that the books of the Treasurer close four weeks before the National Convention. Carried.

Treasurer to give monthly resumé to Board.

Moved and seconded to adjourn 8:30 to not later than 10:00 Approved.

9.00 P. M.

The meeting was called to order by the Chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read and approved.

By-Law III, Section 2, read and approved, and the following voted: "The Executive Committee shall elect from itself a Membership Committee which shall pass upon the qualifications of organizations applying for auxiliaryship."

Mrs. Stewart, as a matter of personal privilege, asked leave to lay before the Board correspondence between herself and Miss M. Cary Thomas touching upon the correctness of the minutes of one of the sessions of the Washington Convention, especially as Miss Thomas had stated that Miss Shaw, Mrs. Dennett and Miss Ashley agreed with her as to the incorrectness of the resolution in question.

Mrs. Dennett and Miss Ashley stated that Miss Thomas had misrepresented them, and the following statement was ordered spread upon the minutes: "That the correspondence between Miss Thomas and the Recording Secretary of the National American Woman Suffrage Association had been laid before the Official Board of the N. A. W. S. A.; that the Official Board, with the exception of the President, all believe that the testimonial to Mrs. Potter as printed in the minutes is in the same words as it was read by Mrs. Kelley at the public meeting; and the Board, including the President, are unanimously convinced that it is the same as the written testimonial handed to the Recording Secretary by Mrs. Kelley, and taken down at the time by the Recording Secretary and the Stenographer and read several times to the Convention by Mrs. Stewart in the minutes, without challenge."

The meeting of the Board was adjourned.

October 19th.

Minutes read and approved.

On motion of Miss Blackwell work was resumed on the Constitution.

Societies now auxiliary to State Associations shall not be eligible to direct membership in the National unless they have been refused auxiliaryship by their own State Association.

Miss Clay moved to strike out "Enrollment" in By-law III. Seconded. Lost.

Moved by Miss Blackwell that the Official Board submit to the Executive Committee a unanimous recommendation of the following amendments to the proposed amendments:*

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*For revisions proposed three months previous to the Convention, according to the requirements of the Constitution, see page

Article I.

Name.

The name of this Association shall be the National Woman Suffrage Association.

Article II.

Object.

The object of this Association shall be to secure protection, in their right to vote, to the women citizens of the United States, by appropriate National and State legislation.

Article III.

Members.

Section 1. All persons subscribing to this Constitution and paying not less than one dollar annually into the Treasury of this Association, shall be called contributing members thereof, and shall be entitled to attend all its meetings, to participate in all discussions that may arise, and to receive reports and other documents published by it.

Sec. 2. Any State Woman Suffrage organization, or any other Suffrage organization of not less than 300 members, may become auxiliary to the National American Woman Suffrage Association, and thus secure representation in the Annual Convention by paying annually into its Treasury, ten cents per member. Societies now auxiliary to our State Associations shall not be eligible to direct membership in the National unless they shall be refused auxiliaryship in their States.

Sec. 3. Any National Suffrage Association may become auxiliary to the National American Woman Suffrage Association upon the approval of two-thirds of the Executive Committee, and the payment of ten cents per member into the National Treasury. It shall then be entitled to representation in the National Convention upon the same basis as State Associations.

Sec. 4. The payment of fifty dollars ($50) into the Treasury shall constitute a Life Member of the Association, entitled to attend all its public meetings, to participate in all discussions, and receive reports and other documents published by it, but not entitled to vote.

Sec. 5. The persons entitled to vote at the Annual Convention shall be the general officers, ex-Presidents of this Association, Chairmen of the Standing Committees, the State Presidents and State members of the National Executive Committee, and one delegate for every one hundred paid-up members, and for every fraction of one hundred. State organizations having not less than one hundred members shall have but one representative in the Annual Convention and in the Executive Committee, such representative to be the President of the organization.

Sec. 6. Individuals may become co-operating members of the N. A. W. S. A. by the payment of $1.00.

Sec. 7. National organizations may become affiliated members of the N. A. W. S. A. on approval of two-thirds of the National Executive Committee and upon payment of $10.00 annual dues—these affiliated organizations to be entitled to one delegate only.

Article IV.

Officers.

Section 1. The officers of the Association shall be a President, two Vice-Presidents, a Recording Secretary, a Corresponding Secretary, a Treasurer, two Auditors, and the Editor of the official organ.

Sec. 2. Presidents of auxiliary State organizations shall be ex-officio Vice-Presidents.

Article V.

Duties of Officers.

Section 1. The general officers, viz.: the President, two Vice-Presidents, Recording and Corresponding Secretaries, Treasurer, two Auditors, and the Editor of the official organ, shall constitute a Board of General Officers, to supervise the general interests of the work in the interim of the annual meetings. Five members shall constitute a quorum, or a majority may act by correspondence. Special meetings may be called by the President and must be called when requested by three members of the Board.

Sec. 2. Presidents of auxiliary State organizations to such office.

Sec. 3. The Vice-Presidents shall perform all the duties of the President in case of the President's absence or disability.

Sec. 4. The Recording Secretary shall keep a correct record of the proceedings, and perform all the other duties usual to such office.

Sec. 5. The Corresponding Secretary shall conduct all correspondence of the organization, and shall secure from the Corresponding Secretary of each auxiliary State Association a report of its work.

Sec. 6. The Treasurer shall keep an accurate account of receipts and disbursements, shall send a monthly summary to the members of the Board, and shall present a detailed report at each annual meeting. The Treasurer shall pay no bills of the general Association except on order of the President and Recording Secretary, but may disburse the funds of the Standing Committees when directed to do so by an authorized person on the Committee without the signature of the President and Recording Secretary. The Treasurer shall provide the State Associations with blank credentials for delegates to the annual meetings, and shall be ex-officio Chairman of the Committee on Credentials. The books of the Treasurer must close four weeks before the Annual Convention, and the Treasurer's report shall be read at the second business meeting of the Annual Convention.

Sec. 7. The Auditors shall examine and verify the books of the Treasurer, and shall give a report thereof at each annual meeting.

Article VI.

Executive Committee.

Section 1. The Executive Committee shall consist of the General Officers, the President of each State organization and other auxiliary, and, in addition, one member from each State organization having one hundred or more members, together with the Chairmen of Standing and Special Committees; of these officers fifteen shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

Sec. 2. The Executive Committee of this Association shall hold one session preceding the opening of each Annual Convention, and another at its close.

Sec. 3. The decision reached by the Executive Committee at its pre-Convention session shall be presented in the form of recommendations at the business sessions of the Convention.

Sec. 4. A majority of the Executive Committee shall act by correspondence upon any matter referred to it by the Board.

Sec. 5. The Executive Committee may elect as Honorary Vice-President distinguished adherents of the cause of Woman Suffrage who are removed from active work.

The Official Board recommends that the proposed amendment to Articles VII and VIII be amended so as to read as follows:

Article VII.

Election of Officers.

Section 1. The General Officers of this Association shall be elected on the last day, but one of the annual meeting. They shall be nominated by an informal ballot. The three persons receiving the highest number of votes for any office shall be considered nominees, and the election be decided by a formal ballot. The result of the formal ballot for the preceding officer nominated shall be announced before taking the informal ballot for the next.

Sec. 2. The terms of the general officers shall expire at the end of the last session of the Convention, and the terms of the newly elected officers shall commence with the session of the Executive Committee held at the close of the Convention.

Sec. 3. The Board of General Officers may fill any vacancy on that Board which may occur during the year.

Sec. 4. In the election of officers, the delegates present from each State may cast the full vote to which that State is entitled. The vote shall be taken in the same way upon any other question, whenever the delegates present from five States request it. In other cases each delegate shall have one vote.

Article VIII.

This Constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote at any annual meeting, after one day's notice in the Convention, notice of the proposed amendment having been given to the Board of General

Officers, which notice said officers shall publish in the official organ twice, the first time not less than three months in advance of the Convention.

BY-LAWS.

By-Law 1.

Annual Convention.

Section 1. This Association shall hold an Annual Convention of regularly elected delegates for the election of officers and the transaction of business. An annual meeting may be held in Washington, D. C., during the first session of each Congress.

Sec. 2. In the absence of State President or State Member of the Executive Committee, the delegation from that State may elect a proxy by ballot.

Sec. 3. A State Association, having no delegates present, shall not give a proxy to a person from another State.

Sec. 4. Any organization whose dues are unpaid on the closing of the Treasurer's books shall lose its vote in the Convention for that year.

Sec. 5. Delegates must present credentials signed by the President and Recording Secretary of their respective States.

By-Law II.

The Committee on Resolutions shall consist of one person from each State, elected by its delegation, and also a Chairman to be elected by the Executive Committee.

By-Law III.

Section 1. After each Annual Convention the Board of General Officers shall elect the following Standing Committees: A Committee on Programme, of which the President shall be Chairman, to arrange the programme for the next annual meeting; a Congressional Committee, to have in charge the direct Congressional work; Committee on Literature, Press Work, Enrollment, Presidential Suffrage, Local Arrangements, and Railroad Rates.

Sec. 2. The President shall appoint, during each Annual Convention, a Committee on Resolutions, consisting of five members, who shall report to the Resolution Committee at the next Annual Convention, and Executive Committee shall elect from itself a Membership Committee, which shall pass upon the qualifications applying for auxiliaryship.

Sec. 3. Special Committee may be elected by the Board of General Officers.

By-Law IV.

The annual report prepared by the Secretary of each State Association, and approved by the President of the Association, must be read as written, and any alterations must be made from the floor in open Convention.

By-Law V.

The Treasurer of the Association shall give bond in such sum as shall cover the funds in her charge.

By-Law VI.

These By-Laws may be amended by a two-thirds vote at any annual meeting, one day's notice having been given in Convention.

Upon the proposed amendment contained in Article V of the report of the Constitution Revision Committee, the Official Board was divided and no recommendation was made.

3.00 P. M.

Correspondence from Indiana laid before the Board.

Situation in Indiana outlined.

Mrs. Stewart moved the matter to be postponed to the post-Convention Board meetings. Carried.

Letters from Maryland Woman Suffrage Association and from Mrs. Ellicott read.

Mrs. Wilson was admitted and informed of the action of the Board with reference to the Maryland Equal Franchise League.

The question of headquarters was taken up.

Miss Blackwell asked what are the financial prospects for supporting headquarters in New York.

Miss Clay spoke on increased cost. An informal discussion.

1907	$6,606.48
1908	6,161.97
1909	6,592.29
June, 1910	2,219.92
	3,599.90

Mrs. McCulloch moved to reconsider the motion passed yesterday relative to the seating of the Baltimore Equal Suffrage League.

Miss Ashley moved, and it was carried to substitute the following resolution for resolution adopted yesterday.

"Whereas, the Equal Suffrage League of Baltimore, one of the Auxiliaries of the Maryland Woman Suffrage Association offered its annual dues to the Maryland Equal Suffrage Association in proper time and such dues were refused, and, whereas, the Equal Suffrage League of Baltimore has paid to the National Treasurer its dues before January 1, 1911, with the request that delegates representing the Maryland Suffragists whose dues it paid be seated as

delegates in the National Convention as part of the delegation from Maryland, and in addition to the eligible delegates sent by the Maryland Woman Suffrage Association; therefore, we instruct the Credentials Committee to accept the credentials of the eligible delegates from the Equal Suffrage League of Baltimore in accordance with their request."

It was moved and carried to adjourn.

Board met pursuant to adjournment. All members present. The President in the Chair.

Miss Blackwell moved to recommend to the Executive Committee a correspondent from the United States to Jus Suffragii. Motion carried.

Woman's Journal question taken up, on vote.

Mrs. Dennett moved that the Board recommend to the Convention the continuation of the Woman's Journal as the national organ. Motion carried.

Miss Blackwell spoke on Convention Resolutions.

Miss Blackwell moved that we continue the work of securing resolutions from conventions. Carried.

Mrs. Dennett moved that an immediate inquiry be made of the proper people to ascertain whether there is still any opportunity open to secure the right of women to act as electors in case of the passage of the amendment providing for the direct election of United States Senators, and that the Board recommend the adoption of the policy of working for this amendment. Carried.

Mrs. Dennett asked appropriation for Suffrage supplies, not literature.

It was moved and carried.

Recommend liberal appropriation for supplies, to stock up.

Mrs. Stewart moved a vote of thanks to Miss Ashley for loan to Association to meet the Woman's Journal deficit. Carried.

Miss Clay moved that when the Bates legacy comes into the treasury that it be applied on outstanding obligations, reported by Miss Ashley. Carried.

Moved by Miss Ashley that Mrs. McCulloch be authorized to inquire of the Dickinson heirs as to the possibility of their buying the interest of the National Woman Suffrage Association. Carried.

Moved by Mrs. McCulloch that the consideration of the work in Oregon and Nevada be postponed indefinitely. Carried.

On motion, the Board adjourned.

Sunday Morning, October 22nd.

The Board was called to meet delegations from some of the campaign states.

Miss Ada James, President of the Wisconsin Political Party League, and Mrs. Norah Perkins Jeanson, proxy for the President

of the Wisconsin Woman Suffrage Association, were admitted to discuss the Wisconsin situation. Miss Blackwell moved, and it was carried, that dealings between the National and the Wisconsin Suffragists be conducted through the Co-operative Committee. On motion of Mrs. McCulloch, the Board voted to recommend to the Co-operative Committee the consolidation of the Headquarters at 1016 Wells Building, Milwaukee. The following offer was signed by the two representatives.

"If the N. A. W. S. A. will help the Wisconsin campaign, we recommend that such help be given directly through the Co-operative Committee of the Wisconsin W. S. A. and the Wisconsin P. E. L., and we representing these two organizations agree that the respective Presidents of these organizations will not be on the Committee."

The following resolution was then adopted:

"Whereas, The Representatives of the Wisconsin W. S. A. and of the Wisconsin P. E. L. recommend to the National that the National give its help to the Wisconsin campaign through the Co-operative Committee of these two organizations, and such as may afterward be admitted, and these Representatives agree that the Presidents of the said two organizations shall not be upon the Co-operative Committee, be it

"Resolved, That we will give our assistance to the Wisconsin compaign through the Co-operative Committee."

Mrs. Boyer was next admitted to say on what conditions she would undertake work in the Kansas campaign.

Mrs. Hoffman and Mrs. Johnson were next received. It was decided that action should be deferred until the Kansas women could confer with Mrs. Boyer.

Adjournment.

MINUTES OF THE EXECUTIVE MEETING,

Thursday Evening, October 19th, 1911

The Executive Committee of the N. A. W. S. A. met in the Red Room of the Seelbach Hotel, Louisville, Thursday evening, October 19, 1911.

The meeting was called to order by the President, Anna H. Shaw.

On motion of Miss Clay, the printed program was adopted as the order of the day.

After Roll Call by the Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. McCulloch moved and it was carried that reporters be allowed to remain.

The recommendations of the Board were read. A motion of Miss Mills prevailed that the Executive Committee recommend to the Convention all the proposals of the Official Board.

The "compromise" Constitution of the Official Board was read, and considered seriatum. Articles I and II were accepted. Mrs.

French moved to substitute the word fifty for three hundred in Section 2.

A two-minute time limit was adopted.

Miss Mills moved to amend Mrs. French's motion by substituting 500 for 50.

The vote being called resulted in a vote of 22 for the amendment to 17 against.

The amendment to substitute 500 for 300 was lost.

It was moved and carried to adjourn.

The Forty-third Annual Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association was called to order in DeMolay Commandery Hall, Louisville, Kentucky, October 20, 1911, at 10 a. m., by the President, Dr. Anna H. Shaw.

After appropriate opening remarks and some announcements the President introduced Miss Laura Clay, the President of the Kentucky Equal Rights Association, who extended a cordial welcome to the delegates on behalf of the Kentucky Association.

Mrs. Catharine Waugh McCulloch, of Illinois, first Vice-President, responded to the address of welcome, on behalf of the delegates.

The following Convention Committees were announced by the Chair:

On Courtesies: Chairman, Miss Mary J. Lafron, Louisville.

Credentials: Chairman, Miss Jessie Ashley, Treasurer; Mrs. Susan Fitzgerald, Massachusetts; Miss Elizabeth Pope, New York; Dr. Sarah M. Sievers, Ohio; Miss Frances Wills, California.

The Chair stated that inasmuch as there are so many requests to distribute literature and take subscriptions or sell articles that a committee would be appointed to which all such requests should be referred and named as this committee: Mrs. Catharine Waugh McCulloch, First Vice-President; Mrs. J. B. Judah, and Mrs. John B. Castle.

Mr. Omar E. Garwood, of Colorado, was introduced as a delegate from Colorado, and the Secretary of the Men's Defense League of the Woman of Colorado, a league of Colorado men which has been organized to defend Equal Suffrage and refute the misrepresentations of the workings of Equal Suffrage in Colorado. Mr. Garwood spoke briefly.

Miss Patty Blackburn Semple, the President of the Louisville Woman's Club, was introduced and gave a most sympathetic welcome to the Convention to Louisville, and extended an invitation to the Convention to a tea at the rooms of the Club at five o'clock Monday afternoon.

Mrs. Ben Hardin Helm, sister of Mrs. Abraham Lincoln, was introduced and expressed her interest and sympathy in the work of the Suffrage Association.

Mrs. Alexander Pope Humphrey was presented and extended an

invitation to delegates and visitors to a reception at her home, "Truecastle," this afternoon.

The report of the recommendations of the Executive Committee was read as follows:

1. That the date of the next National Convention be in November, between Election and Thanksgiving.

2. That all contributions for campaigns (outside the campaign States themselves) be sent through the National Treasury, this money to be expended according to the instruction of donors.

3. That the officers of any campaign State, auxiliary to the National, be permitted to solicit funds through the Woman's Journal, provided the appeals are brief.

4. The appointment of a correspondent from the United States to Jus Suffragii.

5. The continuation of the Woman's Journal as the national organ.

6. The continuation of the work of securing Suffrage resolutions from Conventions.

7. That an immediate inquiry be made of the proper people to ascertain whether there is still any opportunity open to secure the right of women to act as electors in case of the passage of the sixteenth amendment providing for the direct election of United States Senators, and that the Board recommend the adoption of the policy of working for this amendment.

8. A liberal appropriation to stock up with Suffrage supplies, other than literature, such as posters, pennants, badges, etc., etc.

9. That steps be taken to improve the opportunity for a Suffrage campaign which the situation in New Hampshire presents.

10. That speakers be provided for each of the two organizations in Wisconsin.

11. Recommendations of Mrs. Boyer to work in Kansas, if Kansas Suffragists desire her.

12. Consideration, work in Oregon, Nevada, postponed; inasmuch as no formal requests have yet been made.

13. The report of the Committee on Presidential suffrage was given by Miss Elizabeth U. Yates and the report was adopted.

The Chair stated that Dr. Mary D. Hussey, whose report on enrollment was the next in order, was detained at home by the illness of her father. A telegram of sympathy was ordered sent.

The report of the Literature Committee, Myra H. Hartshorn, Chairman, was called for, but without response.

The report of the auditors was given as follows: We have examined the books and vouchers of the National Treasurer, and we find the accounts correct. Laura Clay, Alice Stone Blackwell, Auditors.

The report was adopted.

The report of the Treasurer was presented by Jessie Ashley, National Treasurer.

Miss Gordon moved and it was carried that the report be accepted, exclusive of the arguments contained in it.

The motion prevailed.

The report of the Corresponding Secretary was presented by Mrs. Mary Ware Dennett, and on motion of Mrs. Laddey, of New Jersey, the report was adopted with thanks.

Miss Caroline I. Reilly gave the report of the Press Bureau.

A motion prevailed that this report be adopted, with a vote of thanks.

After announcements by the Chairman of Courtesies, Miss Agnes Ryan, of the Woman's Journal, was introduced by the Chair, and gave her report as Business Manager, which was adopted with thanks and enthusiasm.

Moved and carried to adjourn.

2:30 P. M.

The Convention was called to order, the President in the Chair.

The minutes of the morning session were read and approved.

The Chair read a letter of greeting from Mrs. Stubbs, wife of the Governor of Kansas.

The discussion of the topic, "The Proper Function of the National," was led by Dr. Anna E. Blount, of Chicago, and Miss M. Cary Thomas, of Pennsylvania, a two-minute time limit being announced by the Chair to govern the general discussion.

Miss Florence Dwight, of Pasadena, California, was appointed time-keeper.

Those taking part in the discussion were Mrs. McClelland Brown, Mrs. Mary Ware Dennett, Miss Agnes Ryan, Dr. Sarah Sievers, Mrs. Susan Fitzgerald, Mrs. French, Dr. Hurd, and Laura White.

Dr. Blount, of Illinois, announced her instruction as head of the Illinois delegation, to urge the removal of National Headquarters to Chicago, and gave notice that she would later make the motion.

Miss Caroline Lowe was introduced as the Fraternal Delegate from the Woman's National Committee of the Socialist Party, and Miss Alice Henry bore the fraternal geetings of the National Woman's Trade Union League of America.

A telegram of greeting was read from Mrs. Caroline Meriweather Goddlott, of Nashville, founder of the Daughters of the Confederacy.

The revision to the Constitution recommended by the Executive Committee was taken up, and Article I, Name; Article II, Object, were adopted.

On motion consideration of Section 1 and Section 2 of Article III were postponed.

Sections 3, 4, and 5 were adopted as read, with the exception of the word "not" in the fourth from the last line of Section 5, the Chair stating that this was a typographical error.

The time for adjournment having arrived, Dr. Sievers moved, and

it was carried, that when we adjourn to 9:30 to-morrow morning, to select the seats of the delegations.

Saturday Morning, October 21st.

The Convention was called to order at 10:00 a. m., the President, Dr. Anna H. Shaw, in the Chair.

The minutes of the preceding session were read, and after correction, approved.

An announcement was read of the annual meeting of the College Equal Suffrage League, in the Seelbach Hotel, at 10 o'clock, and a luncheon of college and professional women at the hotel at noon, Dr. Thomas acting as toast mistress, and the guests of honor being Dr. Anna H. Shaw and Miss Jane Addams.

On motion of Miss Gordon it was ordered that the morning sessions for the remainder of the Convention open at 9:30 instead of 10:00, as prescribed by the program.

The next order of the day was the discussion of the topic, "How to Reach the Uninterested," and the members advertised to lead it being detained by illness, the Convention, on motion of Miss Gordon, voted to devote one-half hour to discussion from the floor. The following took part in the discussion:

Miss Kate Gordon, Miss Clay, of Kentucky; Mrs. Somerville, of Mississippi; Mrs. Jenks, of New Hampshire; Dr. Hurd and Mrs. Nelson, of Minnesota; Miss Dye, of Indiana; Mrs. Valentine, of Virginia; Mrs. Lowe, of Missouri; Miss Winsor, of Pennsylvania; Mrs. Dennett; Miss Bower, of South Dakota; Mrs. Leach, of Indiana; Mrs. Fenquay, of Oklahoma, and Mrs. Laddey, of New Jersey.

The report of South Dakota was given by Miss Rose Bower, in the absence of the President.

Miss Laura Clay, President, reported for the Kentucky Equal Rights Association.

Mrs. Ella S. Stewart, President of the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association, reported the work of that State.

No one being present from Colorado, that State was passed.

Miss Brackinridge, of San Antonio, Texas, was introduced and spoke of the Texas situation.

In the absence of the President of Iowa, Miss Carrie Burkhardt made a brief, informal report.

Mrs. Mary Sperry, of California, having just arrived, was called to the platform and introduced as the former President of California and former National officer. Mrs. Sperry spoke briefly, as did also Mrs. Roderick Ringrose, Mrs. Rose French, the providers and dispensers of three million pages of California campaign literature; Miss Frances Wills, of Los Angeles; Miss Florence Dwight, of Pasadena; Mrs. Mary D. Fisk, and Mr. J. H. Braly.

The report of Louisiana was given by its President, Miss Kate Gordon.

The Connecticut report was read by Mrs. Grace Gallatin Seton, proxy for the President.

The further report of California was given by Mrs. Elizabeth Lowe Watson, the President.

Inasmuch as Mrs. Johnson, the President of Kansas Suffrage Association, was obliged to leave the Convention to-day, her report was allowed to be presented out of its order.

Mrs. Johnson was introduced by the Chair as the wife of Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, as well as State President, and spoke of the situation in Kansas.

The preliminary report of the Credentials Committee was presented Miss Jessie Ashley, reporting credentials from 95 delegates.

After the report on representation from Minnesota, reporting three delegates present out of the six entitled, Miss Emily Dobbin presented a protest from the St. Paul Political Equality League, at the exclusion of herself and other members of the Minnesota Association from the delegation.

It was moved by Mrs. Leech and seconded that the adjudication of the Minnesota affair be placed in the hands of the legal adviser and that they abide by her decision.

Miss Gordon moved as an amendment that the report of the legal adviser be made to the Convention.

The motion as thus amended prevailed.

The preliminary report of the Credentials Committee was adopted.

The Conference on Propaganda was opened with an address by Miss Mary Winsor, of Philadelphia, continued by Mrs. Grace Gallatin Seton until time for adjournment.

On motion the further discussion was postponed until the afternoon session.

Moved and carried to adjourn.

2:45 P. M.

The Convention was called to order at 2:45 p. m., the Second Vice-President, Miss Gordon, in the Chair.

The minutes of the preceding session were read and approved.

The conference on propaganda was continued with Mrs. Susan Fitzgerald as Speaker.

Mrs. A. M. Harrison, Fraternal Delegate from the Federation of Women's Clubs, was introduced and bore greetings of the Federation.

Mrs. Feuquay, proxy for the President, gave the report of Oklahoma.

A motion of Mrs. McCormick, of Massachusetts, to postpone the further reports of States and take up the consideration of the Constitution was lost.

The report of the Missouri Association was given by Mrs. Robert M. Atkinson, President.

The report of Nebraska was given by Miss Mary Williams, proxy for the President.

The report of New Hampshire was given by Mrs. Agnes M. Jenks, proxy for the President.

The report of Minnesota was read by Miss Emily C. Dobbin, retiring President.

On motion the proposed amendments to the Constitution were taken up.

Mrs. Lida Calvert Obenchain, author of "Aunt Jane of Kentucky," was introduced.

A motion of Miss Hifton that the discussion of the proposed amendments be postponed until Monday was lost.

Miss Ashley made a point of order on the procedure of the adoption of the Constitution as follows: That the amendments to the Constitution published in the Woman's Journal in compliance with the article on revision should be the amendments before us and those recommended by the Board should be presented as substitute amendments. The Chair sustained the point.

On motion of Miss Clay, Sec. I, Article III, was stricken out.

On motion Section 2 was adopted.

It was moved by Dr. Blount and seconded, that the words 300 in Section 2 be changed to 500.

On motion of Miss Clay the two-minute limit was construed to apply to the recommendations of the Board only.

After discussion the vote was taken and resulted as follows: Yeas, 50; nays, 57; and the amendment was lost.

The motion of Dr. Sarah Sievers to change the 10 cents to 25 cents membership dues was lost.

Section 7, Article III, was adopted. Article IV, V, and Section 1, Article VI were adopted.

At this point Mrs. Hall, of Minnesota raised a point of order that the motions on adoption had been declared carried on a majority vote, instead of two-thirds, as prescribed by the Constitution.

The Chair stated that the point was well taken, and that the previous actions on the amendments to the Constitution were illegal. A motion to ratify was carried unanimously, by viva voca vote.

Sections 2, 3 and 4 of Article VI were adopted.

Sections 1, 2, 3 and 4 of Article VII were adopted.

Miss Thomas moved as an amendment to Article VIII that instead of having the amendment to the Constitution published in our official organ six weeks before, we adopt the usual form in legislative bodies and have an amendment moved in one Convention to have it acted upon in the next. Motion seconded by Miss Mills. Motion lost.

Article VIII was adopted.

Mrs. Dennett read the amendment proposed by the Revision Committee on which the Official Board and the Executive Committee had made no recommendation, as follows: "The Executive Board

shall meet at least once a month except during the months of July and August." She moved the adoption of the amendment.

Miss Gillette moved and it was carried that the consideration of this question be postponed until Monday.

It was moved and carried to adjourn.

Monday Morning, October 23d.

9:55 A. M.

The Convention was called to order by the President.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and approved.

A telegram of affectionate sympathy and greeting was ordered sent to Mrs. Susan Look Avery, of Louisville, prevented from attendance at our Convention by the death of her son.

The legal adviser, Mrs. McCulloch, reported that the protest concerning the seating of the Minnesota delegation has been withdrawn and the matter happily adjusted, and there would be no occasion for further action.

Dr. Blount moved that the Conference on Political District Organization be postponed and that the amendments to the Constitution be considered.

Mrs. Dennett renewed her motion of Saturday afternoon that Section 2 of Article V, of the Constitution proposed by the Revision Committee, reading "The Executive Board shall meet at least once a month, except during the months of July and August," be added to Section 1, Article V. Mrs. Fitzgerald seconded the motion.

Mrs. McCormick moved and it was carried that the discussion be limited to three minutes to each speaker.

After remarks by Mrs. Trout, Mrs. Jenks, Mrs. McCormick and Dr. Blount, Mrs. Steinem moved that the amendment be laid on the table.

The yeas and nays being taken, showed the vote to be 67 for and 53 against, and the motion prevailed.

The by-laws were next considered.

By-laws I and II were adopted as recommended by the Board.

Miss Clay moved and it was carried that such verbal changes be made in the By-laws as shall bring them into harmony with the adopted sections of the Constitution.

Miss Pope moved and it was seconded to add to the list of Standing Committees a Committee on Credentials. The motion was lost.

By-law III was adopted as recommended by the Board.

It was moved by Mrs. Dennett and seconded by Mrs. Stewart that By-law IV be stricken out.

It was moved and seconded to "amend by substituting that the official report presented by any auxiliary to the National Association shall be printed in the minutes as authorized by the President and Secretary of that auxiliary.

The mover and seconder agreed and the motion prevailed.

Mrs. Fitzgerald asked that the amendment of Mrs. Dennett on Section 2, Article V (Revisions) be taken from the table.

Mrs. Steinem so moved and it was carried.

Miss Mills presented a request from five States: New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Maine and Connecticut that the vote on this question be taken by delegations.

Mrs. McCulloch moved and it was carried that these delegations be polled, to see how many join in this request.

The roll of delegates being called showed the request unanimous.

The question was declared before the Convention and was discussed by a number of members.

Mrs. Cothven moved to amend the section so that "two" months be substituted for "one" month.

Mrs. Boyer moved as an amendment "that the Board shall meet as often as in the judgment of the majority of its members it is required."

After discussion Mrs. McCormick moved the previous question on the amendment. The question being raised as to whether it was Mrs. Cothven's or Mrs. Boyer's amendment, the Chair ruled that Mrs. Boyer's amendment had received no second, and was not before the Convention.

The vote being taken on the previous question relating to amendment offered by Mrs. Cothven was carried, 203.2 to 71.8 and a vote by delegations was taken on the amendment to substitute two months for one month.

		Vote by State.	
	Entitled.	For.	Against.
California	11	8.2	2.8
Connecticut	6	6	..
Colorado	..	..	..
Delaware	..	..	..
District of Columbia	..	..	4
Illinois	..	13	..
Indiana	1	1	..
Iowa	9	..	9
Kentucky	14	2	8
Louisiana	..	..	10
Maine	..	..	4
Maryland	..	18	..
Massachusetts	..	20	..
Michigan	..	2	2
Minnesota	..	1	5
Missouri	..	3	1
Mississippi	..	..	1
Nebraska	..	..	7
New Hampshire	..	6	..

	Entitled.	Vote by State. For.	Against.
New Jersey	..	8	..
New York	..	56	..
Ohio	..	9	1
Oklahoma	..	..	5
Pennsylvania	..	11	..
South Dakota	..	4	..
Tennessee	..	2	..
Rhode Island	..	..	4
Wisconsin	..	1	..
Vermont	..	..	..
Virginia	..	..	6
West Virginia	..	..	..
F. E. R.	..	..	..
College League	..	26	..
Officers	..	4	1
Committee Chairman	..	1	..
Committee Chairman	..	1	..
	..	203.2	71.8

Moved that when we adjourn we adjourn to meet immediately after luncheon and take up the election of officers. Motion lost.

Adjourned.

The protest concerning the seating of the Minnesota delegation was referred to the Legal Adviser. Having discovered no evidence of such illegality in the election as would change the result, I was about to advise that the Report of the Credential Committee in seating this delegation be not criticised, but as the Protest has now been withdrawn and the matter happily adjusted I have to report that we have no reason for taking any further action.

Monday Afternoon, October 23d.

The meeting was called to order by the President.

The minutes of the previous session were read and approved.

On motion of Miss Thomas, the previous question (amendment to Constitution offered by Mrs. Dennett as amended by Mrs. Cothven, substituting two months for one) was ordered and the vote by delegations was taken on the motion, as amended, pending adjournment.

The vote was as follows:

	Yes.	No.
California	11	..
Connecticut	6	..
District of Columbia	..	4
Illinois	..	13
Indiana	1	..

	Yes.	No.
Iowa	..	9
Kentucky	2	11
Louisiana	..	10
Maine	4	..
Maryland	18	..
Massachusetts	20	..
Michigan	4	..
Minnesota	..	6
Missouri	..	4
Mississippi	..	1
Nebraska	..	7
New Hampshire	6	..
New Jersey	8	..
New York	56	..
Ohio	10	..
Oklahoma	..	5
Pennsylvania	13	..
Rhode Island	..	4
South Dakota	..	4
Tennessee	1	..
Virginia	1	..
Wisconsin	..	1
College Suffrage League	26	..
Officers	3	5
Committee Chairmen	2	1
	192	89

Being more than a two-thirds vote, the amendment prevailed.

On motion, the Convention proceeded to the election of officers.

Elinor Garrison was appointed as head of the counting tellers. Other tellers were appointed as follows:

Mrs. Rostrum, of Virginia; Dr. Harriet Ward, of Illinois; Alice Jenkins, of the District of Columbia; Mrs. Behrens, of Ohio; Mrs. Alice M. Boutwell, of Michigan; Miss Carrie Burkhardt, of Iowa; Mary C. Cramer, of Kentucky; Frances Wills, of California.

The report of the Credentials Committee was given, showing out of a possible attendance of 297 there were 133 delegates present.

Mrs. Tindall moved, and it was carried, that the Constitution as amended, be adopted as a whole.

The report of the Maine Association was given by the President, Mrs. Fannie J. Fernald.

Miss Harriet May Mills, President of New York, reported for that State.

Mrs. Clara Laddey, President, gave the report of the New Jersey Association.

The tellers reported the informal ballot on President as follows:

Total vote cast, 266, of which Anna H. Shaw received 210, Miss Gordon, 6; Caroline Bartlett Crane, 1; Catharine W. McCulloch, 37; Laura Clay, 12.

On motion of Mrs. McCulloch the Secretary cast the vote of Convention for Miss Shaw.

A letter of greeting was read from Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, written from Kimberly, South Africa.

Miss Mills moved, and it was carried, that a letter be sent by the Secretary to Mrs. Catt, expressing the love and good wishes of the Convention and regrets at her absence.

The report of the Ohio Association was given by the retiring President, Pauline Steinem.

The informal ballot on First Vice-President was declared as follows:

Jane Addams	196
Laura Clay	84
Dr. Anna Blount	1

On motion of Miss Clay, the Secretary was instructed to cast the ballot for Miss Addams, and she was declared elected.

Miss Elizabeth U. Yates gave the report of Rhode Island.

Mrs. Fitzgerald, proxy for the President, gave the Massachusetts report.

Mrs. Mary D. Fisk gave an address on Political District Organization.

The Tellers reported the informal vote on Second Vice-President as follows:

Miss Sophonisba Breckenridge	165
Miss Laura Clay	107
Mrs. Desha Breckenridge	8
Miss Kate Gordon	1
Dr. Anna E. Blount	1
Caroline Bartlett Crane	2

Mrs. Breckenridge having withdrawn her name, the vote was ordered taken on the names of Miss Breckenridge and Miss Clay.

In answer to the inquiry of Miss Gordon as to whether Miss Breckenridge had authorized the use of her name, it was answered affirmatively by Mrs. Fitzgerald, Mrs. McCormick and Miss Thomas.

The report of the Virginia Association was given by Lila Meade Valentine.

Miss Pope explained her plan of subscribing for magazines through headquarters.

The discussion of Political District Organization was continued, with Mrs. Caroline Katzenstein as speaker.

The elective vote on Second Vice-President was reported as follows:

For Miss Sophonisba Breckenridge	166 5-15
Miss Laura Clay	85 11-15

and Miss Breckenridge was declared elected.

Miss Clay moved that, "Inasmuch as the new Constitution does not go into effect until the end of this Convention, and as the Convention has created the office of Editor of the Official Organ, this Convention instruct the newly elected Official Board to elect Miss Alice Stone Blackwell Editor of the Official Organ immediately upon coming into office." The motion prevailed.

The Corresponding Secretary read a paper of Mrs. Charles Farwell Edson, of Los Angeles, on Political District Organization.

The Wisconsin report was read by Mrs. Jeanson, proxy for the President.

The Tellers reported the informal ballot for Corresponding Secretary as follows:

Mrs. Dennett	227 2-5
Miss M. Carey Thomas	24
Mrs. Pauline Steinem	6
Mrs. Stewart	5
Mrs. Boyer	11
Mrs. Leach	9

On motion the Recording Secretary cast the vote of the Convention for Mrs. Dennett, and she was declared elected.

The report of the informal ballot for Recording Secretary was given:

Mrs. Susan Fitzgerald	184
Mrs. Pauline Steinem	68
Mrs. Stewart	10
Mrs. Boyer	9
Miss Clay	1

On motion of Mrs. Steinem the Convention instructed the Secretary to cast its vote for Mrs. Fitzgerald, and the vote was cast.

The State President of Maryland being absent, Mrs. Wilson gave a short verbal report of Suffrage work in that State.

The report of the Committee on Church Work was not read, as the Chairman was absent.

Mrs. Agnes M. Jenks spoke on the New Hampshire Constitutional Convention.

The report of Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead of the Committee on Peace and Arbitration was read by Mrs. White.

The following report was rendered of the informal ballot for Treasurer:

Jessie Ashley	199
Mrs. Helen Tindall	40
Dr. Anna E. Blount	15
Mrs. Elizabeth Watson	9
Miss Kate Gordon	11
Miss M. Carey Thomas	1
Miss Laura Clay	4

On motion of Mrs. Tindall, the Secretary was instructed to cast the vote of the Convention for Miss Ashley, and the vote was cast.

The report of the College Equal Suffrage League was called for, and Miss Thomas yielded the time.

The informal ballot on First Auditor was reported as follows:

Mrs. Belle LaFollette 157
Miss Laura Clay 122

In answer to the inquiry of Miss Gordon as to whether any one was authorized to say that Mrs. LaFollette was a member of the Association and would serve if elected, Miss Thomas stated that Miss Fola LaFollette had said that her mother was a member, and if elected, would serve.

The elective vote was ordered.

Mrs. Katharine W. McCormick delivered an address on "The Effect of Suffrage Work Upon Women Themselves."

The Chairman of the Tellers reported the elective ballot for First Auditor as follows:

Mrs. Belle LaFollette..... 154 11-15
Miss Laura Clay 120 3-15
Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw..... 18

Mrs. LaFollette was declared elected.

The informal ballot for Second Auditor was reported as follows:

Mrs. Laidlaw 165
Miss Clay 102
Mrs. Valentine 1
Miss Addams 1

The elective ballot was ordered and resulted as follows:

Mrs. Laidlaw 136
Miss Clay 104

Mrs. Laidlaw was declared elected.

Moved and carried to adjourn.

Tuesday Morning, October 24th.

The Convention was called to order by the President.

The minutes of the preceding session were read and approved.

Miss Gordon moved and it was seconded that "the Corresponding Secretary send telegrams to Miss Addams, Miss Breckenridge, Mrs. LaFollette, and Mrs. Laidlaw, apprising them of their election and asking if they would serve."

Miss Thomas raised a point of order, which was that she had stated to the Convention that Miss Addams had told her and the President that she would serve if elected.

The President corroborated this statement and Miss Gordon withdrew the name of Miss Addams from her motion.

And Mrs. Dennett having then asserted that Mrs. Laidlaw had

definitely stated her willingness to serve on the National Board if she should be elected, Miss Gordon withdrew her name from her motion.

Miss Hifton moved to amend by an insertion in the telegram that Board meetings were to be held every two months. Seconded.

After much discussion, the motion as amended prevailed.

Miss Thomas moved that the telegram be submitted to the Convention. Motion carried.

On motion of Miss Mills the Convention took up the question of the location of headquarters for the coming year.

The invitation of the Illinois Executive Committee to the Convention to remove its headquarters to Chicago was voiced by Mrs. Grace Wilbur Trout, President of the Chicago Political Equality League.

Mrs. Fitzgerald, on behalf of the delegations from New York, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Maine and California demanded that when the vote is taken it be taken by States, the delegates present casting the full voting strength of the State.

The Corresponding Secretary read to the Convention the telegram she had prepared to send to the newly-elected officers.

On motion of Miss Thomas she was instructed by the Convention to add the personnel of the Board in the telegram.

Dr. Sievers moved and it was seconded that the National Headquarters remain in New York City next year.

Those discussing the question were Mrs. Boyer, Miss Blackwell, Miss Ryan, Mrs. Dennett, Mrs. Kramer, Mrs. Jenks, Mrs. McCormick, Mrs. Feuquay, Miss Gordon, Miss Shaw, Mrs. McCulloch, Dr. Blount, Miss Thomas, Mrs. Trout, Mrs. French and others; Mrs. Trout early in the discussion withdrew the suggestion of Chicago for this year.

The main question being ordered the roll was called, resulting as follows:

	Aye.	Nay.
California	11	..
Connecticut	6	..
District of Columbia	4	..
Illinois	13	..
Kentucky	14	..
Louisiana	..	10
Maine	4	..
Maryland	18	..
Massachusetts	20	..
Michigan	4	..
Minnesota	6	..
Missouri	4	..
Mississippi	..	..
Nebraska	7	..

	Aye.	Nay.
New Hampshire	6	..
New Jersey	8	..
New York	56	..
Ohio	10	..
Oklahoma	..	5
Pennsylvania	13	..
Rhode Island	4	..
South Dakota	4	..
Tennessee	1	..
Utah	..	..
Virginia	5	..
Texas	..	..
Wisconsin	1	..
West Virginia	..	..
Friends Equal Rights Assn	..	..
College Equal Suffrage Assn	26	..
President (yes)	1	..
First Vice-President (yes)	1	..
Second Vice-President	..	..
Corresponding Secretary (yes)	1	..
Recording Secretary	..	..
First Auditor	..	..
Second Auditor (yes)	1	..
Committee Local Arrangements	..	..
Press	..	..
	259	15

Miss Margaret Merker was introduced as the oldest Suffragist in Louisville, and spoke.

Fraternal greetings from the Canadian Woman Suffrage Association were borne by Mrs. Charles Campbell, of Toronto.

It was moved and carried to proceed to the consideration of financing the Association.

Miss Ashley presented the needs and asked for pledges.

The Following Pledged.

Miss Winsor reported a prospective bazaar and pledged part of proceeds.

Mrs. Hoffman, Kansas, Mrs. W. A. Johnson, life member	$50
Mrs. Stubbs	50
Mrs. Hoffman	50
New Jersey, Mrs. Laddey, State pledges	25
Dr. Hussey	20
New York, Catharine B. Lewis, of Buffalo, for headquarters	1,000
California, Political Equality League of So. Cal	50
Mrs. Florence Dwight	50
Massachusetts, Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Assn	500

Virginia Assn., Woman's Journal, $100, $50	150
New York, Emily Howland	500
Tennessee	25
Maine	50
Ohio, Ohio Woman Suffrage Association	50
W. S. Party, Cleveland, O., Mrs. Bacon, niece, Susan B. Anthony	100
Dr. Sievers, S. B. A. Club, Cincinnati	25
Ohio, Mrs. Cornelia B. Truehart, membership	50
Miss Clay, Kentucky E. R. Assn., for Woman's Journal	100
Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania State Association	100
Louisiana, Era Club	50
Louisiana, Kate Gordon, for Woman's Journal	100
Michigan, Mrs. Huntley Russell, membership	50
Iowa Association	100
Mississippi Association, Woman's Journal	25
Michigan Association, Woman's Journal	25
P. M. Leakin	25
Membership	50
Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association	200
Delegate, Mr. Taylor	25
Delegate, Mrs. Taylor	5
Madge Patton Stevens, membership	50
Chattanooga Club, to be organized next month	25
Katharine Weston, Chattanooga	25
Mrs. Belmont, rent	500
Mrs. Watson, New York	100
Cash, Mrs. Demarest, New York	100
Mrs. Dennett, purchase of literature, tricycle cart	..
Miss Thomas, for Edith M. Hooker, Baltimore	1,000
Nashville, E. S. League	50
California, Mrs. Sperry, S. B. A. Club, San Francisco	50
Miss A. S. Hall, Cincinnati, membership, literature	50
Michigan, for Wisconsin	50
J. Givens, National Sisterhood Council	25
Miss Pope, N. Y. College Suffrage Association	50
Mrs. Desha Breckenridge, Woman's Journal	25
Mrs. McCulloch, Wisconsin	100
Miss Reilly, membership	50
Miss Inez Mulholland, rent	100
Mrs. Mackay, headquarters	100
Chicago Political Equality League, Woman's Journal	50

Miss Thomas moved that the Finance Committee and the President of the Association be authorized to appoint one person in each State who is willing to solicit $100, subscriptions for the coming year. Motion seconded.

Mrs. Valentine moved to amend the motion to read that the appointment of such person be left to the State Presidents and the

President of each League which is auxiliary to the State Associations. Miss Thomas accepted the amendment, which was seconded and carried.

Mrs. Steinem, for Mrs. Behrens	$10
Mrs. Steinem	15
Maryland, Eva O. Wilson	10
Minnesota, Miss Dobbins	10
Pennsylvania, C. E. S. L.	6
New York, New York State	100
National Equal Suffrage League, rent	200
Maryland E. F. League, two ladies, prize for Suffrage song	100
Mrs. Susan L. Avery, Woman's Journal	100
Miss Shaw, for anonymous contribution for campaign	3,000
Mrs. Lustgarten	25
Mrs. Jenks	10
Miss Thomas	10
Mrs. McCormick	10
Miss Garrett	10
Eleanor Bowen	5
Rose Bower	12
Mrs. Feuquay, Woman's Journal	10
Miss Mary Johnston, Woman's Journal	100
Mrs. Fitzgerald, for children	15
Mrs. Dennett, for children	10
Mrs. Ringrose, for grandchildren	15
Mrs. Sperry, for grandchildren	20
Miss Wills	25
Mrs. Botherton, of Detroit, $2 for each of 9 children	18
Mr. Jenks	10
Mrs. L. W. Jellies, Illinois	5
Mrs. L. W. Jellies, Wisconsin	5
Mrs. L. W. Jellies, Woman's Journal	5
Miss Ryan's brothers	20
Miss Shaw's grandnieces	100
Alice T. Jenkins	5
Mrs. McCulloch, pledge for mother of 11 children for Wis.	22
Cash, Pennsylvania woman	25
Anita Ashley, Mrs. Pankhurst's lecture	100
Agnes Ryan	100
Nebraska, Miss Williams, Mrs. Marcus Townsend	10
Mrs. Charles Meredith	10
Jessie H. Stubbs	10
Mrs. Schuler	10
Mrs. Boyer	5
Laura White	10
Florence Luscomb	10

Moved and carried to adjourn.

2:30 P. M.

The Convention was called to order by the President.

The minutes of the previous session were read and approved after the following addition was ordered: Mrs. Boyd asked for a ruling from the Chair "as to whether in electing Miss Blackwell as Editor of the official organ and instructing the Official Board to elect Miss Blackwell as an officer, the Convention was transcending its rights?" The Chair stated that "the point is clear that this Convention has the power to elect the Editor of its official organ, and as the new Constitution which comes into effect at the close of this Convention provides that the Editor of its official organ shall be a member of the Official Board, she immediately enters upon the duties of her office."

Miss Harriet May Mills presented the invitation of the New York City Suffragists to hold the next annual meeting in New York City.

Mrs. Wilson moved, and it was carried, that this and all invitations be referred to the Official Board.

Miss Mills moved that no other election be held in this Convention, but if there should be a vacancy it shall be filled by the Official Board.

Dr. Sievers moved, and it was carried by a vote of 39 to 29 that the motion lie on the table.

Mrs. T. P. O'Connor delivered an address on the subject, "Let Our Watchword Be Unity."

Mrs. Watson, in leaving the Convention, spoke gratefully of the kindness and recognition which the California delegation had received.

Miss Clay moved, and it was carried that the President appoint a committee of five to formulate rules for the qualifications of organizations applying for auxiliaryship in the National; these rules to be submitted to the Post-Executive Committee for approval or revision.

The Chair appointed Miss Laura Clay, Chairman; Mrs. Fitzgerald, Miss Katzenstein, Miss Mills, and Mrs. Russell.

The report of Tennessee was given by the President, Mrs. Martha Allen.

The report of the Resolutions Committee was read by the Chairman, Miss Bertha Coover. Mrs. Steinem moved, and it was carried, that the report of the Resolutions Committee be adopted and that all other resolutions be referred to the Resolutions Committee before being presented to the Convention.

Miss Blackwell moved the adoption of the following, which had been referred to the Committee, that "we sympathize with the wish of the Kentucky women to have the Mammoth Cave made a National reservation." Carried.

Two belated delegates from California, Mrs. Griffith and Mrs. Phelps, were introduced and spoke, Mrs. Griffith presenting a motion

to memorialize the United States Government to erect a colossal Statue of Peace at the entrance to the Panama Canal. The motion was carried.

Mrs. Huntley Russell, proxy for the President, read the report of the Michigan Association.

Mrs. Geo. Smith, of Seattle, presented an application from the Washington Suffrage League, formerly the Alki Suffrage Club, to membership in the National.

A message of appreciation for his fidelity to the woman's cause was ordered sent to Congressman Rucker, of Colorado, who had declined to attend a dinner in honor of President Taft, because women were excluded.

A memorial service for the promoted comrades was held, several delegates speaking words of appreciation of Mrs. Elizabeth Smith Miller, Mrs. Eliza Wright Osburn, Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell, Mrs. Lillian Hollister, T. W. Higginson, Dr. Annie Jeffries-Myers, Mrs. E. A. Russell, Mr. Keith and Mrs. Sargent, of California.

The report of the Committee on Education was given by Mrs. Pauline Steinem. The report of the Committee on Congressional Work was given by the Chairman, Miss Emma Gillette. These reports were adopted. It was moved by Mrs. Steinem, and carried, that Miss Gordon's report of the Susan B. Anthony Fund be made through the Woman's Journal.

Mrs. Ida Porter Boyer reported her work in the Oklahoma campaign. Mrs. Park, of Nashville, the representative of the Associated Press, was introduced and spoke briefly.

Miss Mills moved, and it was carried, that the unfinished business be referred to the Executive Committee, and that the Convention adjourn.

Executive Committee Meeting, October 25th, 10:00 A. M.

The Executive Committee of the N. A. W. S. A. met in the parlor of the Seelbach Hotel, October 25th, at 10:00 a. m.

The minutes of the ante-Convention session were read and approved. Miss Clay and Miss Mills reported the recommendations of the Committee on Admission of new auxiliaries. After discussion and amendments, the rules were adopted as follows (in addition to the Constitutional regulations):

1. Any organization applying for membership in the N. A. W. S. A. shall submit a list of members and an annual affidavit of bona fide membership.

2. A State organization shall be understood to be one operating in two or more counties with the intention of extending its work over the whole State.

3. Suffrage organizations shall be interpreted to mean such organizations only as make their main object to secure Suffrage for women.

4. All questions that the Membership Committee feels unable to settle shall be referred to the Executive Committee.

On motion of Mrs. Dennett the five members who constituted the Preliminary Committee were appointed the Permanent Committee.

Votes of thanks were tendered the retiring officers, Miss Drake, the stenographer, and to the California delegates for a generous gift of supplies.

Miss Drake applied $10 of the amount she was to receive for her expenses to the Kansas campaign and $10 to Wisconsin.

It was moved by Miss Gordon and carried that the contract entered into last year between the N. A. W. S. A. and the Corporation known as the "Proprietors of the Woman's Journal," be renewed for this year.

Minutes of last session of the Convention read and approved.

All unfinished business was referred to the Official Board. Moved and carried to adjourn.

PLEDGES MADE AT LOUISVILLE, KY.

Alice Crane	$1.00
Helen Randolph	1.00
F. H. Luscomb	10.00
Susan W. Fitzgerald	15.00
Isabel Howland	100.00
Lois Wilson Jellies	5.00
Ferrissa V. W. Jellies	5.00
Marcia Townsend	10.00
Anita Ashley	100.00
Alice T. Jenkins	5.00
Pennsylvania W. S. Association	100.00
Mrs. W. Lustgarten	25.00
Mrs. R. Ringrose (for 3 children)	15.00
Cornelia Treuthart	50.00
Woman Suffrage Party of Cleveland	100.00
Lena K. Behvens	10.00
New York State Association	100.00
Pauline Steinem	15.00
Ohio Woman Suffrage Association	50.00
Marion H. Drake	20.00
Michigan W. S. Association	50.00
Dr. Mary D. Hussey	20.00
New Jersey W. S. Association	25.00
Mrs. W. A. Stubbs	50.00
Catharine A. Hoffman	50.00

Lucy B. Johnston	50.00
Susan B. Anthony Club	25.00
Eva O. Wilson	10.00
Pennsylvania College Equal Suffrage League	6.00
Minnesota W. S. Association	50.00
Mrs. R. Ringrose	50.00
National Council of Sisterhood	25.00
Mrs. Huntley Russell	50.00
Madge Patton Stephens	50.00
Era Club, New Orleans	50.00
Kate M. Gordon	100.00
Rhode Island W. S. Association	25.00
Michigan Woman Suffrage Association	25.00
Emily E. Dobbin	10.00
Nashville Equal Suffrage League	50.00
Mrs. Desha Breckinridge	25.00
Susan B. Anthony Club	50.00
Massachusets W. S. Association	500.00
Florence R. Dwight	50.00
Political Equality League of S. California	50.00
Collegiate Equal Suffrage League of N. Y.	50.00
Anna S. Hall	50.00
Caroline I. Reilly	50.00
Mrs. S. C. Henning	5.00
A Friend	100.00
Tennessee Equal Suffrage Association	25.00
Future Suffrage Association of Chattanooga	25.00
Equal Suffrage League of Virginia	150.00
Alfred A. E. Taylor	25.00
Mrs. P. M. Leakin	25.00
Mrs. T. C. Purdy	50.00
A. E. Scranton Taylor	5.00
Connecticut W. S. Association	200.00
Catharine B. Lewis	1,000.00
Emily Howland	500.00
Maine W. S. A.	50.00
Dr. Sarah A. Siewers	25.00
Kentucky E. R. Association	100.00
Iowa W. S. A.	100.00
Catherine W. McCulloch	100.00
Inez Milholland	100.00
Katherine Mackay	100.00
Chicago Political Equality League	50.00
National College Equal Suffrage League	200.00
Susan Look Avery	100.00
Dr. Anna H. Shaw (for a friend)	3,000.00
Mrs. Jenks	10.00

M. Carey Thomas	10.00
Mrs. Stanley McCormick	10.00
Mary E. Garrett	10.00
Eleanor Garrison	5.00
Miss Bower	12.00
Mrs. Feuquay	10.00
Mary Johnston	100.00
Susan W. Fitzgerald (for 3 children)	15.00
Mary Ware Dennett (for 2 children)	10.00
Harriet May Mills	25.00
Mrs. Sperry (for 4 grandchildren)	20.00
Mary Flinn	25.00
Mrs. Brotherton (for 9 children)	18.00
Dr. Anna H. Shaw (for nieces)	600.00
Miss Hall	10.00
Mrs. Smith via Mrs. McCulloch	22.00
Pennsylvania woman	25.00
Men's Equal Suffrage League of Boston, by A. E. Ryan	100.00
Mrs. Meredith	10.00
Jessie Stubbs	10.00
Mrs. Shuler	10.00
Ida Porter Boyer	5.00
Laura White	10.00
New York Member	25.00
Jessie Ashley, for a friend	1,500.00
Birthday gift	51.00
Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont	500.00
Mrs. Watson	100.00
Mrs. Demorest	100.00
Edith Houghton Hooker	1,000.00
Katherine Weston	25.00
	$12,251.00

CONTRIBUTORS.

June 1, 1910,to December 31, 1910:

Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont	$3,029.88
Iowa E. S. A.	50.00
Clara Laddy	17.00
Sarah Clay Bennett	37.30
Fola La Follette	10.00
New Jersey W. S. A.	25.00
E. Klohr	5.00
Victoria Walter	5.00
Iowa W. S. A.	50.00

Ella A. Kilborn	10.00
Wisconsin W. S. A.	50.00
Ida Craft	2.00
Harriet A. Hawkins	1.00
E. D. Kenneys	10.00
A Friend	5.00
A Friend	1.00
E. B. Culbertson	5.00
Sarah Clay Bennett	2.70
New Jersey W. S. A.	10.00
New York W. S. A.	12.00
Margaret Fells	21.75
Mary W. Dennett	13.00
L. Werth	1.00
Maine W. S. A.	25.00
J. H. Rogers	100.00
M. Blacknell	1.50
H. Russell	50.00
F. Barnard	3.50
Mary Allen	5.00
Mrs. Donald Hooker	25.00
L. E. Flansburg	100.00
Emma Kenneys	100.00
Jessie Wright	2.00
A Socialist	100.00
E. B. Wooden	2.00
Mrs. Spargo	.25
A. Fitts	1.00
A. C. Daniels	1.00
Pearl Goodman	5.00
Anna Smith	2.00
J. Bradley	1.00
Ella Crossett	3.00
Old Orchard W. S. A.	1.00
M. Crampton	1.00
Judith Smith	9.92
Mary Bakewell	10.00
Mrs. Wm. Ivins	2.00
Mrs. E. E. Eils	10.00
Mrs. M. L. Taylor	25.00
Miss Chapman	5.00
Annie Willert	5.00
Elizabeth Potter	5.00
D. G. Hazard	20.00
Lena Sterns	2.00
I. Bowman	1.00
L. R. White	.15

Katherine Mackay	50.00
J. B. Greenleaf	5.00
F. W. Reineman	2.00
M. J. Stecker	5.00
D. G. Hazard	10.00
Lena M. Stevens	1.00
Jessie W. Wright	2.00
Mary Johnston and sisters	25.00
Julia D. Sheppard	5.00
J. F. Baird	5.00
In memory of M. F. Munroe	5.00
P. F. Maine	5.00
L. L. Baker	5.00
Amanda Lougee	5.00
B. E. Routauer	10.00
A. D. Leach	5.00
E. W. Bailie	5.00
E. F. Boland	5.00
Edith Stebbins	10.00
K. E. Tiffany	5.00
A. B. Sheldon	5.00
M. H. Kenyon	5.00
E. B. Low	5.00
An Old Suffragist	1.00
Anna Beard	2.00
Sarah McCarron	2.00
Sarah Longstreth	2.00
E. Kloch	1.00
J. Watt	1.00
Lida S. Adams	1.00
Josephine Adams	1.00
Elizabeth Rondinella	1.00
Annie Rondinella	1.00
Gertrude Walker	1.00
Mrs. Barber	5.00
J. H. Reilly	.50
Mary Fales	1.00
Clara Allen	1.00
A. C. Bowles	5.00
Frances Lane	2.00
Mrs. G. Beck	1.00
Mrs. Sterns	2.00
Frances Munds	5.00
Mary Hayward	5.00
Josephine Wood	5.00
Kate Gordon	2.00
Jane Potter	2.00

Arthur Bissell	1.00
J. E. Seiferth	10.00
Hannah Rice	1.00
Charlotte Hubert	1.00
Eloise Jackson	5.00
Virginia Lindsley	10.00
Anonymous	9.00
Hannah Luscomb	25.00
Lavinia Dock	5.10
A Friend, Lucy Anthony	1.00
Edith Baldwin	5.00
Anna Cummins	2.00
F. B. Pierce	1.00
Mrs. Kothburn, Jr.	5.00
Miss Ewing	5.00
Anita Ashley	5.00
Martha Stebbins	2.75
M. Taylor	25.00
Martha Kimball	25.00
Ellen Adams	5.00
Custer Centre Equality League	5.00
E. B. Farmer	1.00
C. B. Lunkle	5.00
Katherine Butler	2.00
Florence Hoye	1.00
Virginia Robinson	1.00
Iowa	1.50
J. H. Hoffman	.50
Charlotte Pierce	3.00
Harriet Doane	2.00
Lucy Burns	1.25
C. Cooper	5.00
Fidelia Jewett	10.00
Prof. L. Martin	10.00
Grace Orth	5.00
Lucy Allen	5.00
Alice Clark	1.00
E. D. Kenneys	50.00
A. Boutell	5.00
M. Cooper	5.00
M. Allen	5.00
L. Trax	1.00
W. Hagarty	2.00
T. Leakin	2.00
J. Fuller	3.00
E. M. Smith	5.00
M. Hayward	15.00

Dr. Sabin	2.00
E. Deland	25.00
Mrs. Van Denlong	.50
O. P. Bray	1.50
Miss Koch	1.00
Miss Sewell	5.00
E. Russell	10.00
Louise Rice	5.00
E. H. Potter	5.00
M. Gannett	5.00
Adele Guinet	1.00
Mrs. Chase	5.00
E. B. Foote, Jr.	10.00
E. Poulson	2.00
A Maryland Suffragist	2.00
F. Hoye	2.00
Alice Jenkins	50.00
Rachel Ann Rees	50.00
Dr. Baker	50.00
Lavinia Davis, in memoriam	30.00
Laura Gregg (for life membership Mrs. Munds)	50.00
Mrs. Herman	75.00
Mrs. Severance	25.00
Margaret Long	6.00
M. Taylor	25.00
Deleran	10.00
Alice Blackwell	100.00
Laura Clay	100.00
Laura Clay	50.00
Alice Blackwell	100.00
Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont	200.00
New Jersey W. S. A.	40.00
Dr. Hussey	10.00
Dr. Hussey	5.00
Alberta Gondis	25.00
Olive Stewart	25.00
Anna H. Shaw	100.00
Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont	100.00
Hannah Luscomb	100.00
M. Prather	15.00
Mrs. Jeffrey, N. J. W. S. A.	14.00
Etta Potter	2.00
Margaret Long	6.00
Mrs. Bennett and Miss Clay	117.00

CHRISTMAS GIFTS

Ida H. Harper	$10.00
M. E. Lapham	10.00
J. B. Greenleaf	10.00
M. Gannett	10.00
C. Gannett	10.00
Anna H. Shaw	10.00
M. Anthony Estate	20.00
Mary Johnston	10.00
Eloise Johnston	10.00
Elizabeth Johnston	10.00
Marcia Townsend	10.00
Mrs. Q. A. Shaw	100.00
C. Lippincott	10.00
M. Hayward	10.00
C. Wilbour	10.00
A. Brayton	10.00
Isabel Howland	10.00
M. Lippincott	10.00
Emily Howland	10.00
Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont	10.00
Jane Addams	10.00
Sarah Willis	10.00
Hannah Mills	10.00
L. A. C. Ward	10.00
Mrs. Jas. Bennett	10.00
Fanny Fernald	10.00
Fanny Gannon	100.00
Nellie Hill	25.00
Mrs. Stanley McCormick	10.00
Adele Dewing	10.00
Miss Falkner	10.00
Mrs. Chandler	10.00
J. H. Brazier	10.00
Annette Finnigan	10.00
Susan Avery	10.00
Alice Paul	10.00
Mary Coggeshall	10.00
Amenia White	10.00
Julia T. Ripley	50.00
Life Member	10.00
Lillian Martin	10.00
Fidelia Jewett	10.00
Emma Lowe	10.00

CONSTITUTION OF THE NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION ADOPTED BY THE CONVENTION AT LOUISVILLE

Article I.

Name.

The name of this Association shall be the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

Article II.

Object.

The object of this Association shall be to secure protection, in their right to vote, to the women citizens of the United States, by appropriate National and State legislation.

Article III.

Members.

Section 1. Any State Woman Suffrage organization, or any other Suffrage organization of not less than 300 members, may become auxiliary to the National American Woman Suffrage Association, and thus secure representation in the Annual Convention, by paying annually into its treasury ten cents per member. Societies now auxiliary to our State Associations shall not be eligible to direct membership in the National unless they have been refused auxiliaryship in their States.

Sec. 2. Any National Suffrage Association may become auxiliary to the National American Woman Suffrage Association upon the approval of two-thirds of the Executive Committee and the payment of ten cents per member into the National Treasury. It shall then be entitled to representation in the National Convention upon the same basis as State Associations.

Sec. 3. The payment of fifty dollars ($50) into the treasury shall constitute a Life Member of the Association, entitled to attend all its public meetings, to participate in all discussions, and to receive reports and other documents published by it, but not entitled to vote.

Sec. 4. The persons entitled to vote at the Annual Convention shall be the General Officers, ex-Presidents of this Association, Chairmen of Standing Committees, the Presidents of auxiliary organizations, and the Executive Committee members of the State Associations, and one delegate for every one hundred paid-up members, and for every fraction of one hundred. State organizations having less than one hundred members shall have but one repre-

sentative in the Annual Convention and in the Executive Committee, such representative to be the President of the organization.

Sec. 5. Individuals may become co-operating members of the N. A. W. S. A. by the payment of $1.00.

Sec. 6. National organizations may become affiliated members of the N. A. W. S. A. on approval of two-thirds of the National Executive Committee and upon the payment of $10.00 annual dues—these affiliated organizations to be entitled to one delegate only.

Article IV.

Officers.

Section 1. The officers of the Association shall be a President, two Vice-Presidents, a Recording Secretary, a Corresponding Secretary, a Treasurer, two Auditors, and the Editor of the Official Organ.

Sec. 2. Presidents of auxiliary organizations shall be ex-officio Vice-Presidents.

Article V.

Duties of Officers.

Section 1. The General Officers, viz.: the President, two Vice-Presidents, Recording and Corresponding Secretaries, Treasurer, two Auditors, and the Editor of the Official Organ, shall constitute a Board of General Officers, to supervise the general interests of the work in the interim of the annual meetings.

The Board of General Officers shall meet once in two months except during the months of July and August. Five members shall constitute a quorum, or a majority may act by correspondence. Special meetings may be called by the President and must be called when requested by three members of the Board.

Sec. 2. The President shall perform the duties usual to such office.

Sec. 3. The Vice-President shall perform all the duties of the President in case of the President's absence or disability.

Sec. 4. The Recording Secretary shall keep a correct record of the proceedings, and perform all the other duties usual to such office.

Sec. 5. The Corresponding Secretary shall conduct all correspondence of the organization, and shall secure from the Corresponding Secretary of each auxiliary association a report of its work.

Sec. 6. The Treasurer shall keep an accurate account of receipts and disbursements, shall send a monthly summary to the members of the Board, and shall present a detailed report at each annual meeting. The Treasurer shall pay no bills of the general Association except on order of the President and Recording Secretary, but may disburse funds of Standing Committees when directed to do so by an authorized person on the Committee without the signature of

the President and Recording Secretary. The Treasurer shall provide the auxiliary associations with blank credentials for delegates to the annual meetings, and shall be ex-officio Chairman of the Committee on Credentials. The books of the Treasurer shall close four weeks before the Annual Convention, and the Treasurer's report shall be read at the second business meeting of the Annual Convention.

Sec. 7. The Auditors shall examine and verify the books of the Treasurer, and shall give a report thereof at each annual meeting.

Article VI.

Executive Committee.

Section 1. The Executive Committee shall consist of the General Officers, the President of each State organization and other auxiliary, and, in addition, one member from each State organization having one hundred or more members, together with the Chairman of Standing and Special Committees; of these members fifteen shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

Sec. 2. The Executive Committee of this Association shall hold one session preceding the opening of each Annual Convention, and another at its close.

Sec. 3. The decisions reached by the Executive Committee at its pre-Convention session shall be presented in the form of recommendations at the business sessions of the Convention.

Sec. 4. A majority of the Executive Committee shall act by correspondence upon any matter referred to it by the Board.

Sec. 5. The Executive Committee may elect as Honorary Vice-Presidents distinguished adherents of the cause of Woman Suffrage who are removed from active work.

Article VII.

Election of Officers.

Section 1. The General Officers of this Association shall be elected on the last day, but one of the annual meeting. They shall be nominated by an informal ballot. The three persons receiving the highest number of votes for any office shall be considered nominees, and the election be decided by a formal ballot. The result of the formal ballot for the preceding officer nominated shall be announced before taking the informal ballot for the next.

Sec. 2. The terms of the General Officers shall expire at the end of the last session of the Convention, and the terms of the newly elected officers shall commence with the session of the Executive Committee held at the close of the Convention.

Sec. 3. The Board of General Officers may fill any vacancy on that Board which may occur during the year.

Sec. 4. In the election of officers the delegates present from each State may cast the full vote to which that State is entitled. The vote shall be taken in the same way upon any other question whenever the delegates present from five States request it. In other cases each delegate shall have one vote.

Article VIII.

This Constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote at any annual meeting, after one day's notice in the Convention, notice of the proposed amendment having been given to the Board of General Officers, which notice said officers shall publish in the Official Organ twice, the first time not less than three months in advance of the Convention.

BY-LAWS.

By-Law I.

Annual Convention.

Section 1. This Association shall hold an Annual Convention of regularly elected delegates for the election of officers and the transaction of business. An annual meeting may be held in Washington, D. C., during the first session of Congress.

Sec. 2. In the absence of an auxiliary President or auxiliary member of the Executive Committee, the delegation from that auxiliary may select a proxy by ballot.

Sec. 3. An Auxiliary Association having no delegates present shall not give a proxy to a person from another State.

Sec. 4. Any organization whose dues are unpaid on the closing of the Treasurer's books shall lose its vote in the Convention for that year.

Sec. 5. Delegates must present credentials signed by the President and Recording Secretary of their respective organizations.

By-Law II.

The Committee on Resolution shall consist of one person from each State, elected by its delegation, and also a Chairman to be elected by the Executive Committee.

By-Law III.

Section 1. After each Annual Convention the Board of General Officers shall elect the following Standing Committees: A Committee on Program, of which the President shall be Chairman, to arrange the program for the next annual meeting; a Congressional Committee, to have in charge the direct Congressional work; Committees on Literature, Press Work, Enrollment, Presidential Suffrage, Local Arrangements, and Railroad Rates.

Sec. 2. The President shall appoint, during each Annual Convention, a Committee on Resolutions, consisting of five members, who shall report to the Resolutions Committee at the next Annual Convention.

Sec. 3. The Executive Committee shall elect from itself a Membership Committee, which shall pass upon the qualifications of organizations applying for auxiliaryship.

Sec. 4. Special Committees may be elected by the Board of General Officers.

By-Law IV.

The official report presented by any auxiliary of the National Association shall be printed in the minutes as authorized by the President and Secretary of that auxiliary.

By-Law V.

The Treasurer of the Association shall give bond in such sum as shall cover the funds in her charge.

By-Law VI.

These By-laws may be amended by a two-thirds vote at any annual meeting, one day's notice having been given in Convention.

CONTRACT BY WHICH THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL BECOMES THE OFFCIAL ORGAN OF THE N. A. W. S. A.

THIS AGREEMENT, made and entered into this ..... day of June, A. D. 1910, by and between

ALICE STONE BLACKWELL,

party of the first part, and

THE NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION,

a corporation duly organized and existing under and by virtue of the laws of the District of Columbia, party of the second part,

WITNESSETH:

WHEREAS, the party of the first part is the owner of one hundred and one (101) shares of the stock, being a majority of the two hundred (200) shares of stock of the proprietors of The Woman's Journal, a corporation duly organized and existing under and by virtue of the laws of the State of Massachusetts; and

WHEREAS, the party of the first part has for many years been engaged in editorial work in connection with the weekly paper "The Woman's Journal"; and

WHEREAS, the party of the second part is desirous of securing the use of the said The Woman's Journal as its national organ and its official means of communication with its State and local auxiliaries;

NOW, THEREFORE, it is agreed by and between the parties hereto as follows:

1. Said party of the second part adopts said The Woman's Journal as its official national organ to assist in the purposes of its organization, and it hereby appoints said party of the first part its Editor-in-Chief for the term of one year from the signing of this agreement, with the understanding that such vacations from work as the health of said party of the first part may demand, shall be granted by said party of the second part.

2. Said party of the first part hereby accepts said appointment, and agrees to serve without salary for said term of one year.

3. Said party of the second part agrees to employ a private secretary for said party of the first part, during the term of her employment, at a cost not to exceed fifteen dollars ($15) per week, said private secretary to be selected by said party of the first part. Said

party of the second part agrees to employ a business manager and such other business and literary help as shall seem necessary to said parties, and to pay all the necessary bills accruing from the publication of said The Woman's Journal.

4. Five (5) or more contributing editors from various large cities of the United States shall be selected or approved by said party of the first part to serve without salary, and the policy of The Woman's Journal shall be controlled by the general offices of said party of the second part.

5. The general appearance of The Woman's Journal shall remain the same as heretofore with the memorial line relating to Lucy Stone and Henry B. Blackwell. The shape and size of the page and the frequency of issue shall be unchanged. Underneath the title, "The Woman's Journal," shall be added these words: "Organ of the National American Woman Suffrage Association." The subscription price shall be lowered to one dollar ($1.00) per year. The paper shall continue to be published in Boston.

6. The party of the first part hereby agrees to use her best endeavors to secure for said second party the shares of stock of said corporation "The Proprietors of the Woman's Journal," held by persons other than herself, and she further agrees to give and bequeath by her last will and testament to said second party her said one hundred and one (101) shares of stock in said corporation, The Proprietors of the Woman's Journal.

7. This contract is to continue for one year, and thereafter until amended or terminated as hereinafter provided.

8. If, at any time, the Annual Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association shall vote to discontinue the present arrangement in accordance with which the officers of said party of the second part conduct The Woman's Journal and use it as its national organ, such vote shall become effective six months after the time when such vote is taken. Said Association shall thereupon return to said party of the first part The Woman's Journal and everything pertaining thereto, shall refund to her the money received by the Association from the sale of the shares of stock which the Association may have acquired through her, and shall also return to her any unsold shares acquired through her. Each party shall nominate a disinterested appraiser and these two shall select a third. These appraisers, considering all material matters relating to this transaction, shall determine what sum either party shall pay to the other.

9. If, at any time, said party of the first part wishes to terminate this contract, she shall give six months' notice of such intention to the Official Board of said party of the second part, whereupon said party of the second part shall turn over The Woman's Journal and the things pertaining thereto, to said party of the first part, and ap-

praisers shall be chosen as hereinbefore provided, and they shall determine what sum either party hereto shall pay to the other.

10. In case either of the said parties desires to amend said contract at any time, three months' notice of such desired amendment shall be given to the other of said parties, and if at the end of said three months, the parties have not agreed as to said amendment, the party proposing said amendment may, at her or its option, withdraw such proposed amendment, or give six months' notice of the termination of this contract, as hereinbefore provided.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the parties hereto have hereunto set their hands and seals the day and year first above written.

EXECUTED IN DUPLICATE.

.....(Seal)

THE NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

By.....
Its President.

ATTEST:

.....
Its Recording Secretary.

DELEGATES PRESENT AT CONVENTION.

General Officers—Anna Howard Shaw, Catherine Waugh McCulloch, Kate Gordon, Mary Ware Dennett, Ella Seass Stewart, Jessie Ashley, Laura Clay, Alice Stone Blackwell.

Chairmen Standing Committees—Anna Howard Shaw, Caroline T. Reilly, Elizabeth U. Yates, Lucy E. Anthony, Emma M. Gillett.

California—Miss Fannie Wills, Mrs. J. H. Braly, Mr. J. H. Braly, Miss C. A. Whitney, Mrs. R. Ringrose, Mrs. Rose M. French, Mrs. Mary S. Sperry, Mrs. Elizabeth Lowe Watson.

Colorado—Hon. Omar Garwood.

Connecticut—Mrs. Grace Gallatin Seton, Mrs. Phil Leakin, Mrs. A. E. Scranton Taylor, A. S. G. Taylor.

District of Columbia—Harriette J. Hifton, Anna Kelton Wiley.

Illinois—Dr. Harriet Ward, Miss Alice Henry, Mrs. L. Brackett Bishop, Mrs. Ann E. Schaeffer, Mrs. H. T. Dugdale, Mrs. Estelle H. B. Boot, Mrs. Augie Read Schweppe, Mrs. Charlotte H. Crocker, Dr. Anna E. Blount, Grace Wilbur Trout.

Indiana—Mrs. Antoinette D. Leach.

Iowa—Mrs. Louis Miles, Mrs. Virginia Branner, Miss C. V. Burghart.

Kentucky—Mrs. A. M. Harrison, Mrs. Mary C. Cramer, Miss Laura R. White, Mrs. Desha Breckinridge, Miss Haldon Helm Hardin, Mrs. C. M. Freeman, Mrs. Mary E. Giltner, Mrs. A. R. Burnam, Mrs. James N. Lush, Miss Virginia P. Robinson, Mrs. James Bennett, Mrs. Thomas J. Smith, Mrs. Jessie Riddell Firth, Mrs. T. Withers Smith, Mrs. Herbert Mengel.

New Hampshire—Mrs. Agnes M. Jenks, Miss Clara L. Hunton.

Louisiana—Miss Jess Steven.

Maine—Rev. Alfreda Brewster Wallace, Mrs. Wm. F. Fernald, Helen Daggett.

Maryland—Miss Mary E. Garrett, Mrs. John G. Wilson.

Michigan—Mrs. Fern Richardson Rowl, Miss Alice May Boutwell, Mrs. Huntley Russell, Rev. Caroline Bartlett Crane, Mrs. Belle Brotherton.

Minnesota—Maud C. Stockwell, Ethel E. Hurd, Alice Aimes Hall, Miss Emily Dobbin, Mrs. Julia B. Nelson.

Missouri—Mrs. W. W. Boyd, Mrs. Robt. Atkinson.

Massachusetts—Mrs. Stanley McCormick, Mrs. Susan W. Fitzgerald, Miss Agnes E. Ryan, Mrs. Hannah Luscomb, Miss Florence Luscomb, Miss Eleanor Garrison, Miss Gertrude L. Marvin.

Mississippi—Mrs. Dell Kelso Mohlenhoff.

New Jersey—Mrs. Clara S. Laddey.

Nebraska—Mary H. Williams.

New York—Mrs. Emma V. Simis, Mrs. Frank H. Cothren, Mrs. Frances Servose, Mrs. James A. Gardner, Mrs. J. B. McNeil, Mrs. Ella S. Capwell, Mrs. Frank Shuler, Mrs. Jessie Stubbs, Miss Isabel Howland, Mrs. Wm. Lustgarten, Miss Elizabeth Pope, Mrs. Mary D. Fiske, Marion W. Cottle, Mrs. Wm. Curtis Demorest.

Ohio—Dr. Sarah M. Siewers, Miss Bertha Coover, Mrs. Anna Anthony Bacon, Mrs. West, Mrs. Piper, Mrs. Flora E. Worthington, Mrs. Snell, Mrs. M. C. Sherwood, Mrs. Gussie Ogden.

Oklahoma—Mrs. Ida Porter Boyer, Mrs. Jence C. Feuquay.

Pennsylvania—Miss Maud Lourey, Mrs. Scott Nearing, Miss Caroline Katzenstein, Miss M. Emmeline Pitt, Lucy Kennedy Miller, Florence Harper, Mary S. Flinn, Lucy E. Anthony, Mrs. Frank Roessing, Miss Matilda Orr Hays, Miss M. Carey Thomas, Mrs. Ellen C. Butterwiser.

Rhode Island—Elizabeth Upham Yates.

Tennessee—Mrs. Robt. Beattie.

Virginia—Mrs. G. Harvey Clarke, Mrs. Charles V. Meredith, Mrs. Carl J. Rostrup, Mrs. Benjamin T. Crump.

Wisconsin—Mrs. Nora Perkins Jeanson.

College Equal Suffrage League—M. Carey Thomas, Mary E. Garrett, Mrs. Herbert Mengel, Katherine Dexter McCormick, Maud Lowry, Mrs. Scott Nearing, Miss C. A. Whitney, Ellen Cline Buttenweiser, Belle Brotherton.

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Congressional—Mrs. Wm. Kent, 1925 F. Street, Washington, D. C.; Miss Emma Gillette, 1416 F Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.; Mrs. Robert La Follette, 1846 Wyoming Avenue, Washington, D. C.; Mrs. Victor Berger, 3546 Thirteenth Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.; Mrs. Robert Owen, Washington, D. C.; Mrs. Claude U. Stone, 119 Maryland Avenue, Washington, D. C.; Mrs. Harvey W. Wiley, 1848 Biltmore Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

Membership—Laura Clay, Richmond, Ky.; Harriet May Mills, 180 Madison Avenue, New York; Susan W. Fitzgerald, 585 Boylston Street, Boston; Caroline Katzenstein, Hale Bldg., Philadelphia, Pa.; Mrs. Huntley Russell, Comstock Place, Grand Rapids, Mich.

Labor Organizations—Dr. Luema G. Johnson, 1014 Sixth Avenue, Tacoma, Wash.; Maude Younger, Labor Temple, 316 Fourteenth Street, San Francisco, Cal.

The Woman's Journal—Mary Beard, 501 West One Hundred and Twenty-first Street, New York; Henrietta W. Livermore, 144 Park Avenue, Yonkers, N. Y.; Mrs. Stanley McCormick, 393 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston; Elinor Byrns, 5 Nassau Street, New York; Anita C. Whitney, Webster Street, Oakland, Cal.; Mrs. Mary Austin, 456 Riverside Drive, New York.

Ways and Means—M. Carey Thomas, Bryn Mawr, Pa.; Mrs. Mary McHenry Keith, Berkeley, Cal.; Katherine Dexter McCormick, 393 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, Mass.; Mrs. Donald Hooker, Cedar Lawn, Baltimore, Md.; Mrs. Cornley Ward, Chicago, Ill.; Mrs. Lila Mead Valentine, Richmond, Va.

Previous conventions have been held at the following places:

Washington, D. C., March 4 to 7, 1884.
Washington, D. C., January 16 to 19, 1893.
Washington, D. C., February 15 to 20, 1894.
Atlanta, Ga., January 31 to February 5, 1895.
Washington, D. C., January 23 to 28, 1896.
Des Moines, Ia., January 26 to 29, 1897.
Washington, D. C., February 13 to 19, 1898.
Grand Rapids, Mich., April 27 to May 3, 1899.
Washington, D. C., February 8 to 14, 1900.
Minneapolis, Minn., June 1 to 5, 1901.
Washington, D. C., February 14 to 18, 1902.
New Orleans, La., March 15 to 25, 1903.
Washington, D. C., February 11 to 17, 1904.
Portland, Ore., June 28 to July 5, 1905.
Baltimore, Md., February 7 to 13, 1906.
Chicago, Ill., February 14 to 19, 1907.
Buffalo, N. Y., October 15 to 21, 1908.
Seattle, Wash., July 1 to 6, 1909.
Washington, D. C., April 14 to 19, 1910.

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Vote on each woman her Quinquennial Vote

No. Votes on each Resolution

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

FORTY-FOURTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

OF THE

NATIONAL-AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

HELD AT PHILADELPHIA, PA.

NOVEMBER 21 to 26

(INCLUSIVE)

1912

FORTY-FOURTH
ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

NATIONAL-AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

GIVEN AT THE CONVENTION

HELD AT

PHILADELPHIA, PA.
NOVEMBER 21 to 26
(INCLUSIVE)
1912

PUBLISHED AT HEADQUARTERS
505 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

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Mb2 6

CALL TO THE FORTY-FOURTH CONVENTION OF THE NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

We hereby send out across this great continent, east and west, north and south, a call to you, who have so long been our comrades in the crusade for human progress and for women's freedom.

We send a call to you, also, you thousands who are just coming forward to join us, you who are to be our comrades in the great future before us. Come and realize the inspiration that sustains the common advocacy of a great Cause; the exhilaration of soul that rises in everyone who is part of a great united effort.

No suffragist can remain unmoved by the tide of enthusiasm which will carry this convention along when we come in November with hearts beating high with victory. "Failure is impossible," and even temporary defeats become less and less frequent. This will be a triumphant convention. If from any campaign State you cannot come in triumph, you will come with unconquerable determination and undiminished zeal to tell of a new campaign. The corrupt interests and politicians must learn that we cannot be defeated, that their temporary advantage over equal suffrage is petty, uneconomic and futile.

This convention has big problems confronting it, interesting, stimulating problems coincident with the tremendous expansion of our government, problems worthy the indomitable mettle of suffrage workers. But in spite of hard work, this week will be a gala week, a compensation to you for all the hard, dull, gray work during the past year and a stimulus for still harder work during the year to come.

Come and hear how your great National Suffrage Organization, sensitive to the laws of demand and supply in the suffrage world, has evolved an important suffrage pub-

lication centre; how with its ear ever bent to catch the first footfall of Liberty around the whole earth, the National Press Bureau has received and disseminated wonderful volumes of news relative to the freedom and advancement of womenkind.

Come and listen to your fellow-workers, and listening and sympathizing with the unselfish labor being carried on everywhere, pledge yourself to a flaming loyalty to suffrage and suffragists that will burn away all dross of dissension, all barriers to united effort.

Let us come with high resolve that we shall never waver in our effort to obtain the right to stand side by side with the men of this country in the mortal struggle that shall bid perish from this land political corruption, privilege, prostitution, the industrial slavery of men, women and children, and all exploitation of humanity.

Let us come together then, in this autumn of 1912, this unprecedented year of suffrage in the United States, consecrating ourselves anew on this, the greatest of all battlegrounds for democracy, the United States of America.

Anna Howard Shaw,
Jane Addams,
Sophonisba Breckinridge,
Mary Ware Dennett,
Susan W. Fitzgerald,
Jessie Ashley,
Katharine Dexter McCormick,
Harriet Burton Laidlaw,
Alice Stone Blackwell.

General Officers of the N. A. W. S. A.

PROGRAM

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 21

Morning, 10.00 O'clock

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING in Westminster Hall, Witherspoon Building (take elevator to third floor).

The meeting will adjourn at 11.30.

NOON

Outdoor Rally at Independence Square (weather permitting; if stormy, meeting will be held next day).

Speaking from five platforms.

MANAGER

Miss Elizabeth Freeman

CHAIRMEN

Miss Jane Campbell
Mrs. Caroline Bartlett Crane
Mrs. Camillo von Klenze
Mrs. Teresa Crowley
Miss Florence Allen

SPEAKERS

Rev. Anna Howard Shaw
Mrs. Susan FitzGerald
Mrs. Harriet Burton Laidlaw
Mrs. Ella Stewart
Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton
Miss Elizabeth Hauser
Miss Helen Eacker
Mrs. Katharine Hoffman
Mrs. Clara Colby
Mrs. Robert La Follette
Mrs. B. C. Gudden
Miss Ada James
Miss Flora Gapen
Arthur D. Rees
Frank Stephens
Dr. Ruth A. Deeter
Miss Alice Paul
Helen Hoy Greeley
Rose Bower
Mrs. Jennie Law Hardy
Miss Maude Younger
Mrs. Sarah Evans
Mrs. Laura Gregg Cannon
Miss Louise Hall
Mrs. Agnes Jenks
Miss Harriet May Mills
Miss Margaret Foley
Mrs. Harriot Stanton Blatch
Mrs. Marie Jenney Howe
Mrs. Maude Nathan
Mrs. Mabel Cronise Jones
Mrs. Frances Maule Björkman
Florence L. Sanville
Albert H. Coggins
Miss Mary Ingham
Mrs. Crystal Eastman Benedict

Reading of the Women's Declaration of Rights—Mrs. Otis Skinner—followed by ceremony in honor of the only living signer
Mrs. Charlotte Pierce

Presentation by.....Anna Anthony Bacon

Afternoon, 2.30 O'clock

Convention Called to Order by the President

Welcome on behalf of the City of Philadelphia....Mayor Blankenburg
Welcome on behalf of the Pennsylvania W. S. A.....Mrs. Ellen Price
Response on behalf of the N. A. W. S. A..Mrs. Harriet Burton Laidlaw
Greetings from Fraternal Delegates.....
Report of Membership Committee.....Laura Clay
Preliminary Report of Credentials Committee.....Jessie Ashley
Report of Corresponding Secretary.....Mary Ware Dennett
Report of Auditors.....Katharine Dexter McCormick
Report of Treasurer.....Jessie Ashley
Report of Press Bureau.....Caroline I. Reilly
Report of Literature Committee.....Mary Ware Dennett

Evening, 8.00 O'clock

CAMPAIGN NIGHT

Jane Addams, Presiding

President's Annual Address.....Anna Howard Shaw
Addresses from leaders in the winning States:

Kansas	Arizona
Michigan	Oregon

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 22

Morning, 10.00 O'clock

Report of Committee on Presidential Suffrage.....Elizabeth U. Yates
Report of Enrollment Committee.....E. Jean Nelson Penfield
Report of Legal Adviser.....Mary Towle
Report of Ways and Means Committee.....M. Carey Thomas
Recommendations from the Executive Committee.
Amendments to the Constitution.
Report of "The Woman's Journal."

Afternoon, 2.30 O'clock

Reports from Auxiliary Presidents:

Alabama ..... Patty Jacobs
Arizona ..... Frances W. Munds
California ..... Mary McHenry Keith
Colorado ..... Harriet G. R. Wright
Connecticut ..... Maud Hincks
District of Columbia ..... Leopoldine K. Barber
Georgia ..... Mary McLendon
Illinois ..... Grace Wilbur Trout
Indiana W. S. A. ..... Anna Dunn Noland
Indiana Woman's Franchise League ..... Amelia R. Keller

SYMPOSIUM ON NATIONAL WORK

An open discussion by the Delegates:

Press Work
Propaganda
Congressional Work
Traveling Exhibits
Political Work
Suffrage in District of Columbia

Evening, 8.00 O'clock

MEN'S NIGHT

James Lees Laidlaw, Presiding

Addresses by

Jesse Lynch Williams
Witter Bynner
A. S. G. Taylor
Frederick C. Howe
Judge Dimner Beeber
James Mythen Grattan
Reginald Wright Kauffmann

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 23

Morning, 10.00 O'clock

Reports from Auxiliary Presidents:

Iowa ..... Mary Safford
Kansas ..... Lucy B. Johnston

Kentucky .....Laura Clay
Louisiana .....Kate M. Gordon
Maine .....Helen D. Bates
Maryland W. S. A.....Etta Maddox Funck
Maryland Just Government League.....Edith Houghton Hooker
Maryland State Equal Franchise League...Elizabeth King Ellicott
Massachusetts .....Alice Stone Blackwell
Michigan .....Clara Arthur

Symposium on Local Work

Arranged by the Mississippi Valley Conference.....Grace Wilbur Trout

Afternoon, 2.30 O'clock

Report of Church Work Committee.....Mary E. Craigie
Report of Peace and Arbitration Committee.....Lucia Ames Mead
Reports from Auxiliary Presidents:
Minnesota W. S. A.....Alice Ames Hall
Minnesota Equal Franchise League.....Teresa Peyton
Missouri .....Mrs. Robert Atkinson
Mississippi .....Lily Wilkinson Thompson
Nebraska .....Inez C. Philbrick
New Hampshire .....Mary N. Chase
New Jersey .....Clara Laddey
New York W. S. A.....Harriet May Mills
New York W. S. P .....E. Jean Nelson Penfield
New York W. P. U.....Harriot Stanton Blatch
National College Equal Suffrage League.....M. Carey Thomas

Evening, 8.00 O'clock

COLLEGE NIGHT

M. Carey Thomas, Presiding

Woman Suffrage Debate, conducted by National College Equal Suffrage League

Anti-Suffrage Speakers.....
A fine lady, bargain hunting
A wife and mother
An unorganized woman worker
A tenement house mother

Suffrage Speakers.....
A cloud of witnesses, including woman voters, campaign workers, child labor workers, night-court lawyers, etc.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 24

Afternoon, 3.00 O'clock

Metropolitan Opera House

THANKSGIVING SERVICE

ANNA HOWARD SHAW, Presiding

Prayer.....THE RT. REV. PHILIP MERCER RHINELANDER
(Bishop of Pennsylvania)

Hymn—"My Country, 'Tis of Thee"
(Chorus and Audience)

Address—"Woman Suffrage and Child Welfare"....MISS JULIA LATHROP
Address—"The Democracy of Sex and Color,"
DR. W. E. BURGHARDT DUBOIS

Offering

Anthem—"O! Lord, How Manifold Are Thy Works".....BARNBY
(Sung by Chorus)

Address—"The Communion of the Ballot".....JANE ADDAMS

Music—Instrumental—2.30-3.00

Director of Music, MR. SAMUEL J. RIEGEL

Opening Prayer.....BISHOP RHINELANDER

Hymn—"Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God Almighty!"
(Sung by Chorus and Audience)

The Officers of the Association "At Home" to members of the Convention and friends in Banquet Hall of Hotel Walton at 8 o'clock P. M.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 25

Morning, 10.00 O'clock

Report of Committee on Endorsements.....MARY WARE DENNETT
Report of Labor Organizations Committee.....LUEMA G. JOHNSON
Final Report of Credentials Committee.....JESSIE ASHLEY
Election of Officers

Reports from Auxiliary Presidents:

Nevada .....ANNE MARTIN
Ohio W. S. A.....HARRIET TAYLOR UPTON
Ohio Equal Franchise Association.....FLORA WORTHINGTON
Oklahoma .....RUTH GAY
Oregon .....ABAGAIL SCOTT DUNIWAY

Oregon, Portland Equal Suffrage League.....Josephine Hirsch
Oregon, Everybody's Equal Suffrage League..Esther Pohl Lovejoy
Pennsylvania W. S. A. .....Ellen Price
Rhode Island .....Elizabeth U. Yates

Afternoon, 2.30 O'clock

Report of Education Committee.....Pauline Steinem
Report of Congressional Committee.....Elizabeth Kent
Report of Resolutions Committee.

Reports from Auxiliary Presidents:

Texas .....Annette Finnegan
Tennessee .....Sarah Barnwell Elliott
Vermont .....Julia A. Pierce
Virginia .....Lila Meade Valentine
West Virginia .....Allie Haymond
Wisconsin W. S. A.....Olympia Brown
Washington Suffrage League.....Catherine M. Smith
Friends' E. R. A. .....Mary Bentley Thomas
Equal Franchise Society.....Maude Nathan

Unfinished Business.

Evening, 8.00 O'clock

Anna Howard Shaw, Presiding

Three-minute speeches by

Rt. Rev. James Henry Darlington
Mrs. Blankenburg
Mrs. Blatch
Miss Jane Campbell
Miss Anne Martin
Mrs. La Follette
Miss Breckinridge

Addresses from leaders in the "postponed" campaign States:

Ohio Wisconsin

Address.....Baroness Bertha von Suttner
Address.....Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 26

Morning, 10.00 O'clock

Final Executive Meeting, Westminster Hall, Witherspoon Building (take elevator to third floor).

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS.

State	Entitled to	Present	Dues
Alabama	7	4	$40.50
Arizona	5	0	30.00
California	5	4	30.00
Colorado	1	0	5.00
Connecticut	52	18	500.00
Delaware	4	4	12.40
District of Columbia	6	6	32.00
Georgia	1	1	8.50
Illinois	12	10	100.00
Indiana	4	1	12.20
Iowa	8	4	52.00
Kansas	6	3	36.50
Kentucky	18	12	159.20
Louisiana	10	0	75.00
Maine	4	4	19.30
Maryland	7	5	43.00
Maryland—Just Government League	17	17	150.00
Maryland—State Equal Franchise League	7	7	45.00
Massachusetts	21	20	185.50
Michigan	7	5	41.80
Minnesota	13	3	108.10
Minnesota—Equal Franchise League	5	3	30.00
Missouri	7	4	41.80
Mississippi	1	0	7.30
Nebraska	6	1	34.70
Nevada	5	1	26.80
New Hampshire	8	8	50.50
New Jersey	9	8	68.20
New York	49	49	465.60
New York—Woman Suffrage Party	4	2	30.00
New York—Women's Political Union	5	5	30.00

State	Entitled to	Present	Dues
Ohio	17	14	150.00
Ohio—Equal Franchise League	6	5	32.50
Oklahoma	3	1	10.00
Oregon	1	0	5.00
Oregon—Everybody's Equal Suffrage League	5	1	30.00.
Oregon—Portland Equal Suffrage League	4	1	30.00
Pennsylvania	28	28	252.54
Rhode Island	5	5	21.00
Tennessee	4	2	11.30
Texas	1	0	5.00
Vermont	1	1	6.00
Virginia	12	12	95.00
Wisconsin	5	4	30.00
Wisconsin—Political Equality League	9	2	69.60
Washington	1	0	8.70
West Virginia	1	1	9.70
Maryland—Friends' Equal Rights Association	4	4	17.00
New York—Equal Franchise Society	1	1	10.00
Pennsylvania—National College Equal Suffrage League	36	17	338.40

SUMMARY

Total number of votes convention entitled to..... 458
Number present 308

JESSIE ASHLEY,
Chairman.

REPORT OF THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY AND CHAIRMAN OF THE LITERATURE COMMITTEE.

On the advice of the President, this will be two reports combined in one, for it is well nigh impossible to determine where the work of the Corresponding Secretary leaves off and that of the Literature Chairman begins. The two things are completely intermingled.

During the last few weeks, the winning of four new suffrage States, the preparations for the Convention and the loss of four of our office force, have proved to be a combination of events which has rendered it physically impossible to go through the letter file of the entire year and weed out data for a comprehensive report. For the absence of such, the volume of work must itself serve as the excuse.

The Official Board has recommended that the report of this year's convention shall be as far as possible printed in tabular form, so that suffrage progress may be seen at a glance. In anticipation, therefore, the statistical information has been prepared which is found upon the large wall placards and in the little folders given to each delegate. The three most striking indications of the year's progress are the increase in membership, which has nearly doubled in dues-paying members, and more than doubled in registered membership; the increase in the sale of literature and supplies, which in a single month has exceeded the amount received in the whole year of 1909; and the fact that all the great national, and some of the international press syndicates now send their best writers to Headquarters for data from which are written newspaper articles on suffrage that reach millions of readers.

We are often asked at Headquarters, and by mail, what the National Association is for and what it does. The briefest answer that can be given is that we furnish ammuni-

tion for the suffrage fight. The ammunition is of many sorts from money, leaflets and buttons, to historical data, slide lectures, and advice on organization. The aim of the Headquarters office has been to provide working suffragists and an inquiring public with whatever they need or want. We are still a long distance short of achievement, but are distinctly hopeful. One decided advantage in making Headquarters more useful to visitors has been the enlargement of the main office. A partition was removed, which gave us a large, light room in which all our publications are accessible for consultation or purchase, all the chief suffrage periodicals of the world are on file, the gallery of eminent suffragists is on exhibition, and all the various kinds of supplies, like buttons, pennants, posters, etc., are shown. It serves as a reference library as well, for beside the History of Woman Suffrage, the life of Susan B. Anthony, and the bound volumes of The Woman's Journal, there is a collection of books on interests allied to suffrage, which have been selected and approved by the Board. These also are on sale.

The corps of workers at Headquarters, aside from the three executive officers—the President, Treasurer and Secretary—consists of the Chairman of the Press Bureau, and for two months, her assistant; for the literature department, the Editor, the Manager, her assistant, and the partial services of the general office clerk and the general helper; the bookkeeper and two stenographers.

There is an increasing demand for suffrage facts rather than for suffrage argument. It was in response to this demand that it became necessary to appoint an editor for the literature department. Fully half of the publications needed revising and bringing up to date, and new compilations of data were urgently needed.

Mrs. Frances Maule Björkman, a trained newspaper and magazine writer, was chosen, and has filled the position admirably. She has not only edited the literature, but has rendered invaluable assistance in responding to calls for statistical and historical data of all sorts.

The rainbow fliers still remain our cheapest and most popular form of literature. The one on labor has been entirely rewritten and is now a direct appeal to the 8,000,000 working women, instead of an endorsement by working men.

Of the next cheapest literature, the Political Equality leaflets, the oldest and least effective have been entirely discarded, the form has been changed to wider columns and larger print, twenty-three of the most called for ones have been reprinted, five have been renamed and revised, and eighteen wholly new ones have been published. The testimony from the suffrage States has been revamped and better classified than ever before.

We have issued a companion set for the rainbow fliers. We have also published the rainbow fliers in Norwegian, and added a new one specially written by Mrs. Björkman and translated by Mr. Björkman. It is an appeal to all the Scandinavian-American voters to remember the progress their several native lands have made in equal suffrage and urges them to give the American suffrage work a lift to bring it to a like stage of advance.

A special flier was written for women in the rural districts. It was greatly needed, as most of our previous literature was based on problems growing out of city congestion. This flier, entitled "Farmers' Wives, Consider This," was the outgrowth of a prize offered by Mrs. Luscomb of Massachusetts for the best leaflet written for country women.

Another timely flier was printed just after the political conventions, giving the stand of all five presidential candidates on suffrage. A large edition of little red, white and blue dodgers was gotten out for the Fourth of July and other holiday use.

A leaflet of special service this year was "The Cost of Living and the Ballot," by Lida Parce, reprinted by courtesy of The Progressive Woman. Three pamphlets, one by Miss Blackwell ("Militant Methods") and two by Mrs. Porritt ("The Causes of the Revolt of the Women in England," and "The Militant Movement in England") have excellently served to explain the English situation and demonstrated that "mili-

tancy" is unnecessary in America, as yet. This year's crop of answers to the "Antis" is specially bright and comprehensive. There is the flier answering the anti-platform, "An Anti-Suffrage Monologue" by Marie Jenney Howe, "The Truth Versus Richard Barry," a parallel column pamphlet that was rushed out for the benefit of the Ohio campaign where Barry was still an unlaid ghost. The surprise booklet, which contains "all the reasons why the ballot should not be granted to women"—and we are indebted to a Louisiana man for the inspiration of its blank white pages—and finally the "Twenty-five Answers to Antis," being a brilliant series of five-minute speeches by prominent people. This is an illustrated, prettily printed pamphlet, quite suitable for a suffrage Christmas gift.

We also have on sale the two clinching replies to Minnie Bronson's statistical pretensions, one by Miss Breckinridge and Miss Abbott, published by the Boston League, and the other by Florence Kelley, Pauline Goldmark and Josephine Goldmark, published by the New Hampshire campaign committee.

It is interesting to note in passing that the organized anti-suffragists have issued a leaflet giving their entire list of twenty-seven publications, which may be purchased for fifty cents. The suffrage association issues 250 kinds of literature and it takes $50 to buy them all.

"If I Were a Woman," by Judge Lindsey, and "What the Ballot Will Do for Women and for Men," by Frederic C. Howe, are masterly presentations of suffrage argument of the most up-to-date sort.

The best historic pamphlets of the year are Mrs. Catt's "World Movement for Woman Suffrage," published by the International Alliance, and Mrs. Harper's "How Six States Won Woman Suffrage," which we reprinted from "The Independent."

"Why Women Should Vote," by Jane Addams has, perhaps, been the most read single pamphlet in our entire list of new publications.

"Why Women Want to Vote" and "Where Women Vote" are twin booklets by Mrs. Björkman, one giving argu-

ment and the other testimony, both in wonderfully concise and useful form.

The new edition of "Arguments and Results," which we send in response to requests for debate material, is the best little book for twenty-five cents that has yet been issued.

Two more of the series "What Women Might Do with the Ballot" have been published, one by Mrs. Mead, "The Abolition of the War System," the other by Benjamin Marsh, "Wanted—Women's Votes to Thwart Landlords' Greed." "Bondwomen," by Dora Marsden, is reprinted from The Freewoman, and is an admirable bit of fundamental argument.

We put on sale Selma Lagerlöf's great speech at the last International meeting, and have it in both Swedish and English.

We are indebted to the New York Men's League for three good booklets, "The Common Man and the Franchise," by Professor Charles Beard; "Values of the Vote," and "Is Woman Suffrage Important," by Max Eastman. Secured also from other organizations are "The Guardianship of Children," by Catherine Waugh McCulloch; "The Women of Tomorrow," by William Hard; "Votes and Babies" and "The Political Duties of Mothers," by Mrs. Porritt, and "Senators vs. Working Women," a set of six booklets from The Wage Earners' League, and a very moving little collection of speeches they are, too.

Our last publication and in many respects the most important one of the year, is "Organizing to Win." This is a hand-book for suffrage workers and gives every stage of organization by political districts. It is at once specific and inspiring. No active suffragists can afford to do without it.

We have published over 3,000,000 pieces of literature in the year. Our total receipts from literature and supplies have been $13,004, or $746 over the cost of the printing and purchase. Our record month was September, when our receipts were more than the entire receipts for the whole year of 1909.

It has been the ambition of the literature department, not only to have receipts pay for the actual cost of printing and the supplies, but also to pay for every single expense connected with the work. We have, therefore, charged against the literature its proportionate share of office rent, salaries and general expenses, with the result that if we count our unsold stock and our uncollected bills as assets, we have a net gain for the year of $3,578.57. About $700 worth of literature has been sold in the office, the remainder having been ordered by mail.

Through the courtesy of the Illinois Association, and the generosity of Miss Addams and Miss Breckinridge, who paid for the rent and service, a sub-station for the supply of literature was established at the Chicago Headquarters, in April. The sales at this Western Branch have been $1,924.75. It would seem well worth while to continue this service, as it lessens both time and express charges for western customers.

Also, for the benefit of western suffragists, Mrs. McCormick made a gift of a sample copy of every one of our new publications to the presidents of State Associations, in eighteen of the Western States, as a means of bringing them in closer touch with the National office.

The supplies for this year, besides the customary pennants and buttons, and it will be noted that there is a new ten-star button, include note paper, calendars, Christmas greetings, ribbons, teacups, bundle tape and ribbon and various trifles for gifts and reminders.

The Headquarters office co-operated in the production of a moving picture play entitled, "Votes for Women," in which Miss Shaw and Miss Addams and a score of other suffragists took part, along with the professional actors. The play has been much in demand all over the country.

Our list of twenty-two plays, suitable for amateur production, has filled a growing demand. "How the Vote Was Won" is still the most popular of them all.

Aside from our own literature we have been grateful for a very serviceable Congressional document, thousands of

which have been distributed in the last few months, the speech of Congressman Taylor of Colorado. It proved a successful and timely campaign document, and we are indebted, not only to Congressman Taylor, but to a most efficient volunteer worker in Washington—Mrs. Helen Gardner—who gave unstinted personal service in seeing that the documents were secured and franked when needed.

In midsummer we had the disheartening news of the postponement of the payment of the Coggeshall legacy. This produced a tragic change in our financial outlook. The Board was obliged to vote to cut down all running expenses, all along the line. The Headquarters office, therefore, lost four out of its staff, and we stopped all publishing, except that in direct connection with the Convention, and the organization pamphlet, which was planned and partly executed months before. We gave up publishing the Monthly Bulletin, which was proving a most popular and useful thing, and was especially in demand by libraries. Some of our best literature is now out of stock, and, until funds are forthcoming, no more editions can be printed.

The two most significant pieces of Association work, outside that of Headquarters, and the work of separately reported departments, were the Congressional Hearing on the 16th Amendment to the National Constitution, in March, and the effort to place suffrage planks in platforms of the political parties in the summer. The Congressional Hearing was marked by a greater respect and interest than heretofore on the part of the members of the Senate and House Committees. Miss Shaw conducted the Senate Hearing, and Miss Addams the House Hearing, and there was an admirable group of speakers for each. Thousands of copies of the reports of the Hearing were afterwards distributed, but, as of yore, the question died in committee.

Miss Shaw presented the suffrage cause before the platform committee of the Democratic Convention and Miss Addams performed the same service for the Republican Convention. Both secured a brief and respectful hearing, but no plank.

Miss Addams, however, was instrumental in securing the suffrage plank in the platform of the Progressive Party and, thereby, made it a safe prediction that hereafter no other national political party can afford to ignore the suffrage issue.

Respectfully submitted,

MARY WARE DENNETT.

REPORT OF PRESS BUREAU.

The winning of California last year wrought so complete a change in the work of the National Press Bureau that it was like taking up an entirely new branch. Before that victory was won our time was employed in furnishing suffrage arguments, replying to adverse editorials and letters published in the newspapers, and writing syndicate articles. Now this department has resolved itself into a Bureau of Information, news being the one thing required.

Each week we send to our mailing list 2,000 copies of the press bulletin, giving brief items relative to suffrage activities the world over. These go into every non-suffrage State in the Union, to Canada, Cuba and England, and the demand for them increases daily. Almost every mail brings letters from newspapers asking to be placed on the regular mailing list. We omitted these items during the week of the general elections, according to our custom, owing to so much space being devoted to reports of election returns, and, much to our surprise, complaints poured in from the papers saying they reserved space on certain days for the suffrage news and it was a disappointment to their readers when the items failed to appear.

Since the winning of the four States on November 5, newspapers and press associations from all over the United States have written us asking for help to establish woman suffrage departments. The tone of these requests is quite different from that of even a year ago. Formerly a com-

munication from a newspaper suggested that it wished to help us get our question before its readers, while now we are respectfully urged to assist them in their efforts to satisfy the reading public. In fact, the time has come when our question is a paying one from a publicity point of view. We are informed that one periodical whose circulation was something like 50,000 a year ago, when it organized a woman suffrage department, has increased to over 150,000, due, the publishers say, to the opening of their columns for the discussion of women suffrage. A prominent Eastern publication which makes a feature of equal suffrage activities and progress finds its financial returns surprising according to their own statement, so much so that they have decided to expand the department. One magazine which has probably a larger circulation in the country districts than almost any other, but whose policy is violently opposed to woman suffrage, sent one of its editors to see us a few weeks ago to discuss the possibility of securing news which would not militate against its policy, because the directors recognized the necessity of including woman suffrage among the important issues of the time, even though they themselves opposed its extension.

We now have twenty syndicates on our list, and are no longer obliged to write the articles ourselves, for we have progressed to the extent of being required simply to furnish the information which their own writers work up. These syndicates are both national and international and cover all of this country as well as some foreign countries. In one day a few weeks ago, six men representing that many different press associations, called at the Headquarters for material, and we afterward received copies of their articles through the press clippings from the Atlantic to the Pacific Coast. An interesting thing happened last week, when the representative of a European press syndicate came to see us, and said that he had been sent to America for the sole purpose of reporting the woman movement in the United States, the subject being regarded a vital one by the press of Europe.

Special suffrage editions seem to be more popular than almost anything else, and appeals come to us from all over

the Union for help on them. The Literature Department is so well equipped with material that it would not be difficult to meet this demand if it were not for the fact that it is always accompanied by requests for photographs. The call for photographs is appalling and increases at a rapid rate. We have reached a point where to ask another woman for her picture seems impossible. Requests for personal sketches of women active in the work and for signed articles by prominent women are asked for by every paper in the land. A great many papers in the large cities have given whole pages to woman suffrage during the past year, and Sunday papers have made a specialty of suffrage material, some devoting two pages to the subject, others four and a number have given eight pages, and all have asked for photographs.

The campaign States during the past year have furnished the principal subject for articles in the press, and have led to a keen interest in suffrage history, which we have been able to furnish through the "History of Woman Suffrage," the "Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony," and the files of The Woman's Journal. The weekly bulletins which have come to us from the press chairmen of the campaign States have been invaluable, because they have enabled us to pass the news on to the whole country.

During the past year we have received and answered over 3,000 communications, the great majority being post cards. This is one of the straws marking the complete change in our work. Formerly it required a long letter to explain the wants of the writer and another long letter in reply, and a general discussion of ways and means and the probable result. But we have passed the stage of uncertainty and are too busy to write letters. Here is a sample of a post card recently received: "Can you let us have 100 copies of the press items every week? Mail immediately literature for a debate in our High School. Getting out a special suffrage edition of our leading paper and need all the material you can furnish. Send promptly." That's all. Not even a postscript. No wonder we're accused of losing our womanly charm!

There are times when we don't know whether to be amused or indignant at the calls that are made upon us. A few days ago we were summoned to the telephone by a man representing one of the most important magazines in this country, who said that he had just read a newspaper dispatch saying that California had a woman presidential elector and he was sending a messenger right up to get her photograph and the story of her life for their next issue. We said we had never heard of the lady, didn't have her picture and knew nothing about her life history. Whereupon he informed us that we had fallen down on our job, and it was just like a woman, anyway! So there are times when we are not "masculine creatures".

As an evidence of the changes that are occurring, I want to read an item from a New York paper under date of November 16:

ITALIAN SUFFRAGE MEETING.

Raimundo Canudo to Address Meeting To-night on the East Side

The editors and associate editors of twelve New York Italian newspapers enrolled in the Woman Suffrage Party yesterday, and several of them are anxious to print weekly or monthly suffrage letters in their respective papers if writers can be found equally familiar with suffrage and the Italian language. There has been a general expression of interest among the Italian residents of New York, and this has been increased, many of them have said, by the impressiveness of the suffrage parade last Saturday night.

An Italian suffrage meeting is to be held to-night at 8 o'clock at Oak and Oliver Streets, on the east side. Raimundo Canudo will be the chief speaker and Miss Lavinia Dock, who arranged the meeting, will also speak in Italian. The meeting will be made picturesque with United States, Italian, and suffrage flags and a torchlight parade. All the women taking part will wear yellow suffrage sashes. Miss Cornelia Swinnerton has arranged for a big suffrage meeting among the Italians in upper New York, in the vicinity of 116th Street, within a few days.

The Italian papers have been on our mailing list for some time, also many French and Hebrew papers.

Never in the history of our work have there been such

demands for advance convention material as we have been flooded with during the past month, but this has been made unusually easy by the splendid help given by Mrs. Jones, the Pennsylvania press chairman, and Miss Katzenstein, the chairman for Philadelphia, both of whom have worked unceasingly and assumed all the responsibility.

CAROLINE J. REILLY,
Chairman.

REPORT OF THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL.

In view of the fact that The Woman's Journal is no longer the official organ of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, it is considered important by your Official Board to give a brief report of the Journal's affairs since it first became the National organ, June 22, 1910.

At Washington, April 1910, the convention, by a large majority, voted to accept Miss Blackwell's offer, by which The Woman's Journal was to supersede the little monthly paper, Progress, which was then the National organ, under the editorship of Ida Husted Harper.

The contract for carrying out this plan was put into the hands of our legal adviser, Catherine Waugh McCulloch. Mrs. McCulloch submitted the contract to Miss Blackwell and to the Official Board, and it was adopted by a vote of five to three. Under the terms of the contract the National assumed the financial responsibility for the Journal but did not own the paper, nor control its policy, except as Miss Blackwell was willing. Miss Blackwell remained the editor and has served continuously without salary.

The Journal was handed over to the Association out of debt. It had previously been carried on with a small annual deficit (about $1,000).

During the first year the Board engaged Miss Agnes Ryan as business manager and the paper was soon enlarged from four to eight pages at Miss Ryan's suggestion. More

pictures and cartoons were introduced and many plans were made for increased circulation and improvements. The bills for the year were heavy, but were paid before many other bills of the Association were paid, and every effort was made to put the paper upon a self-sustaining basis. Miss Ryan had hopes that this could eventually be accomplished.

At the Louisville Convention last year the total deficit of the Journal was about $10,000. This fact was laid before the Convention, and the Treasurer stated that to carry on the Journal, on its present basis, a fund of at least $25,000 would be needed, and to expand the paper and carry out new plans, a still larger sum would be needed.

The Convention voted almost unanimously to continue the contract with Miss Blackwell unchanged. But it failed to make any provision for financing the paper and not more than $7,000 was pledged for the whole National work, including the Journal.

During the year the National has paid out for The Woman's Journal $8,785.67 over and above what has been received from the Journal, and the amount still owed for outstanding bills is $4,777.39. Since the paper has been the organ of the Association it has cost $46,742.58. Its receipts from all sources have been $27,886.39, leaving a net deficit of $18,856.19.

As to circulation it is impossible to report for the entire period, June 22, 1910 to September 28, 1912, for the reason that access to the subscription list has been denied to the Official Board. However, when Miss Sara Levien was business manager, she found that for the year ending June 29, 1912, the average weekly edition printed was about 19,000 copies. The paid-up subscribers number about 12,600. The discontinuances were at the rate of about 5,200 per year.

The maximum number of people on the Journal staff has been ten, including the editor. During the last year the paid office force has consisted of a business manager (a position later merged into that of managing editor, editor's secretary, bookkeeper, stenographer, assistant stenographer, subscription clerk, filing and order clerk, advertising agent, and, since

the middle of July, a circulation manager. All of the office workers, with the exception of the managing editor and the circulation manager, were chosen by Miss Ryan, their number and the salaries paid them being matters in which she was left entire freedom.

The paper ceased to be the official organ of the Association on September 28, 1912. On that date Miss Blackwell notified the Board that she declined to carry out the contract any further.

The Journal problem, difficult enough at best, has been found doubly hard by this year's Board, in that its members have been divided as to the policy to be pursued. A minority have consistently held to the view that it was unwise to plunge the Association into further debt for the paper unless the restrictions in the contract could be made less binding, but the majority have, until the latter part of the year, felt that it was best to be guided by Miss Blackwell's wishes in the matter, and to do the best we could to pay the bills and to conduct the paper on substantially the same basis as that of the previous year. The minority proposed several amendments to the contract, bearing upon the place of publication, and the size, shape and appearance of the paper, but since Miss Blackwell protested that the Board could not act for the Association in amending the contract and that only the Convention could rightly act, the motions to amend were withdrawn, in deference to her opinion.

The majority of the Board were finally convinced that under the conditions of the contract it was impossible for the Association to produce a successful paper, but this was not until near the end of the year.

Miss Ryan, with Miss Blackwell's approval, constantly urged that more money be appropriated for increasing the circulation. The minority on the Board urged that it was wasteful to spend money on the circulation alone if the character of the paper and the conditions controlling it were not substantially changed so it would become popular on the newsstands. The result was a compromise between the two positions which satisfied the adherents of neither side.

During the early part of the year, the experiment was tried of having a Headquarters editor. Mrs. Frances Maule Björkman was appointed, with the idea that her services would help bridge the awkward gap between Headquarters and Boston. It was arranged that she should go over to Boston each week, on the day the paper was made up, thus partly obviating a former serious difficulty in having to send copy for the paper nearly a week ahead of the time it reached subscribers, and of not knowing what Miss Blackwell had already prepared, or whether there would be much or little space available in a given issue for contributions from Headquarters. After a two months' trial, Mrs. Björkman herself and the officers at headquarters, were convinced that it was a futile effort, so it was abandoned.

In April Miss Sara Levien was appointed as general manager, on the understanding that Miss Ryan would thereby be freed from the miscellaneous work she had been doing, and could devote her entire time to working up the circulation. Miss Levien's salary was guaranteed by Mrs. McCormick on behalf of the Ways and Means Committee.

In June, Mrs. McCormick reported to the Board that, after a careful study of the Journal office, she had concluded that it was impossible for the Association to carry successfully the responsibility of an organ which it did not own and, therefore, could not control, and she announced that she could no longer offer to guarantee Miss Levien's salary.

Miss Ryan's contract expired last June, and the Board voted not to renew it. In July Mrs. Bertha Carter was added to the office force, as circulation manager.

The expenses of the paper continued to go up, the average monthly deficit for the past year being $1,130.22.

At the Board meeting of June 29, Miss Blackwell proposed the termination of the contract by mutual consent on July 1, on the understanding that the National Association should pay the entire Journal indebtedness up to that date. It was the opinion of both the legal members of the Board, however, that the Board had no power under the contract, to take such action on behalf of the Association; this was

also in accordance with Miss Blackwell's own previous interpretation of the contract at the time that it had been proposed to amend it.

A committee was appointed to confer with Miss Blackwell as to possible terms by which she would sell her stock in the Journal corporation (of which she owns the majority of shares) to the Association, and remain chief editorial writer at an adequate salary. The Committee later reported that Miss Blackwell would decline any such offer.

Miss Blackwell gave notice on July 1 that, six months from date, she would terminate the contract unless a satisfactory arrangement could be made at the Convention for terminating the contract then, by mutual consent.

In August it was voted by the Board, in view of the unexpected postponement of the payment of the Coggeshall legacy, to cut down the expenses in all departments of the Association's work. The vote was executed on September 16, by sending the following instructions to the Journal office—to reduce the size of the paper to four pages, to raise the amount of the subscription price to $1.50, to reduce the office force and all other possible expenses. Miss Blackwell deferred compliance with these instructions, and Miss Levien sent in her resignation, with the statement that, since the Association found it impossible to conduct the paper upon the same scale as when she was first appointed, she would be happy to be released. Mrs. Carter also resigned.

On September 30, Miss Blackwell sent the following announcement:

To the Board of General Officers of the National American Woman Suffrage Association:

Inasmuch as said Association has failed to carry out the terms of its agreement with me, dated June 22, 1912, having failed for several months to pay for my private secretary, and to pay the bills accruing from the publication of The Woman's Journal, as provided in the third paragraph of said contract, I wish to notify you and said Association that I consider your breach of said contract justifies me in declining to carry out

said contract any further, and that I shall hold said Association responsible for all damages sustained by me and by the proprietors of The Woman's Journal, resulting from said breach.

(Signed) Alice Stone Blackwell.

At the Board meeting of October 12, it was voted that a Committee be appointed to consist of one representative of the Journal, and one representative of the National Association, to confer with the public accountants and arrange to close the business between the Journal and the Association. Mrs. McCormick was chosen the representative from the Association. The amount still owed for outstanding Journal bills is $4,777.39.

Miss Mary Towle, legal adviser for the Association, was consulted as to whether there had been any breach of contract on the part of the Association by the delay in paying Journal bills. Miss Towle's decision was that delay in payment could not be considered breach of contract since the Association had never repudiated any bills whatever.

It is impossible to present complete statements in regard to the subscription list of the Journal, for access to the original sources of information has been denied to the representative sent by the National Association to secure the data, by those now in charge of The Woman's Journal office.

Regretting that this report should be incomplete as well as painful,

Respectfully submitted,

THE BOARD OF GENERAL OFFICERS.

REPORT OF THE AUDITORS.

We herewith beg to state that we have examined the report of the certified accountants, Barrow Wade Guthrie & Co., and of Moyer & Briggs, employed by us to examine and audit the books kept by the Treasurer of the National

American Woman Suffrage Association, and have found them to be correct.

Respectfully,

KATHARINE DEXTER McCORMICK,
HARRIET BURTON LAIDLAW,
Auditors.

Miss Jessie Ashley, Treasurer, National American Woman Suffrage Association,
505 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

Dear Madam: We have now completed our audit of the books and accounts of the National American Woman Suffrage Association to April 1, 1912, and have prepared therefrom the following statements:

1. Balance Sheet as at October 1, 1911.
2. Cash account for the six months from October 1, 1911 to April 1, 1912.
3. Balance Sheet as at April 1, 1912.

We have obtained a certificate verifying the amount in the hands of the Guaranty Trust Company of New York as at March 31, 1912.

We have not verified the amount in the hands of Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, representing Willis Fund, $500, or the gold and silver coins amounting to $46.

Yours faithfully,

BARROW WADE GUTHRIE & CO.

Old South Building

Boston, Mass, November 18, 1912.

President and Official Board, National American Woman Suffrage Association,
505 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

As instructed, we have made an audit of the financial books and accounts covering the period beginning April 1

and ending October 31, 1912, and herewith submit our report, consisting of the following:

1. Balance Sheet.
2. Statement of Receipts and Payments.
3. Statement of Income and Expense.
4. Amount of National Association Bills outstanding October 31, 1912.
5. Amount of Woman's Journal Bills outstanding October 31, 1912.

Respectfully submitted,

ORLANDO C. MOYER.

FINANCIAL REPORT FROM OCTOBER 1, 1911, TO NOVEMBER 1, 1912

JESSIE ASHLEY, TREASURER, IN ACCOUNT WITH NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

Balance Sheet, October 1, 1911

ASSETS

Guaranty Trust Company:		
Amount in their hands		$7,029.41
Gold and Silver Coins		46.00
Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton—Willis Fund		500.00
Total assets		$7,575.41
General Fund:		
Amount over-expended		8,069.15
		$15,644.56

LIABILITIES AND FUNDS

Loans:		
Laura Clay	$1,000.00	
Estate of M. S. and S. B. Anthony	1,000.00	
Trustees of S. B. Anthony Memorial Fund	1,000.00	
	$3,000.00	
Total liabilities		$3,000.00
Susan B. Anthony Memorial Fund:		
Amount unexpended		8,763.50
Susan B. Anthony Suffrage Fund:		
Amount unexpended		3,881.06
		$15,644.56

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS FROM OCTOBER 1, 1911 TO APRIL 1, 1912

General Fund:	Receipts.	Disbursements.	
Literature	$5,666.30	$3,847.04	$1,819.26†
Woman's Journal	6,207.86	9,680.23	3,472.37*
Campaigns	2,788.05	2,050.05	738.00†
Press Bureau	.....	1,361.60	1,361.60*
Headquarters	2,516.47	5,071.02	2,554.55*
Members' Dues	1,343.24	.....	1,343.24†
Miscellaneous Donations	3,562.21	.....	3,562.21†
Official Board Travelling	.....	296.08	296.08*
Miscellaneous Expenses	.....	1,157.86	1,157.86*
Willis Fund and Interest	35.00	.....	35.00†
Bank Interest	77.19	.....	77.19†
	$22,196.32	$23,463.88	$1,267.56*
Susan B. Anthony Memorial Fund	$2,100.00	$7,134.30	$5,034.30*
Susan B. Anthony Suffrage Fund	113.64	1,262.98	1,149.34*
Jessie Ashley Loan	1,200.00	.....	1,200.00†
Total	$25,609.96	$31,861.16	$6,251.20*
Balance in Bank October 1, 1911	$7,029.41		
Balance in Bank April 1, 1912	.....	778.37	
	$32,639.37	$32,639.37	

BALANCE SHEET, APRIL 1, 1912

Assets

Guaranty Trust Company:		
Amount in their hands		$778.21
Gold and Silver Coins		46.00
Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton—Willis Fund		500.00
Total assets		$1,324.21
General Fund:		
Amount over-expended Oct. 1, 1911	$8,069.15	
Add: Excess of Disbursements over Receipts six months ending April 1, 1912	1,267.56	
Amount over-expended April 1, 1912		$9,336.71
		$10,660.92

† Excess of Receipts over Disbursements.
* Excess of Disbursements over Receipts.

Liabilities and Funds

Loans:		
Laura Clay		$1,000.00
Estate of M. S. and S. B. Anthony		1,000.00
Trustees of S. B. Anthony Memorial Fund		1,000.00
Jessie Ashley		1,200.00
Total Liabilities		$4,200.00
Susan B. Anthony Memorial Fund:		
Amount unexpended Oct. 1, 1911	$8,763.50	
Less: Excess of Disbursements over Receipts six months ending April 1, 1912	5,034.30	
Balance unexpended April 1, 1912		$3,729.20
Susan B. Anthony Suffrage Fund:		
Amount unexpended Oct. 1, 1911	$3,881.06	
Less: Excess of Disbursements over Receipts six months ending April 1, 1912	1,149.34	
Balance unexpended April 1, 1912		2,731.72
		$10,660.92

The unpaid bills at April 1, 1912, approximate to $8,200.

BALANCE SHEET, OCTOBER 31, 1912

Assets

Cash:		
In Bank, General Fund	$2,669.47	
In Bank, Suffrage Fund	155.08	
Petty Cash Fund	50.00	
	$2,874.55	
Gold and Silver Coin	46.00	
Furniture and Fixtures—Inventory	680.00	
Literature—Inventory	8,127.00	
Total assets		$11,727.55

Liabilities

Loans:			
Laura Clay	$1,000.00		
Estate of M. S. and S. B. Anthony	1,000.00		
Trustees S. B. A. Memorial Fund	1,000.00		
Jessie Ashley	3,931.72		
		$6,931.72	
Vouchers Payable:			
National Association	$322.96		
Woman's Journal	4,777.39		
		$5,100.35	$12,032.07
Net Deficit			$304.52

Funds

General Fund Deficit	$459.60	
Deduct:		
S. B. A. Suffrage Fund Surplus	155.08	
		$304.52

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS FROM APRIL 1, TO NOVEMBER 1, 1912

Balance, April 1, 1912		$778.21
Receipts		
Members' Dues	$3,090.10	
Life Membership	300.00	
Literature Sales	8,053.74	
Woman's Journal	9,494.86	
Loan Account	2,731.72	
Willis Fund	500.00	
Ballinger Will	1,000.00	
Annual Pledges	827.10	
Restricted Donations	14,717.97	
General Donations	14,177.60	
Miscellaneous	303.96	
		55,197.05
		$55,975.26
Payments		
National Association Vouchers	$38,696.89	
Woman's Journal Vouchers	14,403.82	
		53,100.71
Balance, November 1, 1912		$2,874.55

Distribution

Guaranty Trust Company:		
General Fund Cash	$2,669.47	
Suffrage Fund Cash	155.08	
Petty Cash Fund	50.00	
		$2,874.55

STATEMENT OF INCOME AND EXPENSE FROM APRIL 1, TO NOVEMBER 1, 1912

Income

Members' Dues	$3,090.10	
Life Membership	300.00	
Literature Sales	8,041.91	
Ballinger Will	1,000.00	
Annual Pledges	827.10	
Restricted Donations	13,217.97	
General Donations	15,677.60	
Miscellaneous	271.21	
Woman's Journal	9,155.46	
		$51,581.35

Expenses

Official Board	$573.49	
Headquarters	5,714.57	
Literature	12,744.61	
Press Bureau	2,450.60	
Campaigns	14,065.05	
Woman's Journal	13,895.08	
		$49,443.40
Excess of Income		$2,137.95

Unpaid Bills November 1, 1912:		
National Association	$322.96	
Woman's Journal	4,777.39	
Total	$5,100.35	

A POSSIBLE BUDGET FOR NEXT YEAR

Possible Expenses

	Rent.	Salaries.	Off. Exp. (incl. ptg.)	Traveling Expenses.	Totals.
Literature	$1,200	$3,500 (5 people)	$14,000	....	$18,700
Press Bureau	....	2,580 (2 people)	1,100	....	4,280
Monthly Bulletin	....	....	2,000	....	2,000
Field Work	....	1,000 (1 person)	....	1,000	2,000
Ways and Means	....	1,000 (1 person)	....	....	2,000
General Work	1,200	5,500 (5 people)	3,000	2,000	11,700
Totals	$3,000	$13,580	$20,199	$4,000	$40,680

Probable Receipts

Sales of Literature and Supplies	$14,000
Dues	3,600
Sub-letting office	200
Pledge	1,200
Legacies (?)	5,000

Expenses	$40,680
Receipts	24,000
Amount to be raised	$16,680

Note—No direct campaign work is included in the above estimates.

FACTS FOR DELEGATES

GENERAL WORK

November 1, 1911, to November 1, 1912

(Not including Woman's Journal or Campaigns)

EXPENSES

Salaries, twelve people (six part time)		$12,443.00
Rent		3,000.00
Stationery	$307.38	
Stamps	1,125.30	
Telephone	234.94	
Printing	10,107.93	
Supplies	2,150.30	
Miscellaneous	2,800.72	
		16,726.57
Total		$32,169.57

RECEIPTS

Sales of Literature and Supplies	$13,004.74
Dues	4,422.44
Donations	24,899.28
Total	$42,326.46
Excess of Receipts over Expenses	$10,156.89

Note.—Salaries—The President and the Treasurer have worked without salaries since May 1. The other part time people were as follows:

Press Bureau Assistant	3 months
Main Office Assistant	11 "
Stenographer	10 "
Helper	4½ "

Donations—This sum does not include any of the restricted donations, such as the S. B. A. fund for campaigns, and Miss Shaw's campaign fund.

LITERATURE

Approximate Statement for One Year

November 1, 1911, to November 1, 1912

INCOME AND ASSETS:

Sales		$13,004.74
Stock on hand		8,127.22
Bills receivable		552.23
Total		$21,684.19

EXPENSES:

Rent (proportion chargeable to Literature)		$1,200.00
By charging $1,200 to the literature department, the total rent ($3,000) is reduced to $1,800.		
Salaries (proportion chargeable to Literature):		
Editor	$1,200.00	
Manager	936.00	
Assistant	520.00	
Helper (part time)	208.00	
Clerk (part time)	614.00	
		$3,478.00
This list includes all service, except that of the chairman of the Literature Committee. The helper and clerk have served part time in a double sense. Both have been employed only a portion of the year, and have worked on the literature only a part of that time. The remainder of their service has been in the general office.		
Office Supplies		102.46
Telephone		44.34
Water, Ice, Towels		18.00
Express and Freight		528.74
Postage		2475.85
Printing		10,107.93
Supplies (Buttons, Pennants, etc.)		2,150.30
Total		$18,105.62
Net gain for the year		$3,578.57

Note—This net gain is not cash on hand but is based on the value of unsold stock and uncollected bills, as well as upon actual receipts. The receipts from sales are $746.51 more than the cost of the printing and the purchase of supplies. But to put the literature department on a true business basis, its share of rent, salaries and general office charges should be reckoned as expenses also.

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL

Statement for Entire Period During Which It Has Been the Official Organ of the National Association

July, 1910, to September 28, 1912

Total Cost to Association	$46,742.58
Total Receipts:	
Subscriptions, Sales, Advertising, Donations	7,886.39
Excess of Expenditures over Receipts	18,856.19
Bills Remaining Unpaid November 1	4,777.39

Note—At the time of the Louisville Convention the deficit was about $10,000.00

Subscribers, July, 1909 ... Information on these points
Subscribers, Sept. 28, 1912 ... was refused to the National
Total New Subscribers ... Association by the Woman's
Total Discontinuances ... Journal Office.

Note—All access to the subscription list and the files was refused, during the first two weeks of November, 1912, when the books were being audited and reports prepared.

The figures for the year ending June 29, 1912, were secured when Miss Levein was business manager, and are as follows:

New subscribers secured	8,815
Discontinuances, same period	5,281
Net gain	3,534

Total paid subscribers (June 29)	12,612
Office Force, July, 1909 (including Editor)	4 people
Office Force, September, 1912 (including Editor)	10 people

CAMPAIGNS

Contributions from the National Association

November, 1911, to November, 1912

(Including Literature and Cash)

New Hampshire	$700.00
Ohio	5,630.00
Wisconsin	4,881.04
Michigan	1,630.60
Oregon	1,668.21
Arizona	1,002.37
Kansas	2,076.56
Nevada	100.00
General Campaign Work	455.00
Total	$18,143.98

Note.—Campaigns—All the literature and most of the cash was provided from the fund given into Miss Shaw's personal charge by an anonymous donor. Miss Shaw chose to make most of her disbursements through the national treasury and with the advice of the Board. The S. B. A. campaign fund provided $3,726 of the total amount contributed to campaigns.

MEMBERSHIP

Increase in Membership of National American Woman Suffrage Association

November, 1911		November, 1912	
Dues-paying Members	28,700	Dues-paying Members	46,700
Registered Members (about)	65,000	Registered Members (about)	171,000
Total	93,700	Total	217,700
Gain	124,000		

Note—The registered membership is a very conservative estimate based on returns from about one-third of the states.

HEADQUARTERS

Comparison of Expenses When Headquarters Were in Warren, Ohio, and in New York City

WARREN		NEW YORK	
Rent (annual)	$500.00	Rent (average annual rent paid for the three past years (Sept., 1909-Sept., 1912)	$2,145.00

Note—The total rent paid since Headquarters were in New York is $7,150. Of this $4,500 has been donated and $850 came from subletting to the N. Y. W. S. A. and the College League, leaving $1,800, which came out of the general treasury—or $600 per year, which is only $100 more than was paid in Warren per year.

Office force, 10 people (two part time)		Office force, 12 people (two part time)	
Pay-roll	10,356.00	Pay-roll	12,443.00
(Not including Campaigns or "Progress")		(Not including Campaigns or "Journal")	
Total Sales in 1909 (Literature and Supplies)	1,283.58	Total Sales, Nov., 1911, to Nov., 1912 (Literature and Supplies)...	13,004.74
Cost of Literature and Supplies over Receipts	502.84	Receipts from Literature and Supplies over cost	746.51
(Cost here means simply printing and purchase)		(Cost here means simply printing and purchase)	

Note—The increase in the volume of work turned out from New York Headquarters has not meant a relatively large increase in the number of people employed as shown in the total salary budget.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON PRESIDENTIAL SUFFRAGE.

The very decided advantage that presidential suffrage offers, both as a means of agitation and as a practical attainment are beginning to be appreciated. Numerous inquiries have come from various parts of the country for full information in regard to the manner of obtaining it. The extraordinary activities of the political parties in the last campaign to enlist the support of woman, and bring out the largest possible vote of women, proves clearly that presidential suffrage, unlike other forms of fractional suffrage, is an effective means towards the end of full suffrage.

The experiences of suffrage campaigns have proved too often that they were premature, and the great outlay of time and treasure which they have involved have resulted in defeats, that have greatly impeded further progress of the movement.

May it not be safely presumed that in some instances where attempts to obtain full suffrage have failed, the same amount of effort might have procured presidential suffrage if directed to that end?

By Section 1, Article II, of the United States Constitution, power to determine presidential electors is given to State legislatures. By a majority of one at a single session this great and significant measure of political power may be obtained.

It is hoped that States that are not yet ready for successful campaigns for full suffrage will adopt this method, which promises substantial results in some States.

ELIZABETH UPHAM YATES,
Chairman.

REPORT OF CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE.

The assigned work of the Congressional Committee was to try and see that bills were introduced in the House and the Senate amending the Federal Constitution to give equal rights of suffrage to women and men and to arrange for

hearings on such bills. It is significant of the rapid growth of woman suffrage both as a condition and as a theary that this year no solicitation has been necessary to secure the introduction of such a bill in the House. Six such bills were introduced in the Sixty-second Congress, by Representatives Taylor, Rucker, Mondell, Lafferty, Berger and Ralser. Senator Works was very glad to present the bill in the Senate. The hearings were arranged for the 13th of March, and both large committee rooms, where they were held, were crowded to the doors, and many were turned away. Dr. Anna Howard Shaw conducted the hearing before a joint meeting of Senate Judiciary Committee, of which Senator Clarence D. Clarke was the chairman, and the sub-committee on Woman Suffrage, of which Senator Lee S. Overman was the chairman.

Senator Works introduced Miss Shaw, who presented the other speakers. They were as follows: Mrs. Susan Fitz-Gerald, Mrs. Elsie Cole Phillipps, Miss Ella Stewart, Miss Caroline Lowe, Miss Leonora O'Reilly, Mr. and Mrs. James L. Laidlaw, Mrs. Donald Hooker, Mrs. E. Jean Nelson Penfield, and Mr. Franklin W. Collins.

Miss Jane Addams conducted the hearing before the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives, of which Hon. Henry D. Clayton was chairman.

Besides those representatives who were able to be present and speak for their bills, eight other speakers were appointed by the N. A. W. S. A. They were: Miss Leonora O'Reilly, Mrs. Nelson Penfield, Mrs. Wm. Kent, Mrs. Ida Husted Harper, Miss Mary E. McDowell, Miss Caroline A. Lowe, Mr. James L. Laidlaw and Miss Elsie C. Phillips. Miss Ella C. Berhant, of Washington, D. C., asked the privilege of presenting the arguments of the anti-suffragists, and was granted a courteous hearing.

A reception was tendered the members of the N. A. W. S. A. the day before the hearing at the home of Mrs. Wm. Kent. Some brilliant short speeches were made and many people were interested in the cause of suffrage who and previously been indifferent.

In May the Congressional Committee sent out cards to the wives of all the Senators and Representatives asking them to a Suffrage Tea at the home of the Chairman. The object of the meeting was to propose forming a Congressional Suffrage Club. About sixty women were present. Mrs. Caroline Bartlett Crane gave an interesting and convincing talk on the need of women's help in municipal housekeeping. Mrs. Helen Gardiner Day and Miss Emma Gillett also spoke and greatly interested the audience.

The sense of the meeting, however, proved to be against forming a Congressional Suffrage Club, on the ground that it might interfere with the usefulness of the Congressional Club, and that the free use of the name "Congressional" was inadvisable.

The question was not put to a vote, and the meeting adjourned for a pleasant social hour. The meeting aroused much interest in work for suffrage, and many of those present will join the district branch of the N. A. W. S. A. this winter under the new chairman.

ELIZABETH T. KENT,
Chairman.

REPORT OF LEGAL ADVISER

The legal adviser's report covers only slightly over half a year, as she was appointed in April, 1912. Since that time she has been chiefly occupied with two matters, both having to do with money bequests to the Association.

At the time when she entered upon her duties, the Association had become involved in a contest over the will of Miss Octavia W. Bates, deceased. Miss Bates had bequeathed $5,000 to the Association, and her brother, George W. Bates, had brought suit to have the will set aside. The interests of the Association were being represented by E. J. W. Revell, Esq., of Baltimore.

Before the case came to trial Mr. Revell strongly advised your Board of General Officers to accept a compromsie

proposition made by Mr. Bates, which provided that $25,000 be paid him out of the assets of the estate, and the remainder divided pro rata among the legatees as directed in the will. After careful investigation it seemed best to your legal adviser and to your Board, rather than let the case come to trial, to accept this proposition, and, with some modifications favorable to the Association, this was finally done. The total amount netted by this arrangement, after deducting the inheritance tax and Mr. Revell's fee (which had been previously fixed at 10 per cent of the sum to be received by the Association), was $3,285.

The second matter of importance had to do with the will of the late Miss Rebecca H. Ballinger, of Moorestown, N. J. By the terms of this will a trust fund of $5,000 was created, to be held by the Burlington County Safe Deposit & Trust Company, of Moorestown, as trustee, the income to be paid half-yearly to the Association until such time as equal suffrage should be an accomplished fact.

After probate of the will and before final settlement, the trustee was served with a notice to the effect that the residuary legatees under the will objected to the setting aside of the trust fund, on the ground that the bequest which provided for it was void. Having received this notice the only safe course open to the Trust Company was to file a bill in equity for the construction of the will, making the Association a party defendant.

Our chances of success in a suit of this nature seemed very uncertain. The language of the will was such as to make it doubtful whether it was not in violation of the statute against perpetuities. The point involved had, thanks to the able handling of Mrs. McCulloch, been decided in our favor in the State of Illinois in the similar case of Garrison vs. Little, but the Massachusetts courts, on the other hand, had taken the opposite view. It seemed an open question what the New Jersey ruling would be. Under these circumstances your Board were disposed to consider favorably a compromise offer, made by the residuary legatees, of a cash amount equal to the income of the trust fund

for five years at 5 per cent namely, one thousand dollars, and this offer was finally accepted, the Board executing a declination and release in favor of the residuary legatees and the Trust Company.

These two matters constitute the sum of all the important work that the legal adviser has been called upon to perform during the seven months that have elapsed since her appointment. In addition to this she has handled a small claim, still unsettled, against the N. Y. C. & H. R. R. Co., for damages for delay in transporting literature of the amount of $157, and has passed upon various small questions of law and policy propounded to her through and by the office of the Association in New York City.

At the request of the President and members of the Board of General Officers, the legal adviser, in September and October of the present year, passed upon certain questions with regard to the status of the contract by which The Woman's Journal became the official organ of the Association. These questions were, in brief, whether the Board by itself had power to terminate this contract, whether the Association had, by delay in paying Journal bills, committed a breach of the contract, whether the Association could be held liable for any such bills contracted subsequent to September 30, 1912, and lastly whether a resumption of control of the paper by its majority stockholder without the consent of the Board and before the convention would constitute a breach of the contract. The first three of these questions were answered in the negative, and the last one in the affirmative.

MARY RUTTER TOWLE.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON PEACE AND ARBITRATION.

The report of your chairman last year announcing the gifts of $11,000,000—the cost of one battleship—for the peace cause as was to be expected, can have no counterpart this year. But good work has been accomplished in Europe and America by these gifts, although the immense interest which

they helped to create for the ratification of the pending arbitration treaties failed to secure the necessary two-thirds vote. One single vote would have altered the result and prevented what was a veritable world calamity. This lessens at present our nation's leadership in the peace movement, but it has only postponed the eventual passage of such treaties. Had absent friends of the bill been present, or partisan activity due to the presidential election not been rife, the treaties would not have been defeated, and doubtless Germany, Japan and other nations would soon have signed similar treaties.

The year, on the whole, has sadly made more evident the need for an aroused conscience and intelligence upon international affairs. The cool brigandage of Italy has been accepted with callous indifference by our press, which has failed to show not only the immortality but the stupid lack of perception of the economies of this latest robbery. It would be well if all who imagine good may result from this criminal annexation should read the marvelous, graphic book, "The Pride of War," just issued from the press, and President Jordan's "The Unseen Empire," both of which our peace suffragists should see are put in their town libraries and if possible in their own.

The greed and apathy of the "Powers" has resulted in the awful punishment of Turkey by the Balkan States, for which even a peace lover can find some excuse. It seems in some respects less mournful than our own display of miles of costly destroyers in the recent unprecedented Naval Reviews, which can signify only one of two terrible things. It means either that this republic, which in all its history has never yet been attacked but begun itself all its foreign wars, a country that is protected as no other is by two great oceans and has no enemies, is now in some new, imminent danger, which can only be averted by our standing second as a naval power, although we were never attacked or in danger when we had a tiny navy. Or it means that, without reason, we are spending stupendous sums for defence where it is least needed and neglecting it where it is most needed,

which is at home. Suffragists rejoice at our new Children's Bureau, but do not realize that the budget allowed it is much less than the annual repairs on two torpedo boat destroyers, while at the same time Congress votes $15,000,000 for one battleship.

For years, your chairman has been earnestly endeavoring to enlist the General Federation of Women's Clubs in the peace movement, which is so much less understood than any other subject on their programs. This year, at their Biennial Meeting in San Francisco, much attention was given to the subject and a sub-committee on education was appointed. The lecture tour of the Baroness von Suttner, who is a suffragist as well as one of the most eminent exponents of peace, has also helped to arouse interest in the peace cause among many influential women.

During the last year your chairman has given over about one hundred addresses between Bath, Maine, and Houston, Texas. Some of these were arranged in New Orleans by an influential member of our committee, Mrs. Roydan Douglas, and one was arranged by Mrs. Allen, of Memphis. Two weeks were spent in a peace campaign in Pittsburgh and vicinity. Your chairman has contributed a pamphlet on the "Abolition of War" in the series issued by the N. A. W. S. A. on "What the Ballot Can Do for Women," and she has prepared a book entitled "Swords and Plowshares." Through the courtesy of the World Peace Foundation, and Geo. P. Putnam's Sons, she has distributed many thousands of leaflets and is now a regular peace correspondent of three club magazines. She has written and distributed thousands of leaflets entitled "Women and the War System" and has sent out a printed circular letter.

Lack of funds for clerical service and for greater activities, as usual, has prevented that stimulation of the different State suffrage organizations which is most desirable. The absorption of so many suffragists in the different State campaigns has increasingly distracted attention from other things, even in the States that were not carrying on campaigns but were lending aid to others. Your chairman has seriously

questioned whether the feeble work now done for peace by her department would not better be abandoned altogther, except perhaps in States that already have the suffrage and where women can directly influence Congress. On propounding this suggestion to the different members of the department, the following responses have been received:

Mrs. Alice Park, of California, who almost alone among the suffragists has been an active worker for peace and has distributed much literature, reports that the suffragists have been too busy entering politics to do much peace work, but says: "I advise that the Peace Department be continued. It serves to remind some people who would otherwise not be reminded through the suffrage work and therefore it shows them that suffrage and peace are related, a lesson that needs to be taught and taught over again. The fact that work is not done systematically in all or half the States would not lead one to discontinue the department, but rather to continue it. Peace Day is more generally observed this year than last, and each year shows a great move forward. Counting back to five years ago the change is very marked. In considering peace work I see no reason for dividing the suffrage States from the non-suffrage States."

Miss Laura White, who also stands nearly alone among the suffragists of her State, Kentucky, in doing active work for peace, writes that she can report only one city—Newport—as having Peace Day observed by all its teachers, yet says the teachers in general are "much more interested than they were five years ago, and the Equal Rights Auxiliaries have done most to cause this change; through their influence ministers frequently refer to The Hague Court and arbitration most favorably and effectively. The President of our E. R. S., when interviewed as to woman suffrage, gave work for peace as one of the benefits. The President of the Louisville Woman's Club joined the Equal Rights Association, and stated in public meeting that what women could do for peace with the ballot was one of her chief reasons for joining. The suffrage members of the General Federation are probably the ones who have most actively endorsed

the standing Peace Committee. I should be sorry for the Suffrage Association to give up its Peace Department. I believe that the appeal for peace by arbitration strengthens the suffrage sentiment."

Mrs. Sarah A. Bissell, of Toledo, writes that little has been done in her State of Ohio, and that her interest had not until recently been aroused, as she thought peace work did not logically belong to the suffrage movement. But she has succeeded in securing attention to the movement in the schools and annual observance of the day in her city. "Although this influence has not extended through the State," she says, "I do not believe this department should be abandoned. Now that so many of the States have woman suffrage, and there are many others where it is imminent, and that we claim the woman influence in politics is peaceful and not not warlike, this is not the time to drop the claim. I believe that the department of peace should be continued, that the State Chairman of the committee should insist that more attention be paid to the question of peace in the local societies, and the department be made more alive and earnest. You see that your suggestion of discontinuing the department has changed my attitude from indifference to lively interest. Perhaps it will awaken others."

Miss Alice M. Douglas, of Bath, Maine, a suffragist, though not appointed by the State Suffrage Association, as representing them, has done perhaps more work than any regular appointee in distributing literature, making addresses and securing widespread attention to the peace cause in schools and various organizations, and in putting reports into the newspapers. If the State Association were willing to have any peace department it would not be likely to find a more energetic representative than Miss Douglas.

Last May, Tennessee withdrew its activity in the peace movement, so far as the State Association was concerned, as it wished to devote its energies exclusively to suffrage. Very little peace work had ever been done, and the members failed to recognize its bearing on suffrage.

Mrs. Belva Lockwood, of Washington, D. C., writes:

"A large amount of peace work has been done, but mostly by a few people. We have no idea of giving up our peace work, and as much will probably be done in the future as in the past. We have had a large number of public meetings, including peace and woman suffrage." She reports that schools and clergy almost universally observe Peace Day.

Mrs. Phoebe C. Wright, of New Jersey, who is an active worker, writes: "I find some people prefer peace tracts to suffrage. It sometimes opens the way for both kinds of literature. Do not think of curtailing the work, it would be such a loss. There is much more interest in peace than there was five years ago. It has been introduced in schools more the past year than ever before."

Miss Austin of Providence, R. I., reports some work done and advises continuance of the Peace Department.

Mrs. Margaret G. Weilepp, of Baltimore, with Mrs. Funck, report peace work done and strongly recommend continuance of the department.

No answers to the queries have been received from Louisiana and Utah, which States are usually forward in the peace work.

The addition of four new suffrage States gives women equal power now with men in the election of 70 to the Electoral College and 20 to the U. S. Senate, which, with the President, is the treaty making power. These States can probably control the balance of power in the House of Representatives, which initiates appropriations; their influence should be brought to bear this winter to defeat the proposition of the Secretary of the Navy to build three more dreadnoughts. The program of the Third Hague Conference must be issued in 1913 for the Conference two years later. Its preparation is of momentous importance and should enlist the keenest interest of women in order that our country may take a leading and beneficent part in it.

Your Chairman leaves to the decision of the Executive Committee the question of continuing or abandoning the very inadequate work of this department so far as non-equal suffrage States are concerned, but recommends that special effort

be taken to enlist the interest of women voters in the peace cause.

She regrets that engagements to present the peace cause at Smith College and vicinity coincide with the date of the convention and that she must be absent.

Respectfully submitted,

LUCIA AMES MEAD,
Chairman.

REPORT OF CHURCH WORK COMMITTEE.

It is estimated that there are over 35,000,000 persons in the United States who are members of some Christian Church. The work of this committee is to endeavor to interest those 35,000,000 people to lead in the general movement to overthrow the traditions whereby women have been held in subjection, and to demand that women equally with men shall enjoy civil liberty. There is a general awakening among church people which is represented in two streams of effort that divide Christian workers into the evangelistic and the socialistic workers and the tendency is to harmonize the two so that creed and deed shall be united in uplifting humanity.

The churches are beginning to realize that their work has been restricted in proportion as they have limited the power and activity of women, and that as a leader in all great reforms the church needs the help of an enfranchised womanhood to extend Christian citizenship and to make this in reality, what it is in name, a Christian Nation.

The members of the Church Work Committee report an increasing interest in the Cause of Woman Suffrage, a greater demand for literature and for speakers for church meetings and for societies connected with churches. By arousing interest among clergymen and church people, by holding meetings to discuss the subject, three things are gained; viz., a free place of meeting, free notices and advertising, and generally a good audience, to be convinced, and if these church organizations endorse woman suffrage, the

result is the acquisition of a large number of already organized people, ready for work.

Reports have not been received from all the states where campaigns have been carried on, but Mrs. Mary B. Folsom, state chairman for Michigan, reports that the clergymen throughout the state were valiant supporters of the amendment, and that no small part of the success of the campaign was due to the influence that was exerted by the clergymen and church people.

The Anti-Saloon League of America, an organization that includes in its membership hundreds of clergymen all over the United States, at its annual convention in Washington, D. C., gave an hour at its superintendent's conference on Dec. 8th to suffrage, after which Rev. Howard H. Russell, D.D., LL.D., offered the following resolution: "I move that as a superintendent's conference we pass by a rising vote this resolution embodying our sympathy with the cause of woman suffrage, and our personal pledge of cooperation therewith, thus thanking Mrs. Craigie for her earnest appeal here to-day."

This action was further strengthened by the stand taken by Rev. P. A. Baker, D.D., of Columbus, Ohio, the general superintendent, who came out emphatically for woman suffrage, stating that the temperance question in this country would never be settled until the women, who were the greatest sufferers from the liquor evil, have the vote. His statement was received with more applause and enthusiasm than was evoked by anything else during the conference.

The members of the church work committee focused on Mother's Day as a favorable opportunity to enlist the support of the clergymen and thousands of circular letters were sent out to clergymen in different states, especially through New York State, Ohio and Michigan, asking them to preach special sermons on that day in support of woman suffrage.

The circular read as follows:

Dear Sir:

"Mothers' Day" is becoming more and more observed in the churches of our land, and many clergymen on that day

are delivering special sermons, calling attention to the Mother's influence in the Home. "Mothers' Day" this year will be celebrated on Sunday, May 12th.

In view of the fact that in the moral and social reform work of the churches the Mothers and Women of the churches are seeking to correct serious evils that exist in our cities as a menace to the morals of their children outside the home and in view of the fact that church women are finding that much of their effort is ineffective and of no value because they are denied the weapon of Christian warfare, the ballot, which gives to Christian citizens the only possible power to register their peaceable assertion of conviction and will in shaping the governmental affairs of the City, State or Nation, we ask of you, will you not in justice to the Mothers of your church choose for your topic on "Mothers' Day" some subject bearing on "The need of the Mother's influence in the State?"

Liquor sellers, gamblers and the proprietors of all manner of evil resorts that exist for the sole purpose of luring young men and women to their ruin, wish to delay as long as possible the giving to the Mothers the power of the ballot and they seek to protect their interests by uniting to oppose Woman Suffrage.

Is it not time that the clergymen and church people who profess to believe in the power of "Good" to overcome "Evil" should unite to further what the saloon element unites to oppose?

Should not our clergymen give their support to the women in their struggle to add to their prayers and their indirect influence the potent and direct power of the ballot, without which the moral influence of our Christian Mothers in public affairs is essentially weakened and the churches are deprived of two-thirds of their power, to help overcome the evil and to advance the kingdom of righteousness in our land.

Women are recognized as the most religious, the most moral and the most sober portion of the American people. Why deny them a voice in public affairs when we give it

for the asking to every ignorant foreigner who comes to our shores?

The women have always been the mainstay and chief supporters of the churches and in their struggle for their civil liberty. Should not their clergymen or Christian brothers sympathize with them and "Remember those in bonds as bound with them" and help them in their struggle? On behalf of the church work committee representing Christian Mothers in every State in the Union, I would be pleased to know if you will be one to raise your voice on "Mothers' Day" in favor of the extension of the Mother's influence in our land "to help those women that labored with you in the Gospel?"

Very truly yours,

A gratifying number of replies came from clergymen of all denominations, saying they would observe Mothers' Day and preach on the subject as requested.

The moral influence of this general observance of Mothers' Day has proved more far reaching than we can estimate.

Your chairman was in Youngstown, Ohio, for four weeks, including the week before Mothers' Day. Not only was the circular letter sent to every clergyman in the city, but each one received a personal call urging him to respond to the request of the Committee.

The Mayor of the city, himself a church member, issued a public proclamation which was printed in all the papers asking the clergymen to observe Mothers' Day with fitting services in the churches. Ten clergymen were reported to have preached suffrage sermons and there may have been more not reported who thus came out on that day in favor of the enfranchisement of women. Your chairman was invited to speak in a number of the churches and took part in three different services, and during the four weeks spent in Youngstown addressed twenty-four Sunday and Wednesday church meetings and was present twice by invitation at the meetings of the ministerial association of all the Protestant clergymen,

who endorsed the woman suffrage movement and became active workers in the campaign.

At a citizens' meeting held just before leaving Youngstown, at which the Mayor presided, the leading Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist and Episcopalian clergymen of the city all took part and made splendid speeches in support of the amendment although it had been said that not a clergyman in the city was in favor of woman suffrage and only two women in the whole city were known to advocate it.

This change of sentiment was due to specially directed effort to arouse the clergymen. Our clergymen are leaders of thought and therein lies their responsibility and power as leaders of all great reforms.

Mrs. Mabel B. Faraday, state chairman for New Jersey, reports that her Committee secured the names of several thousand clergymen in the state to whom literature was sent, with a circular letter asking their views on woman suffrage. Many favorable replies were received, which have subsequently been published in a leaflet.

Dr. Ballard, president of the Ocean Grove Chataqua Assembly, is a strong advocate of suffrage and uses his voice, his pen and his money to help the women of New Jersey.

Mrs. Faraday was elected a member of the governing Board of the Ocean Grove Assembly, and will secure as many suffrage speakers as possible for the summer meetings. Mrs. Judith Hyams Douglas of New Orleans writes: "More and more one can find the old prejudices passing away and woman suffrage can now be spoken of without one's feeling that an unpardonable sin has been committed. In my election in April to the Presidency of the State Federation of Woman Clubs there was assurance that the former antagonism to Woman Suffrage was weakening, for I was so prominently identified with the work here that all knew my sentiments, yet they were willing to select me as their President, which would not have been possible two or three years ago.

I was still more surprised when Miss Jean Gordon and I were asked to speak at one of the meetings. I took for my subject "Woman's Christian Stewardship" and spoke

from the Bible standpoint; since then I have spoken on the sames lines in churches and at Alexandria and at Tulane University. I find the moral side of the question proves most convincing to Church people. Your article in the church magazine was copied by the President of our adult Bible class and hung in the Sunday School room.

I am talking suffrage to every clergyman I meet and sending literature to many others. The field is a splendid one as they have so much influence, and to get them just to think about the question is only the first step toward getting them to support it."

Reports from the State of Illinois are most encouraging. The greatest interest was taken in Mothers' Day, also in Suffrage Sunday, March 10th, when a concerted movement was made to have ministers preach on woman suffrage. A score or more responded, among them Bishop Fallows of St. Paul Reformed Episcopal Church and Dr. Emil G. Hirsch of Sinai Temple. Dr. Hirsch took for his subject "Shall Women Vote?"

He said, "Women largely constitute the leisure class; they have opportunity to study conditions and a wide knowledge and understanding of the deep questions of the day of vital interest to humanity, and they should have the right to vote on them."

He paid a high tribute to Jane Addams and Ella Flagg Young, Superintendent of Schools, as women who had accomplished great things for the betterment of conditions in the city, and said it was preposterous to claim that they and a great army of intelligent women in our cities would not use the ballot wisely. Bishop Fallows said in closing his sermon, "There is not a right demanded by men as Christian citizens that should not be accorded to women and the world be better for it."

Mrs. Catharine Stewart Wood, chairman for Pennsylvania, writes: "There is a marked difference in the attitude of church people toward the question of woman suffrage. Prejudice is dying out and I find many ready to listen and to talk about it who were formerly indifferent. It seems to

be in the air, and clergymen who formerly refused now readily consent to assist and often to speak at meetings in churches."

Dr. Nina Wilson Dewey reports increased activity among church workers in the State of Iowa and sends a model resolution passed by a Woman Christian Association numbering over 200 of the leading women in an Iowa city. The association has conducted a city hospital, a home for the friendless, and other associated charities, and their experience has shown them that much of their work is ineffective without the ballot.

The resolution reads: "Resolved, that, Whereas, the Home is the foundation of National greatness and is not at present fully represented in the State because of the disfranchisement of the women of the home, we, the members of the Woman Christian Association, believe that the time has come when more attention should be given by our legislators to this most vital defect in our national life and that women should be put in a position to defend their homes and children intelligently from the great foes of their existence—ignorance, intemperance, disease and immorality—that scientific child culture should be given state attention, and that a department of Homes is at least as necessary as a Department of Agriculture."

MARY E. CRAIGIE,
Chairman.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ENDORSEMENT BY ORGANIZATIONS

The work of this committee has consisted in sending each month to the various State chairmen a list of conventions to be held in her State, which would seem to offer opportunities for securing suffrage endorsements. The method used this year at Headquarters has somewhat reduced the clerical work over that of last year, but even so, it seems to the chairman an exorbitant amount of labor for the results produced.

There are only three resolutions on file which have been

reported back to Headquarters as the direct result of the notices sent, in spite of the fact that the local chairmen have always been urged to send in reports of endorsements whenever secured.

A recent canvas of the local chairmen has been made in which the following questions were asked:

1. Do you consider this service from the National office valuable? Would you recommend its continuance?

2. How many endorsements from conventions have you secured since November, 1911?

The results were as follows: Out of 38 chairmen who were questioned, only 19 answered at all; of these 5 replied that the service was valuable; 8 that it was not; 5 recommended that it be discontinued; and 6 were vague. Only 22 endorsements were secured, and many of them were from organizations which had previously endorsed suffrage.

In view of the foregoing your chairman respectfully recommends that this service from Headquarters be abandoned as most active suffragists will hunt out their own convention opportunities unaided, and the labor of the office force is urgently needed for more productive work.

MARY WARE DENNETT,
Chairman.

REPORT OF THE RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE.

We, the National American Woman Suffrage Association, at our Forty-fourth Annual Convention in the City of Philadelphia assembled, reaffirm that our one object and purpose is the enfranchisement of the women of our country.

We call upon all our members to rejoice at the winning of the school vote by the women of Kentucky, and at the full enfranchisement of four more states, Kansas, Oregon, Arizona and Michigan; and to rejoice in the fact that at the last election the electoral vote of women fully enfranchised has been nearly doubled, and to rejoice that all the political parties are now obliged to reckon with the growing power of the woman vote, and be it

RESOLVED—That the N. A. W. S. A. reaffirms the principle for which our Association has always stood, of being an absolutely non-partisan, non-sectarian body.

RESOLVED—That the N. A. W. S. A. believes in the settlement of all disputes and difficulties, national and international, by arbitration and judicial methods and not by war.

RESOLVED—That we commend the action of those State Federations of Women's Clubs which have founded departments for the study of Political Economy, and that we congratulate those clubs that have endorsed our movement to gain the ballot for all women.

RESOLVED—That we deeply deplore the exploiting of the children of this country in our labor markets, to the detriment and danger of coming generations; that we commend the action of Congress in the creation of a National Children's Bureau and President Taft's appointment of a woman, Miss Julia Lathrop, as head of the Bureau.

RESOLVED—That we commend the efforts of our national government to end the White Slave Traffic; that we urge the passage in our states of more stringent laws for the protection of women; that we demand the same standard of morals for men and women, and the same penalties for transgressors, regardless of the sex; that we call upon women everywhere to awake to the dangers of the social evil and to hasten that day when women shall vote and when commercialized vice shall be exterminated.

RESOLVED—That the appreciation of the Convention be extended to the Mayor and Citizens of Philadelphia for their cordial welcome to the Convention, to the Pennsylvania Associations and the committees of local arrangements for their wonderful efficiency in arranging the details of the Convention, to the hostesses for their warm hospitality, to the ushers for their hard and continuous work, and to every co-worker who has helped to make this Convention a huge success. We also extend our thanks to the National Men's League for its co-operation, to the local press for its full

and dignified reports of the Convention, and to the Police Department of Philadelphia for its efficiency and courtesy.

GERTRUDE FOSTER BROWN,
Chairman.

REPORTS OF AUXILIARIES.

NOTE—By vote of the Official Board, the reports of the campaign States are printed in full, the reports of the other States being included in the tabulation at the end of the book.

OHIO

Woman Suffrage Association

In 1911-12 the officers of the Ohio Woman Suffrage Association constituted the campaign committee, hence the report of State work and campaign work are identical. The legislature of 1910 provided for the calling of a constitutional convention. The people of Ohio were living under a constitution adopted in 1851, and the several attempts since made to secure a new constitution had been failures. Understanding this, the legislators prevailed upon the political parties to place the question of holding a constitutional convention upon the regular party tickets so that every one voting the straight ticket voted for the convention. Thus a favorable vote was had at the fall election of 1910.

Almost immediately candidates began announcing themselves, and by the beginning of 1911 our campaign was in progress. As soon as candidates' names reached headquarters at Warren—through correspondence, newspapers, or any way—such candidates were interviewed as to their stand on woman suffrage. The number of favorable replies was astonishing. Although voteless people are rather helpless, we did what we could to secure the election of able and influential men who were suffragists. The fact that the legislature had provided that the Constitutional Convention should be non-partisan was greatly in our favor. Party politics did not enter in and possibly to this Ohio suffragists owe more of their success in the constitutional convention than to any other one thing. A lively canvass was carried on by the candidates themselves during the summer, and fifty-six who had said they were willing to vote to submit a woman suffrage amendment were elected in November, 1911. This did not mean that these men were themselves suffragists, for some of them then were opposed. It meant only that they were willing the voters should decide. It then became our duty to interest enough more members to be sure of sixty-one votes.

As soon as the preliminary work of organizing the Convention was completed, our lobby went to Columbus. The State president was there most of the session. When she was absent Elizabeth J. Hauser was the State's representative. We had the help, at different times, of various members of the State Executive Committee, but from the beginning we proceeded on the theory that the fewer people engaged in this work, the less likelihood of making mistakes. Then, too, we had to husband our resources, for we had very little money with which to meet expenses.

Herbert S. Bigelow, a suffragist, was chosen president of the Constitutional Convention. Immediately, the State President telegraphed him that the women of Ohio congratulated themselves on his election and asked him to give us a good committee. His first committee appointment was that of Hon. William B. Kilpatrick, a young, able man from Trumbull County, as Chairman of the Committee on Elective Franchise. This was a major committee, consisting of twenty-one members. In forming committees, Mr. Bigelow asked members of the Convention to signify their choice, and a goodly number expressed themselves as wishing to go on the woman suffrage committee. Thus from the beginning we had a majority of the committee with us.

We were extremely careful not to impose upon our friends. When a member promised his vote, that settled it. We never questioned his word, nor asked him a second time. In so far as possible we had suffragist members of the Convention interview the indifferent and those opposed. The newspaper men were our most trusted friends and faithful allies. The afternoon of February 8 we were given a hearing before the committee in the Senate Chamber, ten women from various parts of the State making brief addresses.

It is reported on good authority, that the day after this hearing a member of the Convention went to an influential woman in Columbus and said, "If you do not get busy this woman suffrage amendment is going through the Convention." The Antis then organized and asked for a hearing before the Committee. Their request was granted, they had their hearing and two days later a public mass meetings. The next day Mr. Kilpatrick reported the woman suffrage measure to the Convention by a vote of 20 to 1.

Interests, vicious and commercial, fought the amendment from every possible angle, but on March 7, 1912, it passed the Convention by a vote of 76 to 34. The amendment, which was to Section 1, Article V, of the Constitution, read:

"Every citizen of the United States, of the age of twenty-one years, who shall have been a resident of the State one year next preceding the election, and of the county, township or ward in which

MICHIGAN.

Michigan's report for the months preceding the campaign and following the Louisville Convention is one of steady growth in membership, steady organization, continued press work, legislative attempt, distribution of literature, engagement of eminent speakers for rounds of addresses and general suffrage activity.

The first step in the Michigan campaign was taken at a special session of the Legislature, March 1912, when a recommendation of Governor Osborn's that an Amendment to the Constitution relative to the right of women to vote should be submitted to the electors. The Legislature passed the measure by a vote of 76 to 19 in the House, 23 to 9 in the Senate. Only once before had the men of Michigan an opportunity to vote on this question—in 1874, 38 years ago.

The suffragists of Michigan are deeply grateful to the members of the Federation of Labor and the State Grange for the persuasive effort made in the Legislature for the passage of our measure, and to Governor Osborn, who, by including Woman Suffrage in his call for the special session, made our opportunity. The same legislative body, less than a year previously, had defeated the Suffrage Bill by a vote of 55 to 44, lacking 9 of the two-third vote required by the new Constitution. Following our victory, a banquet to the Legislators and their wives, at which our plans were outlined and assistance requested, was tendered by the suffragists, and because of the attendance at this banquet, of men and women from almost every section of the State, we consider that the first shot from the campaign gun hit the mark.

The plans laid at the first Board meetings were carried out with enthusiasm and fidelity. Because the active workers were all home keepers, we could not center our activities, but maintained three headquarters in the three largest cities. In Detroit were the general offices and that of the State President, Corresponding Secretary and Treasurer. This office was a centre for distribution of literature and advertising matter, the payment of all bills, a large part of the press and of the myriad activities such an office entails. Grand Rapids held the campaign Headquarters, where were the Vice-President, Recording Secretary and Chairmen of Advertising and Literature Committees, and the Campaign Advisor. In Kalamazoo were the Publicity and Speakers' Bureaus, and in Tecumseh, near Detroit, lived our Press Chairman.

With the work thus divided the campaign was pushed along all lines without faltering or over-lapping.

The Michigan State Grange has about 100,000 membership, and this large body appointed its own campaign committee, Miss Ida L Chittenden, Chairman, which committee took charge of all rural districts and towns of 200 and less, paying all expenses. The Ladies of the Modern Maccabees directed their deputies, of whom there are 65, to speak for the suffrage amendment at all meetings they held throughout the State during the entire campaign. The Gleaners, a strong farmers' co-operative society, and the Farmers' Clubs distributed at their own expense great quantities of suffrage literature. The Federation of Labor and individual members of the Federation were of valuable assistance, especially in Detroit. The Michigan W. C. T. U. maintained its own lecturer on suffrage during the campaign, and its members actively distributed suffrage literature.

The work of the State Equal Suffrage Association was largely done under the Committees mentioned. The Vice-President, Mrs. Huntley Russel, in view of her special fitness for the work, being endowed with indomitable energy and charming personality, was made Chairman of Organization. She traveled for five months over the State and succeeded in organizing fully 47 counties, and partial organization of 18 others. Mrs. Russel paid her own expenses, and that of several assistants, making hers the largest financial contribution of any one person in the State. The Chairman of Literature Committee, Mrs. Lois W. Jones, gave her time and ability unreservedly to the work, and splendidly systematized, this department sent out 1,600,000 leaflets and flyers, and 110,000 booklets and pamphlets, or over 4½ tons. Organized counties bought literature and it was sent free only to those places where there were no organizations. The National Suffrage Association gave $200 worth of literature to this Committee for free distribution. Literature was mailed to every clergyman and high school principal in the State, and to every business man in the Northern peninsula. The General Headquarters in Detroit also sent out great quantities of literature. This work was in charge of Mrs. Mary L. Doe of Bay City, the first President of the Michigan Association, who gave her entire time to secretarial and advisory work in the Detroit office.

The Advertising Committee, Mrs. C. B. Hamilton, Chairman, skilfully handled large quantities of posters, placards, flags, banners, buttons and many similar kinds of advertising material.

The press work was in charge of Mrs. Jennie Law Hardy, who prepared sets of campaign reading matter, which were printed in several hundred newspapers of the State, without cost to them. Two issues of this material were distributed, and the results, as noted through our Clipping Bureau, were highly satisfactory. Mrs. Hardy also wrote many special press articles and had general charge of

all press work. The various county organizations, under the direction of their various Chairmen, of course, inserted much campaign news and argument in their local papers.

Our campaign was an object of intense interest to the press of the State. Nothing relating to suffrage was declined; our only trouble was to supply the demand. The newspapers of the large cities gave as much space to our doings as if we had intended to elect a Governor. Few adverse editorials were seen, and none at all of the attacking kind. Some carried advice, many were favorable, and most approved of us, if doubtful of our cause. We had the ardent support of several of the cleanest papers in the State.

When we went into campaign we had less than $250 in the treasury. The National Association sent Michigan $1,342 and various States $211. For the use of the State Association there was raised altogether $6,323, and we expect to come out about even. The State President served as Chairman of Finance Committee half the campaign, and Mrs. F. L. Chapel of Kalamazoo, the remainder. Reports of finances raised by county organizations are not yet in, but they probably total several thousand dollars. The National Association paid the expenses of Maud Younger for several weeks, and for one month Miss Younger remained and paid her own expenses.

The State Association engaged as campaign advisor Dr. A. W. Wishart, of Grand Rapids. Mr. Wishart is well known in the State, is highly respected, a student of sociological conditions, a good speaker and able writer. His knowledge of political conditions and his experience in organization work were of great service in the campaign. He rendered valuable assistance in the preparation of literature for use on special occasions. One of his booklets, "A Plain Talk to Working Men on a Square Deal", was especially appropriate and useful.

Mr. W. W. Powell of Kalamazoo, had charge of the Speakers' and Publicity Bureau, and ably assisted in organization. These men, with the special newspaper woman engaged for the last few weeks, were the State Board's only salaried workers, aside from stenographers and office helpers.

Especial credit is due the suffragists of Kalamazoo. Headed by Mrs. O. H. Clarke, County Chairman, these ladies took entire charge of two Congressional districts, or 11 counties, and in all these counties our Amendment carried by a good majority. Wayne County carried the burden of the biggest city, and headed by Mrs. Susan M. Sellars, the County Organization did valiant and unremitting work. House to house canvass, street speaking, mass meetings, distribution of literature in all places, at all times, especially at meetings

and at church doors, and at noon factory meetings with speakers, were some of the activities in large towns and villages. The factories of Detroit, whose name is legion, were covered with speakers and literature three times.

All over the State at picnics, excursions, fairs, ball games, parades and home-comings we pressed our work.

Of our State speakers we are very proud. The gifted Caroline Bartlett Crane, who was obliged to be out of the State the first part of the campaign, gave herself up entirely to speech-making the last few months. Mrs. Jennie Law Hardy did an immense amount of speaking in English, French and German. Members of the Men's League spoke at meetings all over the State, College League and many other Michigan men and women spared neither time nor voice in an effort to help the Amendment.

Our speakers from "abroad" were not numerous. Miss Shaw was a week in the state, speaking steadily. Miss Jane Addams spoke three times, Florence Kelley once. Beatrice Forbes-Robertson Hale, Mrs. Pauline Steinem, Mrs. Schloss, Maud Younger, Josephine Casey, Mrs. Ringrose of California, came for varying times. Rev. Ida Hultin of Massachusetts, was chief street and factory speaker for Wayne County, and Miss Rosalie Gardiner Jones, and her little yellow wagon, helped us a while.

Toward the close of the campaign the antis showed their hand. A woman from New York distributed boiler plate matter free to papers throughout the State, and was working actively in Detroit, Grand Rapids and Saginaw. A few articles distinctly anti then appeared in the press, but not many. The voters received through the mail anti-suffrage literature, and many copies fell into our hands. We heard of no anti-suffrage speeches.

Everywhere were there the signs that our cause had the respect and support of a majority. We had no disagreeable experiences.

Our majority stands now about 5,000, but the count in 11 precincts is missing and in 4 counties there are faulty ballots. The Supreme Court has ordered the count returned, regardless of the form of ballot. We hope these counties' vote will be retained in the final count, and failing this, we feel that we have a safe majority without it.

In any event we won actually and we trust that the Courts will sustain the majority verdict of the voters.

CLARA B. ARTHUR,
President.

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he or she resides such time as may be provided by law, shall have the qualifications of an elector and be entitled to vote at all elections." This amendment, if adopted, would eliminate the words "white male," from Section 1, Article V. Our enemies now secured the submission of another amendment, this one to eliminate the word "white" only. This was done to alienate the negro vote from our measure, but the friends who were so solicitous of the negro in the Constitutional Convention, who declared that it was a shame that he should be tied to the "women's apron strings," did not lift a hand to carry the amendment at the polls, and it was defeated. So Ohio is in the anomalous position of admitting negroes to the electorate (because of the national constitution) and forbidding it in its own constitution.

The last fight of the enemy in the Constitutional Convention was to have the suffrage amendment placed in a separate column on the ballot next to the proposal "for license to traffic in intoxicating liquors." The means employed to discourage us from combatting this action more nearly approached a trick than anything before tried on us. Word was spread throughout the Convention that the Committee on Submisison had agreed to this method of submitting the suffrage amendment, and that it was all settled and that there was no use in trying to do anything about it. The sole representative of the State Association then on the ground got the word of a member of the Committee that the report was false, that no meeting had been held and no such agreement reached, and she did everything in her power to get this word to friendly members of the Convention. The Committee voted to submit the suffrage amendment along with the other amendments and so reported to the Convention. The liquor license proposal alone stood in a second column on the ballot, and this at the request of the interests promoting it. This action was taken May 31, and ended our work in the Constitutional Convention. We therefore had a three months' campaign, June, July and August, and no people ever worked harder and no people ever had more help in the way of outside speakers. We felt, and suffragists generally felt, that Ohio's battle was a national battle, and all worked accordingly.

At State headquarters we collected upwards of $16,000, and the National Association spent a certain sum for us besides. The Campaign Committee decided not to call on local associations to give to the State, but to let the local centers finance their own campaigns as far as possible. The Cleveland Woman Suffrage Party collected and spent about $10,000; Cincinnati, Dayton, Columbus, Toledo, Youngstown and other cities raised and expended considerable sums, and at the close of the campaign the State Chairman estimated that these monies, added to the State fund, made a probable total of

about $40,000 expended. More speakers and more money were sent to Cincinnati by the State Association than to any other city because the opposition there was greater.

The campaign developed such strength that predictions that the suffrage amendment would carry were made by more than one seasoned politician. The mayor of one of our large cities, basing his estimate on results of inquiries made in the various counties, said the measure would carry by forty thousand.

The press work and other publicity, the organizing, the speaking, all were done as well as could be done, taking into consideration the lack of funds in the beginning (there was just $23 in the State treasury when the measure passed the Constitutional Convention), and the shortness of time. The problem of reaching more than one million, two hundred thousand voters in three months is a serious one.

The German-American Alliance and the Personal Liberty League, the two associations which represent the brewing interests of Ohio, fought us in the field as they did in the Constitutional Convention. The Personal Liberty League had an almost perfect card index of the voters of the State, and used the utmost discrimination in sending their literature to these voters. The State Chamber of Commerce (a misnomer for certain business interests of decidedly reactionary tendencies) fought all the progressive amendments and adopted as its slogan, "When in doubt, vote No." Advertising cards appeared in city and suburban trolley cars throughout the State bearing this sentiment, and followed by a facsimile of a section of the ballot showing the woman suffrage amendment with the X placed against the amendments. This one item of advertising must have cost thousands of dollars. We have been told, but are not able to substantiate the statements, that our enemies first appropriated $500,000 to their campaign against woman suffrage and later added $120,000. At a meeting of the German-American Alliance, held in Youngstown, following election, the president, in his address, boasted as one of the achievements of the Alliance the defeat of the suffrage amendment at the special election September 3, 1912. The vote was: For woman suffrage, 249,420; against, 336,875; a majority of 87, 455. Ohio has 88 counties. The suffrage amendment carried in 24 counties; it was lost by a majority of less than 100 each in four, by a majority of less than 200 each in four, by less than 500 each in eleven. One Congressional District, the nineteenth—district of Giddings, Wade Garfield and Taylor—in which State headquarters are located, carried.

That the woman suffrage amendment was one of the paramount issues is proved by the fact that more votes were cast on this question than on any other of the forty-one submitted. Besides the

activity of our known enemies, the apathy of our friends contributed to the defeat. Too many men who believe in woman suffrage did not go to the polls at all. The vote was light in country districts where we had counted upon getting most support. Even so more men voted Yes on this question in this, our first campaign in Ohio, than had ever voted pro and con upon it in any other State in which it had been submitted up to that time. This we regard as a near victory instead of a defeat and it makes us exceedingly optimistic of the outcome next time.

When all bills were paid the State Association had on hand $3,000 with which to begin the new campaign. The Initiative and Referendum having been adopted at the special election we can now initiate a constitutional amendment by means of a petition bearing signatures of 10 per cent of the voters of the State. The Ohio Woman Suffrage Association has voted to proceed by means of such petition and to sumbit the question not later thau 1914.

HARRIET TAYLOR UPTON.

OHIO

Equal Franchise Association

The Ohio Equal Franchise Association is a very young but sturdy child of the National. Barely two months old when the Constitutional Committee passed our amendment, and as poor as a suffrage organization can be, we went at once to work, printing campaign literature, working vigorously for the formation of the Men's League, which has been of such great assistance to us, and making a special point of church work. In this we had the invaluable help of Miss Laura Clay, of Kentucky, who gave us a week of her time at the opening of the campaign in Cincinnati in April, beginning with an address before the Methodist Ministers' Meeting of Ohio, the largest organization of its kind in our part of the country.

Miss Shaw followed, coming upon the invitation of our Society, and speaking before the Evangelical Alliance and to an immense audience under the auspices of our Men's League, for which Miss Shaw's date in Cincinnati had been arranged.

The result of these two meetings bringing together the ministers of Ohio and also many from Kentucky and Indiana, and of our church work in Hamilton County, the darkest spot probably in the State, has been that the clergy, before almost unanimously indifferent or opposed, are now nearly a unit for us. We are pushing the advantage this gives us for work among church women, who have been particularly apathetic.

We find work at county fairs one of our greatest helps. In August we painted the Hamilton County Fair yellow with Votes

for Women posters, distributed literature freely to the 60,000 or more visitors on the grounds, who in a large proportion were voters, and had our best speakers on hand. A Suffrage wagon with immense signs paraded the streets for a week before the election and we had street speaking at factories and in parks.

Our membership now numbers 500 in nine counties, and we are preparing for an active campaign of education among Ohio women. To this end we find nothing so useful as the parlor meeting, whence we can speak to non suffragists and antis, who would never attend, what is called a suffrage meeting, but willingly accept an invitation to a friend's house without regard to the purpose of the gathering.

The issues were made so clear in the election that we think our work will not be hard. The organized liquor interests with posters in the saloons, cards in the street cars and money to burn all over the state boast that they defeated us. A gentleman not unconnected with the liquor interests said to me before the election in the kind and explanatory tone used to console a child for coming disappointment: "It might do to let women vote in other states, but the liquor men would never allow it in Ohio. You know Ohio was the cradle of prohibition, and they could not afford to risk it." It was suggested that women might sometimes be divided on this point, but he looked incredulous and shook his head.

With the initiative and referendum we expect suffrage in Ohio in two years, and we shall be ready for it.

We wish to express our thanks and appreciation to our beloved National President, Dr. Shaw, to whom we owe so much of the awakened life and interest in our state and to a great number of loyal and unselfish women who gave their time and service to the Ohio campaign with the result that nearly 250,000 men cast their ballots for equal suffrage. We in Ohio feel that such a large vote in our favor is a cause of rejoicing and indicates a speedy victory.

FLORA E. WORTHINGTON,
President.

OREGON.

State Equal Suffrage Association.

The Oregon State Equal Suffrage Association, having accomplished its nearly 42 years of service, expired by limitation on the 5th day of November, 1912.

It would be impossible for me, or any one else, to furnish for the convenience of the National Association any sort of a tabulated statement of our membership, the number of meetings held or any other iron-clad account of the work we did to win.

Within three weeks after our defeat in 1910, we renewed our

struggle by initiative petitions and filed the same with the Secretary of State. But we did not consent to "lift the lid," as the politicians say, until about the beginning of the year 1912, when our faithful Executive Committee publicly declared the campaign was on.

A men's league was formed at once with W. M. Davis, Esq., as President, and the leading law makers of the State rallied to our standard, as they never would have done if our Constitution had not proclaimed that it was our sole aim to secure the enfranchisement of women, irrespective of any other issue whatsoever.

Immediately after we had declared the "lid" was off, all sorts of Leagues and Clubs sprang into existence as if by magic.

Little attention was paid in any county to classified organization under any set rules or regulations. I had never found it expedient, as the pioneer worker in Oregon, Washington, and Idaho, to pay much attention to the formation of Suffrage Societies. The clubs I would organize in any locality would die out in a few years, unless I would be able to visit them periodically. But, when a campaign was on, it was not difficult, as was proven in the campaign just ended, to incite activities among all classes of people, as we could not do in the Pacific States if the movement was crystalized into paid-up membership. Just here I wish to say a commendatory word concerning the initiative and referendum. The Oregon legislature having learned a reactionary lesson from eastern assemblies, had begun to adopt the passage of a suffrage amendment in one house only to kill it in the other. We therefore called off all suffrage meetings for five years and withdrew from all public agitation of the question to let the men forget us till they would have time to enact a law by which we could appeal to the people at large.

For five years after the organization of voters against our cause had defeated us, as was done in 1906, our faithful executive committee worked in ambush, though we kept the channels open and tried various expedients to relaunch our stranded ship. Never once did our committee relax its vigilance, though the negative vote increased biennially until we tried the experiment of attaching a tax paying clause to our amendment of 1910, which had the desired effect of arousing tax paying women of every county to oppose "taxation without representation," thus calling the attention of assessors and county clerks to a spontaneous uprising of women which prepared the way for our success in 1912.

The women of suffrage states could not be confined to state membership, nor did we try to so confine them. The little sums they raised in local leagues were used among themselves, with the cordial approval of our state executive committee. The National Association did not contribute a single dime to our State Association.

A little campaign committee of the Portland Woman's Club

became the recipient of all the national funds, and we of the State Association who had paid the National Association tribute for 40 years, including $1000 raised by myself for Miss Anthony, 1871, were as completely boycotted as if we had not ourselves made the Oregon campaign.

Early in the year 1912 I was stricken with a serious and still continued illness, but our state work went on under the masterly leadership of Mrs. Henry Waldo Coe, our acting president, and her faithful coadjutors, who never allowed one banner to trail in the dust, and to her and her valiant co-workers belong the credit, not only of relaunching our stranded ship, but of according to the State Association the sole honors of our victory.

A birthday party was held in my honor on my 78th birthday, October 22nd, in the great Gipsey Smith Auditorium, to which I was carried in a wheel chair. Governor West, Ex-Senator Fulton and a score of other prominent men and women, gathered under the leadership of Mrs. Coe. The leading press of the State gave columns of laudatory mention, calling upon all patriots to grant the women equal suffrage while their veteran standard bearer was here to witness the victory. Banquets of the highest order were given at the leading hotels all over the State in honor of distinguished guests who came our way. One political banquet, managed wholly by Mrs. Coe, brought out, as speakers, the leading men of all political parties as our open allies. Preachers, professors, judges, teachers, physicians, lawyers, leading women of all sorts of clubs fell into line.

Governor West honored the writer with an invitation to write the Equal Suffrage Proclamation, which I signed under his signature, at the beautiful home of Mrs. Coe in presence of our State Executive Committee and the State Central Committee, an occasion illustrated by all the leading newspapers, and was followed a few days later by a ratification banquet to 500 joyous men and women. This banquet was managed by Mrs. Edith L. Weathered, a prominent leader of the Goods Roads movement, and an Equal Suffrage speaker of much prominence. I had the honor to be seated as a speaker between Governor West and Governor-elect Lister of Washington.

The newly enfranchised women of Oregon are now taking up the study of good government in eager earnest, and we intend to pay special attention to the coming suffrage campaigns of Nevada and Montana.

ABIGAIL SCOTT DUNIWAY,
President.

OREGON.

Woman's Club Suffrage Campaign Committee for the Period of Feb. 20 to Nov. 5, Inclusive.

On February 20th, through Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, the committee was allowed a monthly contribution of $200 per month for

the ten months of the campaign, including the month of February and November, making a total of $2,000; also a monthly contribution of $25 from the Woman's Club for nine months, or a total of $225. In addition to these regular monthly contributions, campaign memberships and small monthly pledges, with occasional donations, were received, approximating about $600, the larger portion of this being raised for special purposes. Donations in the way of railroad fare, hotel charges, etc., were made by many workers and speakers, who contributed these expenses as well as their time and services.

Headquarters were secured in the Rothchild building, and were kept open and in charge of a secretary from Feb. 20 to Nov. 5, inclusive, covering a period of seven and a half months.

The headquarters were conducted at a running expense of $115.00 per month, this including rental, telephone charges, rent of typewriter, and salary of secretary. Office supplies and equipment, running from $5 to $15 per month, brought the current expenses for the seven and a half months up to about $850.

All the cash contributions and donations received amounted to about $2,850, leaving above the $850 office expense, about $2,000, which was expended, in brief, as follows:

For advertising stationery and printing bills for literature; for heavy stamp bills for postage in distributing leaflets throughout the State; expressage on larger packages; hiring halls for speakers, and in a number of cases, paying lecturers' and speakers' fees; various advertising expenses and financial co-operation with other suffrage organizations in their plans, made heavy demands upon the committee's funds. Itemized accounts of these expenditures are in the hands of Mrs. W. H. Fear, the committee's treasurer.

In regard to the work done:

Advertising stationery in sufficient quantity to last throughout the campaign was ordered at the opening of headquarters, also the first consignment of suffrage literature, comprising 125,000 pieces of nine different kinds. Two additional orders for literature, of 40,000 each, were given three months later, one lot being of specially prepared literature which was distributed through Catholic channels by Mrs. Mary Ringrose of California, who came to Oregon for the purpose of doing this work. At Mrs. Ringrose's suggestion 150 copies of a special address, prepared as an especial appeal to Catholics, was mimiographed by the secretary and sent out to Catholic institutions and schools, to be read as educational matter, this having been previously arranged by Mrs. Ringrose for fixed dates at the opening of the school season. Fifty extra copies of this address were run off as a contribution to some other campaign states and will be sent, along with such other campaign matter as may be left, to

suffrage organizations in some other campaign point when the need is over in Oregon.

A special feature of the committee's campaign work has been the bi-weekly suffrage news service supplied all the newspapers of the State; this news service was prepared by the committee and mimiographed, then sent to every newspaper in Oregon. Previous to inaugurating this, personal letters were sent out to all the editors, asking their support. A large percentage of the newspapers have been regularly using the service for several months past, and several of them have added cordial editorials and other support. In addition to this press work, local suffragists in all the outlying towns have been urged, by this committee, to visit frequently the editors of their local papers and take in items of value to the campaign.

Just previous to the closing of the campaign an order of 15,000 pieces of literature of three different kinds, was given, and in addition to this, several smaller orders for cartoons, leaflets, and pamphlets have been secured from New York, Chicago, Connecticut and other suffrage headquarters, so that a wide and attractive variety of literature has been kept constantly in circulation.

An initial order of 10,000 "Votes for Women" buttons, secured from an eastern source, was followed by an order for 40,000 more, made by a Portland firm. These buttons, along with leaflets and "Votes for Women" banners and pennants, have been distributed throughout the city and State by individual workers, through the mails, at meetings, and in various other ways, notably through the county fairs and Chautauqua sessions, at which suffrage booths were maintained.

The committee has endeavored to utilize every possible occasion to advance the cause of suffrage, and to secure speakers and lecturers passing through the State for suffrage meetings or to touch upon the subject when speaking along other lines. Several notable and powerful advocates of suffrage have been brought to Oregon through the efforts of the committee, and by its co-operation with the plans of other organizations; this has been a very effective feature of the campaign. Some of these speakers have been entertained at suffrage luncheons and dinners given in the down-town hotels, and the number and enthusiastic spirit of those attending these affairs has given a marked stimulus to the campaign and been a splendid means of advertising.

In co-operation with other suffrage organizations, a state-wide campaign has been kept up, and endeavor made to reach the remotest section. More than seventy different leagues and clubs have been organized, or encouraged and supported, and furnished supplies by this committee from its Portland headquarters. Reports coming in from these out-side leagues, and those also from individual workers,

have been kept tabulated through a card-index system, and in this way the weaker sections of the State have been especially helped, encouraged and built up.

Valuable help and co-operation has been had from the Southern District Leagues, which have responded most generously to the appeals of this committee to reach out and help the weaker towns and districts in vicinities nearer to them than to Portland. Workers going out from Medford, Eugene, Grants Pass and Ashland, and utilizing this committee's supplies, have covered a wide territory in the Southern part of the State and encouraged suffrage sentiment where encouragement has been most needed.

Details of the work done are too numerous to be given, but for nearly eight months preceding election day, a large number of staunch and enthusiastic suffrage workers, throughout the State, have been carrying out the plans of this committee and laboring unceasingly to win individual votes for the suffrage amendment. The work has been done as thoroughly and as systematically as could be managed with the funds provided, and in covering so large a territory.

This committee feels itself greatly indebted to Mr. J. T. Wilson, who loaned, free of charge, the furniture with which the headquarters were fitted up, thereby saving this committee a considerable expenditure.

SARAH A. EVANS, Chairman.
ESTHER POHL LOVEJOY.
ELISABETH AVERY EGGERT.
GRACE WATT ROES.
FRANCES T. McMILLAN.
LUCIA S. FEAR.
DORA E. WILSON.
ERNESTINE STRANDBERG, Secretary.

WISCONSIN.

Woman Suffrage Association.

The Wisconsin Woman Suffrage Association during the last year has added one hundred dues-paying members besides enlisting some thousands of campaign members who were pledged to work for victory at the polls. We have expended three thousand six hundred dollars and sixty-one cents. We have held meetings in sixty counties and organized either a branch society or a campaign committee in each. We have distributed tons of literature and sought to educate the people by lectures and in all possible ways. We have inaugurated some new methods such as distributing literature on railroad trains and extending our propaganda on the waters by means of a steam launch. We have brought to the State twelve of the most

able and most distinguished advocates of woman's suffrage in the United States or the world, most of whom have given us from one to two months of continuous service, while our own officers have worked unceasingly, not one of them having received or asked a dollar of remuneration. They have given freely of their time, money and energy during the whole campaign, asking nothing except that the cause might be advanced. We have employed two young women to go into the country places and organize committees. One of these has, in the last four months, visited forty-five small towns.

On election day our women in the various cities where we have branches worked all day at the polls distributing literature and reminders. In addition to this Mrs. La Follette gave a series of most eloquent addresses and Mr. La Follette, true, as always, to the cause, spoke out strongly for it in his political speeches. And yet, we were beaten. Not two to one as reported, but by a large majority. The official count has not yet been published, but so far as reported three hundred fifty-six thousand four hundred thirty-six votes were cast on the subject, of which two hundred twenty-four thousand three hundred ninety-one were against us. So far as known fifteen counties voted for it. **We were beaten by the pink ballot!** Owing to the varied character of our population it was evident from the beginning to those familiar with the situation here that the only hope of carrying our measure lay in not attracting the attention of the lower orders to the subject. The Wisconsin Woman Suffrage Association therefore urged a quiet, unobtrusive house-to-house canvas.

Heretofore constitutional amendments have received slight attention and have been carried by a few votes of those most intelligent and most interested. Singularly enough at the time of the passage of the Suffrage Amendment it occurred to the members of our legislature that more attention should be given to amendments. They therefore passed a law providing that constitutional amendments should be voted for on a separate pink ballot. They also voted that the three constitutional amendments to be voted upon on Nov. 5th, 1912, should be submitted on the regular ballot. The suffrage measure was an amendment to the statutes and it was enacted that it "shall be submitted to a vote of the people in the manner provided by law for the submission of an amendment to the constitution at the next general election to be held in November, 1912." We naturally supposed that the manner of submission would be the same as that provided for an amendment of the constitution in 1912. Near the end of the campaign our Attorney General, Mr. Bancroft, decided that our law should be submitted in the manner of an amendment not of 1912, but of future amendments. The three amendments to the constitution voted upon on the regular ballot

passed by a comparatively small vote, the Suffrage Amendment was defeated by a big vote.

We cannot now help things that are done. We must leave the past and turn to the future. We have now to encounter the active and violent opposition of all the combined ignorant and vicious forces. We would have preferred to carry suffrage by a small vote and thus avoid collision with these elements, but it was not so to be. And now we must stand at our post and fight the "good fight of faith."

The Wisconsin Woman Suffrage Association, which for thirty years has upheld the banner of equal rights, which has been glorified and hallowed by the names of Lucy Stone, Emma C. Bascom, and Dr. Laura Ross Wolcott, takes its place in the forefront of the fight.

At our annual meeting, held Nov. 12, we were fortunate in being able to elect as our new president Miss Lutie Stearns, one of the most energetic and best known women in the State. Our newly elected executive board of bright young women as her co-workers, adopting the most up-to-date methods and at the same time holding fast to "all of good the old time had" will carry the work on vigorously until the women of Wisconsin are enfranchised.

We earnestly invite the co-operation of all advocates of the cause whether men or women.

In spite of Nov. 5th we have great hopes of Wisconsin. Our cosmopolitan population when welded together and educated in the principles of human equality will furnish material for a magnificent civilization.

Meantime we look with unspeakable sorrow upon the present condition, even though we anticipate the time when this moral desert shall be transformed and become the home of a luxuriant growth of freedom and virtue. We see in the distance the coming of a better day and we can best express our feelings by impersonating the State and in her behalf repeating The Nation's Vow written by one of our modern poets:

"I have looked upon mine image in the mirror of the Lord,
I have gazed upon a craven mid the tempest and the flame;
I have felt within my vitals the entering of the sword,
I have sworn to bring a harvest out of barrenness and shame.

My shame shall be my banner borne on high;
My folly a great summons and a pledge,
My sole reproach I make my battle cry,
My dullness bent into a shining edge.

My blindness shape into a javelin,
My fear into a falcon on the wing,
My sloth shall be my charger mid the din,
My faintness a bright arrow on the string.

I have looked upon mine image in the mirror of the Lord.
I have gazed upon the craven mid the tempest and the flame,
I have felt within my vitals the entering of the sword,
I have sworn to bring a harvest out of barrenness and shame."

OLYMPIA BROWN,
President.

POLITICAL EQUALITY LEAGUE.

A year ago Wisconsin was the only State east of the Mississippi in which a suffrage referendum was pending, and in view of its great reputation as pioneer among progressive states, suffragists everywhere felt that the Wisconsin campaign presented a tremendous national opportunity. And we, in Wisconsin, felt our responsibility to the whole national movement. In answer to our appeals, the word went out and echoed back and forth throughout the country, "Help Wisconsin! If we can win one big industrial State east of the Mississippi, it will put us ahead ten years." In answer to this word came money in large sums—thousands of dollars—from the National, from New York, from Illinois, from Minnesota, Nebraska, Indiana, Missouri, California, Kentucky, and from countless individuals. To all who came so splendidly to our aid we are deeply, profoundly grateful. We asked it believing we had a chance to win—you gave it believing we had a chance to win. The vast bulk of this outside help for Wisconsin was given or pledged a long time before anybody knew that Michigan and Ohio were also to have 1912 campaigns, and it was asked and given in the thought that Wisconsin might be our only hope of winning an eastern suffrage state in 1912.

Well, friends and helpers, we lost, but your money wasn't wasted. It went directly into the salaries and traveling expenses of organizers, and the suffrage leagues carefully and laboriously built up by these organizers—often beginning in towns where there was not even one suffragist to entertain the organizer,—these are alive and flourishing today, 5 0of them, active, solvent, dues paying locals—your money was invested in them and they stand ready to win our next campaign.

But do not think we let you give all the money. You should know that one Wisconsin woman put $3,000 into our campaign last year and gave $1,000 to the National besides, Mrs. Charles W. Norris of Milwaukee. Others—men and women—gave lesser sums, ranging from $300 to five one-cent stamps—in all many thousands.

Before passing on to tell why we lost, I want to mention some of those to whom we owe that degree of success we had. First the older suffragists in Wisconsin, without whose early labors we never could have had a referendum to put before the people—those self-sacrificing pioneers, who have kept the torch burning for fifty years, under the inspiration of their devoted leader, the Rev. Olympia Brown. Next I want to speak of Miss Harriet Crim of Illinois—our girl orator of the Middle West—whose continuous services to Wisconsin were made possible by the National Association. North, South, East and West, wherever Miss Crim went, they clamored for her to come back and they are clamoring still. Next the La Follette's, all three of them, but in this recent campaign we owe most to Mrs. La Follette, who, from the moment Congress adjourned in July until election day, was a leading spirit in the campaign—writing, persuading, speaking, almost continuously.

Last but not least I must mention Miss Ada James, president of the Political Equality League, daughter of Senator James, who introduced our bill. Miss James is a rare combination, almost unfailing good judgment, keen political insight and the character of a saint on earth. Throughout the long months of the campaign, though she grew thinner and paler through her unceasing labors for suffrage, her spirit never failed. It was our constant inspiration.

Then I wish I could give a personal word of greeting from Wisconsin to the splendid speakers, the experienced campaigners and the brave new recruits who came in from other states to help us. First the Illinois women, without whose help we never could have begun our campaign, last the Ohio women, without whom we never could have made as good a finish as we made, and in between many another splendid woman, who put in a week or two weeks or six weeks, to help Wisconsin. Bless their hearts, one and all. I wish we might have won for their sake.

The vote on woman suffrage in Wisconsin barring one county from which returns have not yet come in, stood 132,000 for, 224,000 against. The papers have published it as a two to one defeat, but you see it wasn't nearly so bad as that. The majority against us fell 40,000 short of being a two to one majority. Nevertheless it was a heavy defeat. Now the only question which can possibly interest this great audience is why we lost, when our hopes were so high a year ago. Wherein were our calculations wrong? I have time merely to outline the situation. For one thing, we overestimated the friendliness of the large Scandinavian vote. We counted on the Norwegians and Swedes of western Wisconsin standing in favor of equal suffrage as a matter of course, because women vote in Norway and are on the verge of it in Sweden, but when we came to campaign among them we found many on our side

but many just as conservative about woman as the majority of the Germans. In short we found we couldn't count on their votes—they had to be brought over man by man and we didn't have time to get around. Next we over-estimated the support to be counted on from the Progressive Republican voters; we had hoped they would follow their great leader, Robert M. La Follette in this, as they have for so many years, in other Progressive measures, but thousands of them did not. I sometimes think the last thing a man becomes progressive about is the activities of his own wife.

Again, we over-estimated what the Socialist vote would mean to us. I believe that most of the Socialist Party members stood by their platform and voted for us, but their sympathizers did not. Thus, many of the wards in Milwaukee which gave Victor Berger enormous majorities went more than two to one against woman suffrage.

Finally, we under-estimated the far-reaching power of the great organized brewing industry in Wisconsin, and we under-estimated the extent of its hostility to woman suffrage. The open opposition of the retail liquor dealers is common to all suffrage campaigns. Wisconsin was no exception, but that alone was not enough to defeat us. The determined and united opposition of a great organized manufacturing industry is another matter.

Wisconsin stands second among the states in its output of malt liquors. The brewing industry ranks fourth in Wisconsin; its capital stock amounts to $85,000,000. I need not remind you of what made Milwaukee famous and I may say it deserves its reputation, but it is not in Milwaukee alone that good beer is made. A dozen other cities in the State are big brewing centers. Indeed there is hardly a town of 3,000 in the eastern part of Wisconsin which has not two or three big breweries.

Now, of course, the brewers didn't fight us openly. They didn't need to. The important thing was that everybody who did business with them from the farmer who sold them barley to the big city newspapers who sold them advertising space, knew how they stood. Thus, their mere enormous corporate existence in the State was a constant effective protest against the suffrage referendum. Have you ever thought how many industries there would be in a brewing state dependent upon the brewing industry for their success? The bottle makers, cork makers, barrel makers, malsters, etc. Why there are whole cities of 20,000 in Wisconsin where not a single business man dares to let his wife come out for suffrage? Why? Because practically every man's business is dependent for success on the good will of the big breweries in that city.

Whether they are wrong or right in their fears the brewers of Wisconsin have decided that giving women the vote will hurt their

business. They put their business, as, alas, most big corporations do, ahead of democracy, justice and simple human right, and they are determined to do all in their power to delay the coming of votes for women.

But what does this mean to the suffragists of Wisconsin? It is merely a challenge. The brewers do not control the majority of the voters of Wisconsin and they cannot defeat us alone. Their power can defeat us only when it is allied with ignorance and prejudice, and it is our business to cut off these allies,—to do away with the ignorance and prejudice that still exist in Wisconsin in regard to woman suffrage. When we have done that the issue will be clear and we shall win.

We made a great beginning last year; it will take two years more, perhaps four. Meanwhile all hail to Michigan for getting in ahead of us, she has made our task easier, and above all, all success to the campaign states of 1913.

CRYSTAL EASTMAN BENEDICT,
Campaign Manager.

ARIZONA.

The Arizona campaign for suffrage is probably the most unique in history. The fight for equal suffrage began here fifteen years ago and eight years ago success seemed within our grasp when we had a suffrage bill pass both houses of the legislature by a two-thirds vote. But the bill was vetoed by a Governor who was controlled by machine politicians. Since that time it has been apparent that we could never succeed with a suffrage measure until it came to a vote of the people.

When the Enabling Act was passed two years ago last June, there arose a murmur that soon swelled into one insistent demand that the new constitution be builded strictly along progressive lines. Hon. Henry F. Ashurst was present senator from Arizona, sounded the keynote of the coming campaign when in his Fourth of July speech he advocated the initiative and referendum and other progressive measures. Senator Ashurst is a Democrat but the Democratic party was at that time in the hands of the reactionaries and they scared Mr. Ashurst most severely for what they termed his untimely speech. A week or two later a convention of the working men was called and met in Phoenix. I attended that convention, and heard it declared most emphatically that neither the Democratic nor Republican parties fulfilled the demands of the working class, hence a new party, "The Labor Party," was formed, and their platform contained all of the progressive measures advocated by Senator Ashurst and a good many more, an equal suffrage plank coming among others. It soon became apparent that unless something was

done to meet the demands of the people, the "Labor Party" would become the dominant party in Arizona and the Democratic party quickly trimmed its sails to catch the breeze of popular sentiment. Here is where the women let an opportunity go by. If an organized effort had been made at that time to have equal suffrage become a part of the progressive demands we could have gotten equal suffrage into the Constitution very easily. But the women were not alive to the fact, hence only a partial effort was made. But even the small effort brought forth good results, for when the Constitutional Convention met the following fall, a considerable number of its members pledged to suffrage. We labored long and well with that convention, but it was useless, for we soon found that although the majority was labelled "Progressive," that only a few were the genuine article. Only a thin veneer, just enough to deceive the people, covered the greater number, and so we failed on the ground that it would be dangerous and radical to put equal suffrage into the Constitution and would insure its veto by President Taft. And this with a Constitution that already had the initiative and referendum and the recall of judges written—voted in defiance of President Taft's expressed wish when he toured the State a few months before. So we went back home and told our tale of woe, but the people would not believe us when we told them that a great many of those so-called progressive men were a very bad imitation and as soon as the Constitution had been formally adopted and statehood declared they sent back every one of these men who wanted to come as members of the first State legislature, except the eleven Republicans who had honestly declared themselves reactionaries and in favor of a "safe and sane Constitution." They were retired in disgrace.

As soon as the first State election was held we commenced bombarding the Governor with petitions and letters asking him to recommend suffrage in his message to the legislature. This he did and the second bill introduced when that legislature met was one asking that our amendment to the constitution be submitted to the voters, giving all citizens of certain qualifications the right to vote and providing that the word citizen should include persons of the male and female sex. This bill or a similar one was passed by a good majority in the lower house but failed by one vote in the Senate, which was presided over and dominated by our arch enemy of the Constitutional Convention. The final vote came last April and we then had but little more than two months in which to obtain names enough for our initiative petition. Here the Socialists came to our aid and without them we should have failed, but as it was we succeeded in obtaining one-quarter more names than needed, and filed our petition the 5th of July last. We had at that time a state central committee with members from

every county. We began through them to raise the necessary campaign funds. The National through Miss Shaw came forward with a pledge of enough money to commence the work and financed almost half the entire fund.

Our campaign was not an expensive one as we had only one paid speaker, Mrs. Laura Gregg Cannon. Miss Shaw gave us seven speeches in the entire State and she made hundreds of votes for us, and her praises were sounded everywhere. Dozens of influential people in every town where she spoke have told us that they have never thought of suffrage as anything but a joke until they heard Miss Shaw. As I review the work of the campaign I am very well satisfied with it and can say that few mistakes were made, but there is one thing we could not have done without, and that was Miss Shaw's seven lectures here.

Mrs. Cannon spoke almost entirely to the labor men, and the result was most gratifying indeed. The election returns show that fully 95 per cent of the solid labor vote was given for the suffrage amendment. Miss Alice Park of Palo Alto, Cal., was here and lent us her faithful assistance. Her help was invaluable and the successful distribution of literature was almost entirely due to her efforts.

The shrewdest thing that was done during the whole campaign was the obtaining of a suffrage plank in both Democratic and Republican State platforms. Politics pure and simple were pledged here, and the Progressive Party was the principal factor in the game. The State party adopted the National platform with its suffrage plank in full. When the party conferences were held for the purposes of formulating the party platform for the State campaign, we women went before the Democratic and the Republican conferences and beat the reactionaries who had again gained control of the machinery. We had a battle royal, but we won by the simple play of wit which taught me that man's wit is no match for woman's in point of keenness. By securing the suffrage planks, we swept the ground from under the feet of our opponents and not one politician dared raise his voice against us. Hon. H. A. Davis, a member of the legislature as senator from Mancipa County, gave us several weeks of his valuable time without salary and spoke to large crowds of people and made many votes for us. We hope to send him to the U. S. Senate in two years, and if we do, equal suffrage will have a valiant champion.

The entire press of the State was favorable and only one paper published an unfavorable editorial. The majority published all of our suffrage matter and gave us numerous favorable editorials.

We did nothing spectacular, but devoted our whole time to the distribution of literature and to personal appeal. We have won honestly and solely on the merits of the question. The complete

returns are not in, but we have carried the State easily by a majority of 2 to 1 and at a total cost of less than $2,000 (two thousand dollars).

We owe our victory to the generous spirit of Arizona's noble and progressive manhood.

FRANCES WILLARD MUNDS,
President.

KANSAS.

The amendment submitting the question of woman suffrage to the voters of Kansas was acted upon favorably by the legislature of 1911 and a report of the legislative work was made to the National Association at its annual convention, November, 1911.

At the meeting of the K. E. S. A. in May, 1911, certain changes were made in the constitution to adapt it to the needs of campaign work, among them a provision for the office of president in each congressional district. This person's chief duty was to have a general supervision of the counties in her own district, another provision was for chairman of certain departments of work. These women, with the several general officers, constituted the executive board.

At the first regular board meeting a plan of action was adopted and "Organization, Education and Publicity" became our watchwords. We had 105 counties to organize and about 400,000 voters to educate with less than $140.00 in our treasury to start the work. The hottest summer and the coldest, stormiest winter in the history of Kansas followed, but by January 1, 1912, we had organizations in one-third of our counties,—the most of our newspapers pledged to help us, the essay contests well under way in our rural schools, and headquarters established in the Mills building, Topeka, Kansas. Then began a day-in and day-out battle for votes. The president and executive secretary spent every working day there, except when one or the other was out in the field. At first one stenographer did the work, but later three, and an assistant secretary were kept busy.

Help came to us in money and workers from the East, the West, the North and the South. Much of it from individuals and organizations in other states. The National was among the first and largest donors, giving us in literature and money $2,076.56. About $16,000 was used in the campaign and most of it was given by Kansas men and women. Of the forty workers in the field, almost all were Kansans.

Through our district and county presidents, and their workers, we were able to reach the remotest parts of our State. For instance, each county had its publicity, membership and educational chairman, and through them or oother workers, all county, district and state organizations were asked to endorse the amendment, and

most of them did. Chautauquas, fairs, political meetings and picnics also were the lawful prey of these same valiant workers. At political meetings the speaker usually received a polite note, asking him to speak a few words favorable to the amendment, and sometimes our speakers were given time, but we swung clear of all political partizanship and they were instructed always to confine their talks to woman suffrage. Oct. 13th, 1912, was designated woman's day, and ministers of every denomination were asked to preach and pray for woman suffrage. Many of the Catholic clergymen helped us, sometimes translating the speeches of our workers to the foreigners. The W. C. T. U. were faithful allies, but worked independently. They with all other state organizations of women, when combined, numbered more than 60,000. They all endorsed the amendment in their organizations, and by thus asking officially for the vote, put a quietus on the objection "Women do not want it."

We enlisted our best and leading men in the State and had them form a Men's League. The presidents of our colleges and universities, our best known ministers and many of our state officers and leading politicians were members. This body of men, besides giving us prestige and great moral support, was invaluable as advisory and active workers. This feature marked a contrast between this and the campaign of 1894, when the woman suffragist made the fight singly and alone.

The use of automobiles was another new feature and one that can not be too highly commended. In this way the rural districts and the towns off the line of railroads can be easily reached and street meetings in all places made easy and dignified. Another great advantage is that the country schools can be reached in passing. The teacher is always ready to give time for a short address to the children and for the distribution of literature to "take home to father." Thousands of miles were covered by our automobile tours and all along their routes pennants and literature were distributed at schools and farm houses. As we drove away from the towns it was interesting to see the men whom we could not have coaxed into a hall, gathering in little groups, and earnestly discussing the subject in hand. The remark was often made "Well, we have, at least, started something."

However, were I asked what one thing entered more largely than any other into our measure of success, I would say the fact that Kansas has been a prohibition State for 32 years. Having no saloons, our strongest enemies, the criminal interests were deprived of centers, where they could congregate their forces for action. Of course, they did not give up on this account, but our men and women having had so many years' experience in keeping the hirelings of the brewers and distillers out of Kansas, knew how to meet them

in this battle, and to circumvent their activities. Another condition which entered largely into our success, was the fact that for fifty years Kansas women have had school suffrage. At the time of the election almost half of the counties in the State had women county superintendents of schools. We have also had municipal suffrage for a quarter of a century and bond suffrage in cities of the first class for a number of years. Thus Kansas women were already voters and were simply asking for promotion. Kansas men, observing that going to the polls had no baneful influence on Kansas women, but that Kansas women's vote had had good influence on the polls, as well as on the many questions settled there, were more easily persuaded to grant us full suffrage, but even with these advantages we could not have won without persistent work and consecrated service.

We had unwavering faith and always talked hopefully, but left no stone unturned, and as election day approached even those who expected to vote against the amendment declared we were going to win, and win we did by 16,079 votes, enfranchising 400,000 women at a cost of about four cents per woman.

I believe no other State at this election gave so large a majority for woman suffrage as Kansas and since we had our majority and reported our victory first, we claim our right to seventh place for the Kansas Star.

Respectfully submitted.

LUCY B. JOHNSTON,
President.

NEVADA.

The Nevada Equal Franchise Society was founded in January, 1911. Under the leadership of its first president, Mrs. H. Stanislawsky, a joint resolution enfranchising women was pushed through both houses of the legislature of 1911, and signed by the Governor in March, 1911. According to Nevada's Constitution, all Constitutional amendments must be passed by two successive sessions of the legislature in order to go on to the electors for adoption or rejection. Mrs. Stanislawsky resigned the presidency in February, 1912, and the present incumbent was elected to take her place. Laws were at once made to organize the counties of the State, to bring pressure to bear on the next legislature to pass the bill the second time.

Eleven out of Nevada's sixteen counties have been organized since February as branches of the State Society. Committees represent the societies in the five remaining counties. The town suffrage societies have also been formed auxiliary to the county organizations at the county seats, and the work of organizing local societies auxiliary to the counties as well as to the State will be carried on as a preparation for the popular campaign after the resolution passes the legislature of 1913.

The paid membership of the State Society has increased more than twentyfold during the last year, and bears a larger proportion to the total population of women than does the membership of many state societies of the more populous Eastern States.

A weekly press service consisting partly of the National press bulletin and partly of local bulletins has been established in whole or part by more than half of the fifty newspapers of the State. The president has been obliged to combine the duties of executive state organizer and press chairman. One of Nevada's most pressing needs in the coming campaign is an experienced press chairman to extend the work and leave the president freer for her other duties.

A leaflet entitled "Woman Under Nevada Laws" by Miss B. M. Wilson, one of the State vice-presidents, has been published in a special edition of 20,000, and has proved itself an effective piece of educational literature in rousing the women to a sense of their rights and wrongs.

A treasury has been built up by a system of voluntary pledges. Nevada has hitherto carried the burden of her campaign alone, without assistance from the National organization, but as one of the primary objects of the National is to stimulate and win new suffrage states, substantial help will undoubtedly be forthcoming as a result of the encouraging aspects of the Nevada situation. Nevada is in a unique position, due to the first passing of the bill in 1911, and the necessity of sustaining a prolonged legislative campaign between legislatures until the bill can pass the second time in 1913. The hard and fast application of the National's rule to put no money into a campaign until the amendment is actually submitted would work a hardship in a State campaign where sensible and efficient work is acknowledged by the National Organization, where the bill has already passed one legislature, and where, though population and suffrage resources are meagre, the whole suffrage situation, due to Nevada's geographical position absolutely surrounded by suffrage states, is most encouraging.

One hundred dollars worth of co-operation now promised by the National Association, will do good at this stage in far larger proportions than a similar sum from any other organization or individual. The National organization founded by Susan B. Anthony is an idealistic force in these remote and far western states where ideals are as strong as their actual embodiments are distant. The one hundred dollars now promised will do five hundred dollars worth of good to our officer, our members, and the Nevada public as well, as a symbol of the confidence of the National organization in a far western campaign where the bill has already successfully passed one legislature.

Ten of the twelve hold-over senators of the legislature of 1913

voted for the measure in 1911, and a majority of the newly elected members of both houses has been pledged to the bill. So far as the action of any legislative body can be predicted the resolution will pass the legislature of 1913 by large majorities of both houses, and Nevada will be one of the first campaign states with the chance of becoming a suffrage State in 1913, should the legislature provide for a special election, as is hoped.

Respectfully submitted,

ANNE H. MARTIN,
President.

CONDENSED REPORT OF AUXILIARIES.

Note.—The following questions were sent out from National Headquarters in the summer of 1912. It was the first time the State branches had been asked to provide statistical information, and many found it difficult to do so, even states where admirable suffrage work had been done. Next year's showing will be much more complete and satisfactory. **(See table at end of book.)**

CONDENSED MINUTES.

Annual Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, Thursday, November 21, 1912, 2.35 P. M.

The president greeted the assembled delegates and the convention was opened with silent prayer in memory of Lucretia Mott.

Mayor Blankenburg then welcomed the convention to Philadelphia and expressed his own firm belief in woman suffrage.

There followed an address by Mrs. Blankenburg, a speech of welcome by the State President, Mrs. Price, responded to by Mrs. Laidlaw, and addresses by the following fraternal delegates:

Mrs. Barsels, from the Pennsylvania Women's Christian Temperance Union; Mrs. Brandstetter, of Oklahoma, from the National Socialist Party; Mrs. McIver, of Toronto, from the Canadian Woman Suffrage Association.

The Chair appointed as Credentials Committee to assist the treasurer: Mrs. Leach, Kentucky; Mrs. Stewart, Illinois; Miss Whitney, California; Dr. Sharpless, Pennsylvania.

The report of the membership committee was read by the chairman, Miss Clay, announcing the admission to the National American Woman Suffrage Association, since the last convention, of the Nevada, Kansas and Alabama State Associations, the Ohio Equal Franchise League, the Women's Political Union of New York, the Minnesota Equal Franchise Society, the Women's Franchise League of Indiana. The report also recommended the admission of Everybody's Suffrage League of Portland and the Portland Equal Franchise

Association, whose applications, through no fault of their own, were received too late for acceptance by the committee.

The report was accepted and the Oregon Leagues were admitted by vote of the convention.

The report of the corresponding secretary, including that of the Literature Department, and the report of the Press Bureau, were read and accepted.

Meeting adjourned.

Friday, A. M., November 22d, 1912.

The following reports were presented and accepted:

Presidential Suffrage, Miss Yates.

Enrollment Committee, Mrs. Laidlaw for Mrs. Penfield.

Legal Adviser, Miss Mary Towle.

Ways and Means, Miss Thomas.

The recommendations of the Official Board and the Executive Committee to the convention were read.

It was moved and seconded that in view of the great importance of these questions, the vote should be taken by delegations—this request being presented by the delegates of the following organizations:

Nevada State Association,
California State Association,
Maryland Just Government League,
Connecticut State Association,
Vermont State Association,
Ohio Equal Franchise League and the
National Collegiate League.

The question was raised as to whether the request for a vote by delegations need be unanimous in such delegation. The Chair ruled and was sustained by the convention, that in the absence of any provision to the contrary, the action of each delegation would be according to the vote of the majority.

The recommendation that the National Headquarters should be considered as established in New York for the present, was accepted.

The recommendation "That the Association should have a Field Secretary to keep in touch with the work and workers in the States and to enable the headquarters office and branch associations to work together more efficiently," was tabled on the ground that it involved the appropriation of money and could best be dealt with by the Official Board.

For the same reason the following recommendation:

"1. To organize a Ways and Means Committee with a collector who should work in consultation with the various auxiliary and affiliated organizations.

"2. That the Board should issue a monthly bulletin of facts and figures to be sent to every paying member of the Association, thus establishing a real bond between the National American Woman Suffrage Association and its 50,000 members."

Afternoon Session.

The convention continued consideration of the recommendations of the Official Board and Executive Committee.

Concerning the proposed amendments to the Constitution: Art. 3.—Sec. 1 (a). Voted to accept the recommendation **not to adopt.**

Art. 3.—Sec. 3 (b). Since this amendment covered two different questions it was voted that a committee of five be appointed to submit the amendment in different form. Chair appointed Miss Thomas, Miss Ruutz-Rees and Mrs. Helen Goy Greeley, asked them to name the two remaining members.

Art. 3.—Sec. 4 (3). Voted to accept recommendation that the amendment **be adopted.** The proposed **addition to Art. 3, Sec. 4,** was amended to read—"That at the annual meeting of the National American Woman Suffrage Association on all questions concerning the constitution, or the by-laws, or on matters of policy, or on any questions at the request of the delegates from five auxiliary associations, the delegates present from each auxiliary association shall cast the full vote to which the organization is entitled," and as amended was defeated by vote of **271 yea—155 nay,** this not being the required two-thirds vote.

Adjourned.

Saturday, A. M., November 23d.

Message of greeting from Mrs. Champ Clark and Mrs. Pfister of Colorado was presented by Miss Nettie Louisa White. The convention moved a message of greeting and thanks in reply.

The order of the day was waived and the convention proceeded with the recommendations of the Official Board and Executive Committee concerning amendments to constitution.

(a) Amendment provided that all auxiliary dues should be paid not later than October 15, and that ten cents should be paid for every paid up membership.

(b) Every State Woman Suffrage organization or other affiliated organization and affiliated National Suffrage organization containing 500 paid-up members shall pay into the treasury of the National American Woman Suffrage Association a supplementary assessment of $50.00 each year, and an additioanl assessment of $10.00 for every additional paid-up member or major fraction thereof.

(c) Amendment provided for one delegate for every one hundred paid-up members, and for every major fraction thereof.

The point was raised and sustained by the Chair, "that the motion to table the suggestion concerning the Field Secretary and the Ways and Means collector would make it impossible for the Board to take these matters from the table and act on them. It was, therefore, voted to take these motions from the table and to refer them to the Official Board with power.

The convention then proceeded to discuss the proposed amendments to the constitution.

Art. 3.—Sec. 5 (d). Voted that the recommendation, that the amendment **be not accepted** be adopted.

Art. 3.—Sec. 7 (e). Voted that the recommendation **not to accept** be adopted.

Art. 4.—Sec. 1. The Official Board recommended to strike out from list of officers "The Editor of the Official Organ"; the Executive Committee amended this proposal and recommended to the convention to change so that the officers should include the "Editor of the Woman's Journal."

Voted to postpone action 'till after the report on Woman's Journal had been presented and until Miss Blackwell's offer to permit use of Journal as official organ, had been considered.

The proposed new clause added to Art. 5, Sec. 1 (b) was considered. The official Board and Executive Committee recommended that it be **not** adopted.

The proposed new clause added to Art. 5, Sec. 1 was considered. The official Board and Executive Committee recommended that it be **not** adopted.

After long discussion this recommendation was accepted by a vote of 380½ to 38½.

Afternoon Session.

Reports of the following associations were read and accepted, pending the arrival of delegates:

Nebraska ..... Mary H. Williams.
Missouri ..... Mrs. George Gelhorn.
New Hampshire ..... Mary H. Chase.
Connecticut ..... Maud Hincks.

(d) Amendment provided that individual co-operating membership dues be paid not later than October 15.

(e) Amendment provided that all pledges made at the annual convention shall be payable not later than April 1.

(f) The officers and members of the National American Woman Suffrage Associations shall maintain a strictly non-partisan attitude, to all political parties, excepting, however, members of the Association from states where equal suffrage is in force.

New Jersey .....Mrs. Fiekert.
New York Woman Suffrage Party.....Helen H. Greeley.
New York Women's Political Union..Harriot Stanton Blatch.
Michigan .....Clara B. Arthur.
New York State Association.....Harriet May Mills.

The auditors' report was read by Mrs. Stanley McCormick and accepted.

Treasurer's report read and accepted with thanks.

Report on the Woman's Journal was presented by Mrs. McCormick and accepted with thanks.

Miss Blackwell made a statement concerning the Woman's Journal, and Miss Towle, the legal adviser, also explained her ruling on the contract between the National American Woman Suffrage Association and the Woman's Journal.

It was voted to accept Miss Blackwell's verbal statement and to commend her action in terminating the contract.

Adjourned.

Monday, A. M., November 25th.

A letter of greeting was read from Oregon giving final official returns which show a majority of 4161.

Also a letter of thanks for help given by Miss Shaw and the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

The Special Committee on the amendment to Art. 3, Sec. 4, submitted its report.

By common consent Miss Blackwell was granted permission to lay two points before the convention.

She moved that the convention **do not accept** the recommendation of the Executive Committee to adopt the amendment to Art. 4, Sec. 1, and Art. 5, Sec. 1, of the constitution, which would make the editor of the Woman's Journal a member of the Official Board, and that the amendment to these articles striking out from the list of officers the editor of the Woman's Journal **be adopted.**

The motion was carried.

The Credentials Committee then reported:

Mrs. Park of Massachusetts asked the acceptance of her credentials as delegate of the College Equal Suffrage League and her transfer to the delegation from the Massachusetts delegation, of which she had been an accredited member since the opening of the convention.

The Chair ruled that the seating of delegates within a delegation was a matter for the delegations concerned and not for the convention and her ruling was sustained.

The matter was referred back to the Credentials Committee for settlement with the two delegations concerned.

The convention then proceeded to ballot for officers. During the intervals, while the count was being made, various reports were presented as follows: Ohio State Association, by Elizabeth J. Hauser; Ohio Equal Franchise League, Flora Worthington. Miss Etheridge of District of Columbia announced an Inauguration Votes for Women parade and asked co-operation. Leonora O'Reilly, fraternal delegate of the Women's Trade Union League, spoke.

Further reports were presented: Oklahoma State Association, Mrs. Brandstetter; Everybody's Equal Suffrage League, Oregon, Mrs. Hidden; Portland Equal Suffrage League, Mrs. Haeley; Just Government League of Maryland, Mrs. Hooker.

The result of the ballot for president showed Miss Shaw leading with 291 13-20 votes; the next candidate having but 20 votes. The second and third candidates withdrew their names, and Miss Addams taking the chair, it was voted that the secretary cast the vote of the Association for Miss Shaw and it was so done.

The convention then took a recess for thirty minutes.

Afternoon Session.

The meeting was called to order at 3.15 and the informal ballot for vice-president was cast—resulting in 416 7-10 votes for Miss Addams, the next candidate following with four votes.

The secretary was instructed to cast the ballot of the Association for Miss Addams and it was so done.

During the count the reports from the following associations were read: Kentucky, Mary Neville; Maine, Helen D. Bates; Massachusetts, Mrs. John Leonard; Delaware, Mrs. Cranston; Georgia, Mrs. McClennon; Minnesota, Theresa Peyton.

The Maryland Equal Franchise League report was filed and the Chair addressed the convention as follows:

"During the years which I have been an officer in this Association, I have done the work of the office which I held to the very best of my limited ability. I have tried in every possible way to meet the demands which have been made upon me. Until five years ago it was essential for me to earn a livelihood outside of the work which I did for the Association. That was a very great strain upon me, because in those years, Miss Anthony felt it very desirable that I should be with her a great deal and travel about with her when she did her hard work for the suffrage association and, of course, as there was no salary attached to any official position held at that time, it was a very great strain upon health and strength to keep

up the work and support myself and still give months each year to the work of the Association, in company with Miss Anthony. And the year after Miss Anthony's death, I did the work exactly as I had done it before that, without any salary or compensation whatever, and you all know, those who live in any part of the country, how I come at your call and how little money was expended on the service which I rendered to the Association. I found it absolutely impossible to maintain myself and do the work of the Association.

"At that time, in response to a plea made by Miss Anthony before she passed away, Miss M. Carey Thomas and Miss Garrett, set themselves to work to raise a fund, stipulating in raising that fund that a certain portion of it should be used for a small salary for three officers. The president, the treasurer and the corresponding secretary. At that time I was the president, Mrs. Upton the treasurer, and Miss Kate Gordon the corresponding secretary. The salaries were very small; only $1,000 each for the treasurer and corresponding secretary and $2,500 for myself. For five years that salary was maintained and paid to these different officers, not from the treasury of the National Association, for not one dollar has ever come out of the treasury, but from the special fund raised by these ladies for this purpose. That fund expired the last day of last April, since which time there has been no salary attached to the office of president or treasurer.

"I am speaking of these things because of the misunderstanding in regard to the positions distinguished as "paid officers" and officers who are not paid. To my mind the services of a person paid are not less valuable than of those who are not paid. For each person who lives must have money of her own to live on, or be able to earn it, or else she must die. So that I cannot conceive that paid service is slave service and unpaid service is free service. We all give to the very best of our ability and we all expect to do so. There will be no salary attached in future to the offices of president or treasurer, because there is no provision made for them.

"I feel that the work of this Association is a great work and this Association demands two things—it demands a president who has time to give to it, a president who has means to live upon while she does give her services, and a president who has a right to demand the loyal co-operation of the states which elect her in their convention. The presidents who give their services to the Association, to the very best of their ability, have a right to the loyal support of the Association whose president they are, and I am eager to render the very best service I can in my capacity as president of the National Association, but I cannot do that service well, nor can I serve you as I ought to serve you, if continual blocks are put in my way of rendering service; if misstatements are circulated

and efforts are made to discredit your National Officers' Headquarters and the Association, by Associations which are members of the body. That cannot be done. If any National Officer, or if a group of National officers together, do anything which, to your minds, is unwise as far as its effects on the society are concerned, the complaint should be made directly to the National Board itself and then, the National Board can remedy it. I am very sure you are not such a foolish body of women as to elect a National Board whom you cannot trust to control the affairs of the Association. I ask for but one thing from this association, to which I am pledging every minute of my time during your next year, and that is your loyal support and that I have a right to demand; and I ask further that, if in my administration of your work, I do not act in accordance with your wishes, you will first let me know where the trouble is and see if I cannot myself change it and make it better. It has been said that I am incapable of wisely administrating the affairs and am obliged to get my directions from others. You will remember that in two remarkable administrations in England, under Queen Elizabeth and Queen Victoria, it was said by some people that the success of their reign was due entirely to their wisdom in selecting their advisers.

"Now I pledge all my loyal support and I claim from every State and other society affiliated with the National body, like loyal support."

The informal ballot for second vice-president was cast and, by unanimous consent, the informal ballot for recording secretary was cast during the counting of the previous ballot. During the counting of the ballots the report of the Tennessee Association was presented by Miss Elliott who extended a cordial invitation to the National Association to hold its next convention in Memphis.

On motion of Mrs. McCulloch all invitations for the convention were referred to the general officers and thanks were extended to those tendering them.

Reports were presented from the following State Associations: Virginia, Mrs. Valentine; Illinois, Grace Wilbur Trout; Vermont, Julia Pierce; Indiana, Anna Dunn Noland; Alabama State Association, Miss Jacobs, and from the Friends' Equal Rights Association, Mrs. McAfee.

The informal ballot for second vice-president was reported as follows: Miss Whitney, 190 1-5; Miss Blackwell, 178 11-20 and scattering.

The formal ballot when counted stood:

Miss Whitney 209.9
Miss Blackwell 196.1

By common consent it was ruled that the informal ballots for the remaining officers should be taken before the results of

the previous ballots were reported; the informal ballot for corresponding secretary was then cast.

The Resolutions Committee presented its preliminary report.

The informal ballot for recording secretary was reported as follows: Mrs. FitzGerald, 273.9; Miss Elliott, 105.75 and scattering.

The formal ballot when counted stood:

Mrs. FitzGerald 298.9
Miss Elliott 111.9

The informal vote for corresponding secretary was cast and when counted stood: Mrs. Dennett, 290; Mrs. Boyer, 152.11 and scattering.

The formal ballot when counted stood:

Mrs. Dennett 239
Mrs. Boyer 169

Mrs. Laidlaw was given the floor to ask for pledges of money for the National American Woman Suffrage Association and received promises and gifts amounting to $5,099.61.

The informal ballot for treasurer was taken and the vote stood: Mrs. McCormick, 314.2; Miss Hauser, 30 1-3 and scattering.

The secretary was instructed by the Association to cast its vote for Mrs. McCormick and it was so done.

The informal ballots for first and second auditors were cast and the vote stood:

First Auditor, Mrs. Laidlaw .....359.2 and scattering
Second Auditor Mrs. Bowen .....342.6 and scattering

The secretary was instructed by vote of the association to cast its ballot for the above-named officers and it was so done.

It was voted to meet the next morning at nine-thirty in convention instead of in Executive Committee.

Meeting adjourned at six-forty-five.

Tuesday, November 20—A. M.

Consideration of amendments to the constitution was resumed.

Amendments to Art. 3, Sec. 1 and 3, were presented as redrafted by the special committee and were tabled. Miss Thomas gave notice she would submit such an amendment next year; Mrs. Ivins gave notice she should introduce an amendment to simplify the constitution by confining it to a statement of the name and purpose of the association.

On motion of Miss Hay it was voted that a committee of five be appointed to submit a draft of a new constitution to every affiliated auxiliary organization, in time for discussion and that the same be re-

ported to the next convention at its first session—said committee to be appointed by the Official Board.

On motion of Miss Reilly it was voted that a special committee of three be appointed to take charge of the debts incurred for the Woman's Journal—to pay them as soon as possible.

Voted **not** to accept the proposed amendment to Art. 5, Sec. 3 (g).

Voted **to accept** proposed amendment to Art. 7, Sec. 1 (h).

Voted to amend Art. 7, Sec. 4, by striking out the entire section (i).

Voted to adopt the proposed amendments to By-law 1, Sec. 1 (j), and to accept the proposed new Sec. 4, to By-law 1 (k)

It was voted to send telegrams of affectionate remembrance and congratulations to Mrs. Munds, of Arizona; Mrs. Duniway, of Oregon, and Rev. Olympia Brown and Ada L. James, of Wisconsin, and letters to the presidents of the other Oregon associations that have delegates at the convention.

The chair announced that immediately after election she had sent telegrams of congratulation to the governors of the four successful states.

Telegrams of greeting were read from the editor of the International Organ—Jus Suffrajii—and from the secretary of the National Council of Women.

The proposed new By-law 7, on methods of election, was amended by striking out Sec. 1-5 and inserting "nomination and" after the first words of Sec. 6. As so amended it was adopted (l).

Miss Blackwell submitted an offer for co-operation between the Woman's Journal and the National American Woman Suffrage As-

(g) It shall be the duty of the president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association to attend every convention for the nomination of a president of the United States, to urge the insertion in an equal Suffrage plank in its platform.

(h) The general officers of this Association shall be elected by ballot on the last day but one of the annual meeting. Nominations shall be made to the Association at least twenty-four hours before the election.

(i) In the election of officers the delegates present from each state may cast the full vote to which that state is entitled. The vote shall be taken in the same way upon any other question whenever the delegates from five states request it. In other cases, each delegate shall have one vote.

(j) Amendment provided that the annual convention shall be held between election-day and Thanksgiving.

(k) All membership dues shall be paid not later than October 15. Any organization whose dues are not paid by that date shall lose its vote in the Convention for that year.

(l) The working details of the nomination and election shall be left to election officers appointed or elected by the Convention.

sociation, which was accepted after some amendments and provided for the publication in the Journal of the National announcements and for free advertising of the National literature for a period of three months. The National Association agrees to give the journal its moral support and co-operation, and circulates on the million or more pieces of literature still in stock the advertisement of the Woman's Journal.

On motion of Miss Douglas, of Ohio, the Convention extended a vote of thanks to the retiring officers of the Official Board, especially to Miss Ashley for her devoted work both to the board and to the movement in general.

It was voted to leave all unfinished business to the Executive Committee; this committee to meet immediately upon the close of the convention.

Voted to adjourn the Forty-fourth Annual Convention.

Convention adjourned at one-ten P. M.

SUSAN W. FITZGERALD,
Recording Secretary.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—CONDENSED MINUTES.

Thursday, November 21st.

Executive Committee meeting called to order 10:10. President Shaw in the Chair.

It was voted that the program as printed be made the order of business of the Convention.

The Official Board submitted recommendations to the Executive Committee which were read as a whole and then acted upon separately.

Voted to accept the recommendations concerning the Amendments to Art. 3 except the insert in Sec. 4, action on which was postponed.

Voted that in place of the amendment to Art. 4 and the similar amendment to Art. 5 recommended by the Official Board, said section be amended by substituting "Editor of the Woman's Journal" for the words to be stricken out.

The further amendment to Art. 5, Sec. 1, concerning political non-partisanship was discussed, amended and lost, which action sustained the recommendation of the Official Board.

The recommendation of the Official Board to adopt the amendment to Art. 7, Sec. 1, with slight verbal changes was accepted.

Meeting adjourned till next day.

Friday, Nov. 22d, 9:30 A. M.

Discussion of the proposed amendment to Art. 7, Sec. 4, was discussed.

The roll was called and the meeting adjourned without action; it being time for the Convention to meet.

Tuesday, Nov. 26th, 1:10 P. M.

It was voted that all unfinished business be referred to the Official Board.

Meeting adjourned.

SUSAN W. FITZGERALD,
Recording Secretary.

PLEDGES MADE AT PHILADELPHIA FOR ENSUING YEAR.

Mrs. Weeks	$25.00
Kate Gleason ($100.00 per month)	1,200.00
New York State Woman Suffrage Association	600.00
Missouri Equal Suffrage Association	25.00
Georgia Woman Suffrage Association	10.00
Friend's Equal Rights Association	60.00
Equal Suffrage League, St. Louis, Missouri	25.00
Nettie S. Hill	25.00
Women's Political Union	100.00
Maine Woman Suffrage Association	50.00
Mary G. L. Gannett	25.00
Atlanta Auto Show (Miss Freeman)	11.61
District of Columbia Woman Suffrage Association	100.00
Pennsylvania Woman Suffrage Association	500.00
Mrs. Henry Finkelstein	50.00
Mrs. C. C. Cannon	100.00
Adele H. Logan	5.00
Miss Greisheimer	25.00
Mrs. Joseph T. Bowen	600.00
Nebraska Woman Suffrage Association	50.00
Nettie Lovisa White	25.00
Lola Greene	5.00
Equal Suffrage League of Virginia	75.00
Maria Thompson Davies	10.00
Mary Buckley	10.00
Celia J. White	5.00
Martha Cranston	25.00
New Jersey Woman Suffrage Association	50.00
West Side Study Club, New York	10.00
Genevieve S. Stone	10.00
Mrs. James A. Parker	5.00
Elsie R. Clapp	50.00
Mrs. G. H. Chapin	25.00
Ellen F. Adams	5.00
Mrs. Melvin	5.00
M. Carey Thomas	10.00
Mary Garrett	250.00
Mary Otis Willcox	50.00
S. Russell	2.00
Cash	5.00
Katherine Russell	1.00

Helen M. Eaker	5.00
Susan W. FitzGerald (for three children)	15.00
Nevada Equal Franchise Society	100.00
Connecticut Men's League	25.00
Julia B. Nelson	10.00
Robert and Anna Tilney	25.00
East Side Club, New York	10.00
A Friend (Virginia Baby)	5.00
Equal Franchise Society, New York	100.00
Mary Griffins	1.00
Cash	1.00
Agnes H. Child	2.00
Wisconsin Woman Suffrage Association	100.00
Mrs. Crossett (for three grandchildren)	3.00
Mrs. Townsend	1.00
Lucy Anthony (for Susan Anthony Bacon)	5.00
Mrs. Kern (for three generations)	3.00
Miss Roberts	5.00
Mrs. Oscar Davisson	5.00
Katherine Gavit (for two children)	10.00
Andrew J. Abell	10.00
Annie Lamb	5.00
Helen Gardener	5.00
Maryland Baby	1.00
Mrs. Moss	5.00
Grace Greene	10.00
Pa. Branch Col. Equal Suffrage League	25.00
Regis Smith	2.00
Edward Wallerstein	1.00
Mrs. John Kelley	2.00
Mrs. W. L. MacDiarmid	1.00
A. M. Martin	1.00
P. J. Gregg	1.00
Mrs. J. J. White	50.00
Susan FitzGerald	25.00
G. H. Lang	5.00
Mrs. David O'Neill	5.00
Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont	1.000.00
F. S. Janney Stoddart	2.00
Helen Kelley	10.00
Mary Olcott	10.00
Octavia Fels	25.00
E. M. Harris	1.00
Helen Swift	2.00
Mary Ingham	20.00

Bertie Winkler	25.00
Carrie Wisner	10.00
Tillie Lustgarten	15.00
W. T. Pyfer	1.00
Mrs. M. Donaghy	5.00
Mrs. V. E. de Choine	5.00
Mrs. George Gellhorn	5.00
Mrs. A. E. Scranton Taylor	5.00
H. A. Baugh	5.00
L. P. Baugh	5.00
Mrs. William T. Hincks	5.00
Emily Howland	300.00
Agnes Grimshaw Kinney	5.00
C. J. Jansen	1.00
Anna P. Sharpless	10.00
Mrs. John G. Wilson	10.00
Mary Fels	200.00
Mrs. Barton Jenks	25.00
Mrs. J. H. Braly	50.00
Mrs. W. W. Carter	20.00
Mrs. Armenia White	10.00
Matilda Garrigues	5.00
M. R. Ellicott	40.00
Emily Smith	5.00
Ellen Potter	2.00
Mass. Woman Suffrage Association	250.00
Anne W. Janney	15.00
Total	$6,908.61

DELEGATES PRESENT AT CONVENTION.

General Officers—Anna Howard Shaw, Jane Addams, Mary Ware Dennett, Susan Walker FitzGerald, Jessie Ashley, Katharine Dexter McCormick, Harriet Burton Laidlaw.

Chairmen Standing Committees—Anna Howard Shaw, Caroline I. Reilly, Mary Ware Dennett, Elizabeth U. Yates, Lucy E. Anthony.

Alabama—Mrs. Pattie R. Jacobs, Mrs. Oscar Hundley, Amelia Worthington, Mrs. Chappell Corey.

California—Mr. J. H. Braly, Mrs. J. H. Braly, Mrs. Alice McComas, M. Frances Wills.

Connecticut—Mrs. W. H. Allee, Mary Olcott, Mrs. Charles Foster Camp, Miss E. R. Doolittle, Mary B. Ely, Mrs. Frederick Johnson, Mrs. William Rheim, Caroline Ruutz-Rees, Mr. Alfredo S. G. Taylor, Mrs. A. E. Scranton Taylor, Mrs. Grace G. Seton, Mrs. Laura C. Tucker, Kate Levin, Mary Buckley, Mrs. Cushman, Mary Cushman, Mrs. T. S. McDermott, Mrs. John Pinches.

Delaware—Mrs. Martha S. Cranston, Agnes H. Child, Margaret Kent, Mrs. A. L. Steinlein.

District of Columbia—Florence Etheridge, Mrs. Helen H. Gardener, Anna E. Hendley, Alice T. Jenkins, Belva A. Lockwood, Nettie L. White.

Georgia—Mrs. Mary McLendon.

Illinois—Grace Wilbur Trout, Mrs. John F. Bass, Mrs. Joseph T. Bowen, Virginia Brooks, Mrs. Ruth Hurl, Mrs. G. A. Kratzer, Mrs. Catherine Waugh McCulloch, Mrs. Ella S. Stewart, Marion Walters, Caroline B. Wilbur.

Indiana—Anna Dunn Noland.

Iowa—Rev. Mary A. Safford, Mrs. Jennie L. Wilson, Mrs. J. B. McHose, Mrs. C. Burghardt.

Kansas—Mrs. Lucy B. Johnston, Dr. Debora K. Longshore, Helen K. Eaker.

Kentucky—Mary Neville, Mrs. Charles Firth, Caroline Leech, Mrs. Mary Giltner, Mrs. Mary Cramer, Cecil Cantrill, Lide Faut, Mrs. E. L. Hutchinson, Mrs. Emil Tachan, Mrs. N. McLaughlin, Emma Hast, Mrs. James A. Leech.

Maine—Helen Bates, Dr. Jennie Fuller, Mrs. George H. Allan, Mrs. Hannah J. Bailey.

Maryland—Emma Maddox Funck, Mrs. Charles Wood, Mary Melvin, Mrs. Charles Warfield, Mrs. Emma Engbach.

Maryland—Just Government League—Mrs. Donald Hooker, Mrs. B. Holly Smith, Mrs. Frederick Troxell, Mrs. J. Wilson Moore, Miss M. Weir, Mrs. Robert Moss, Henrietta Dickson, Reba Foster, Mrs. John Wilson, Dr. Mary Sherwood, Mrs. J. M. Barnesville, Miss A. Larkin, Mrs. Leonard Hayes, Mrs. T. Forbes, Mrs. Calvin Gabriel, Mrs. Frank Ramey, Mrs. Joseph M. White.

Maryland—State Equal Franchise League—Mrs. William M. Ellicott, Mrs. William Brown, Mrs. E. J. Kirby, Mrs. George M. Lamb, Miss Rebecca Miller, Mrs. Charles Ellicott, Mrs. Clara Waite.

Massachusetts—Alice Stone Blackwell, Mrs. Ellen F. Adams, Myrtle Smith, M. D.; Mrs. Marion Booth Kelly, Miss Mary Gay, Mrs. Anna Louise Stearns, Miss Mabel Millard, Mrs. Maud Wood Park, Mrs. Mary Hutcheson Page, Mrs. Gertrude H. Leonard, Miss Agnes E. Ryan, Mrs. Emma L. Blackwell, Miss Margaret Foley, Helen Parker, Martha Morris, Mrs. Eliza Whiting, Celia White, Mrs. K. H. Millard, Mrs. Susie Clapin, Mrs. Teresa Crowley.

Michigan—Mrs. Clara B. Arthur, Mrs. G. B. Jennison, Mrs. Huntley Russell, Mrs. C. B. Yulkerson, Rev. Caroline Bartlett Crane.

Minnesota—Mrs. A. H. Potter, Gertrude Hunter, Sofie Kenyon.

Minnesota—Equal Franchise League—Theresa B. Peyton, Mrs. Julia Nelson, Mrs. M. A. Luley.

Missouri—Mrs. George Gellhorn, Mrs. D. W. Keufler, Mrs. John Lowes, Mrs. David O'Neill.

Nebraska—Mary H. Williams.

Nevada—Anne H. Martin.

New Hampshire—Mary N. Chase, Mrs. Olive R. Clark, Mrs. Lidia Graves, Mrs. Agnes Jenks, Martha Kimball, Mrs. Jennie Niven, Miss Pearl Niven, Miss Millicent Morse.

New Jersey—Mrs. Lillian Feickert, Mrs. Clara S. Laddey, Mrs. Mary L. Colvin, Mrs. N. S. Hill, Mrs. Anna B. Jeffery, Miss Helen Lippincott, Mrs. Florence Titensor, Mrs. Danny Anthony.

New York—Harriet May Mills, Mrs. Joseph Gavit, Mrs. Martha Beaujean, Mrs. Ella Capwell, Mrs. Ella Crossett, Mrs. Frank H. Cothren, Ida A. Craft, Mrs. A. L. Fenwald, Nicholas Shaw Fraser, Mrs. Leigh French, Mrs. L. Gannett, Mrs. Ella O. Guilford, Mrs. Harry Hastings, Isabel Howland, Mrs. Marie Jenney, Mrs. Alfred

Lewis, Mrs. Hattie Michael, Dr. Helen Brewster Owens, Mrs. Sarah Ostrander, Miss Laura Greisheimer, Mrs. Henry Villard, Mrs. Anna Etz, Mrs. Alice Clement, Mrs. Florence Leach, Frances J. Lang, Mrs. R. Talbot Perkins, Dr. Jenny Baker, Mrs. Rose, Miss Florence Roberts, Mrs. Irene Servose, Mrs. J. F. Stevenson, Mrs. Emma B. Sweet, Mrs. Mary H. Loines, Mrs. W. G. Willcox, Dr. L. A. Cuinet, Mrs. Elizabeth Tappey, Mrs. Leigh McGrath, Mrs. Longnecker, Miss Clapp, Mrs. Thomas McIntire, Miss Florence Greer, Mrs. Lustgarten, Mrs. Edna B. Kearns, Mrs. Julia Hyde, Rosalie Jones, Mrs. S. J. Muller, Miss E. McKenzie, Emily Howland, Mary G. Hay.

New York—Woman Suffrage Party—Miss Anna Ross Weeks, Mrs. Helen Hoy Greeley.

New York—Women's Political Union—Mrs. Harriot Stanton Blatch, Mrs. Raymond Brown, Mrs. A. F. Townsend, Miss Lucy Burns, Mrs. Crowell.

Ohio—Mrs. O. F. Davisson, Dr. Sarah Siewers, Mrs David Beggs, Mrs. Herbert Brooks, Mrs. W. E. Crayton, Elizabeth Hauser, Mary Gray Peck, Mary Rice, Mrs. George S. Stewart, Mrs. Julia Stone, Mrs. Mary Sherwood, Alice E. Douglass, Alice Vignos, Mrs. Graves.

Ohio—Equal Franchise League—Flora E. Worthington, Mrs. L. A. McGuire, Sophie B. Sprigg, Ruth Van Pelt, M. Louise Sprigg.

Oklahoma—Winnie Branstetter.

Oregon—Everybody's Equal Suffrage League—Sarah Whiteside.

Oregon—Portland Equal Suffrage League—Mrs. Thomas Haley.

Pennsylvania—Ellen H. E. Price, Elizabeth Price Burns, Jane Campbell, Dr. Ruth A. Deeter, Frances Cottrell Elliott, Mary Flinn, Matilda Orr Hayes, Mrs. M. C. Klingelsmith, Mrs. Wilfred Lewis, Mrs. William Lukens, Mrs. W. L. MacDiarmid, Mabel Jones, Mrs. John Miller, Mrs. E. Passmore, Mrs. Ida Porter Boyer, Mrs. Frank Roessing, Mrs. William Albert Woods, Mary Ingham, Mrs. John C. Bedford, Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, Jr., Mrs. Anna Orme, Lida Stokes Adams, Miss Mary Bakwell, Mrs. Anna Lowenburg, Mrs. A. W. Kent, Mrs. Anna Suplee, Caroline Katzenstein, Margaret Lownes.

Rhode Island—Elizabeth Upham Yates, Mrs. Sarah Aldrich, Cora Mitchell, Mrs. Jeannette French, Mrs. Ardelia Gladding.

Tennessee—Sarah Barnell Elliott, Maria T. Davies.

Vermont—L. J. C. Daniels.

Virginia—Lila Meade Valentine, Mrs. Walter J. Adams, Janetta FitzHugh, Mrs. Samuel Meek, Mrs. Dexter Otey, Rebecca Wellford, Eloise Johnston, Mrs. Charles Meredith, Mrs. John Wright, Mrs. Kate Bosher, Mrs. G. Harvey Clark, Mrs. Stephen Putney.

Wisconsin—M. Fay Coughlin, Mrs. Hannah Patchin, Mrs. G. A. Hipke, Mrs. Nora Jeanson.

Wisconsin—Political Equality League—Crystal Eastman Benedict, Miss Paul.

West Virginia—Mrs. Allie Haymond.

Maryland—Friends Equal Rights Association—Effie Mac Afee, Mary Van E. Fargusson, Mary Chapman, Mary Janet Miller.

New York—Equal Franchise Society—Mrs. Frederick Nathan.

Pennsylvania—National College Equal Suffrage League—Miss M. Carey Thomas, Mary E. Garrett, Maud Lowrey, Helen Moore Fogg, Marion Reilly, Lucy Martin Donnely, Mrs. Elfreda H. Pope, Mrs. Frances Ross, Charlotte Anita Whitney, Vida Hunt Francis, Marion P. Smith, Miss Jane Breunell, Juliet Rublee, Inez Milholland, Mrs. Nellie Nearing, Dr. Lillian Welsh, Alice Jackson.

CONSTITUTION OF THE NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

Article I.

Name.

The name of this Association shall be the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

Article II.

Object.

The object of this Association shall be to secure protection, in their right to vote, to the women citizens of the United States, by appropriate National and State legislation.

Article. III.

Members.

Section 1. Any State Woman Suffrage organization, or any other suffrage organization of not less than 300 members, may become auxiliary to the National American Woman Suffrage Association, and thus secure representation in the Annual Convention, by paying annually into its treasury ten cents per member. Societies now auxiliary to our State Associations shall not be eligible to direct membership in the National unless they have been refused auxiliaryship in their States.

Sec. 2. Any National Suffrage Association may become auxiliary to the National American Woman Suffrage Association upon the approval of two-thirds of the Executive Committee and the payment of ten cents per member into the National Treasury. It shall then be entitled to representation in the National Convention upon the same basis as State Associations.

Sec. 3. The payment of fifty dollars ($50) into the treasury shall constitute a Life Member of the Association, entitled to attend all its public meetings, to participate in all discussions, and to receive reports and other documents published by it, but not entitled to vote.

Sec. 4. The persons entitled to vote at the Annual Convention shall be the General Officers, ex-presidents of this Association, Chair-

men of Standing Committees, the presidents of auxiliary organizations, and Executive Committee members of the State Associations, and one delegate for every one hundred paid-up members and for every major fraction thereof. State organizations having less than one hundred members shall have but one representative in the Annual Convention and in the Executive Committee, such representative to be the President of the organization.

Sec. 5. Individuals may become co-operating members of the N. A. W. S. A. by the payment of $1.

Sec. 6. National organizations may become affiliated members of the N. A. W. S. A. on approval of two-thirds of the National Executive Committee and upon the payment of $10 annual dues—these affiliated organizations to be entitled to one delegate only.

Article IV.

Officers.

Section 1. The officers of the Association shall be a President, two Vice-Presidents, a Recording Secretary, a Corresponding Secretary, a Treasurer, and two Auditors.

Sec. 2. Presidents of auxiliary organizations shall be ex-officio Vice-Presidents.

Article V.

Duties of Officers.

Section 1. The General Officers, viz.: the President, two Vice-Presidents, Recording and Corresponding Secretaries, Treasurer, and two Auditors shall constitute a Board of General Officers, to supervise the general interests of the work in the interim of the annual meetings.

The Board of General Officers shall meet once in two months except during the months of July and August. Five members shall constitute a quorum, or a majority may act by correspondence. Special meetings may be called by the President and must be called when requested by three members of the Board.

Sec. 2. The President shall perform the duties usual to such office.

Sec. 3. The Vice-President shall perform all the duties of the President in case of the President's absence or disability.

Sec. 4. The Recording Secretary shall keep a correct record of the proceedings, and perform all the other duties usual to such office.

Sec. 5. The Corresponding Secretary shall conduct all correspondence of the organization, and shall secure from the Corresponding Secretary of each auxiliary association a report of its work.

Sec. 6. The Treasurer shall keep an accurate account of receipts and disbursements, shall send a monthly summary to the members of the Board and shall present a detailed report at each annual meeting. The Treasurer shall pay no bills of the general association except on order of the President and Recording Secretary, but may disburse the funds of Standing Committees when directed to do so by an authorized person on the committee without the signature of the President and Recording Secretary. The Treasurer shall provide the auxiliary associations with blank credentials for delegates to the annual meetings, and shall be ex-officio chairman of the Committee on Credentials. The books of the Treasurer shall close four weeks before the Annual Convention, and the Treasurer's report shall be read at the second business meeting of the Annual Convention.

Sec. 7. The Auditors shall examine and verify the books of the Treasurer, and shall give a report thereof at each annual meeting.

Article VI.

Executive Committee.

Section 1. The Executive Committee shall consist of the General Officers, the President of each State organization and other auxiliary, and, in addition, one member from each State organization having one hundred or more members, together with the Chairmen of Standing and Special Committees; of these members fifteen shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

Sec. 2. The Executive Committee of this Association shall hold one session preceding the opening of each Annual Convention and another at its close.

Sec. 3. The decisions reached by the Executive Committee at its pre-convention session shall be presented in the form of recommendations of the business sessions of the Convention.

Sec. 4. A majority of the Executive Committee shall act by correspondence upon any matter referred to it by the Board.

Sec. 5. The Executive Committee may elect as Honorary Vice-Presidents distinguished adherents of the cause of Woman Suffrage who are removed from active work.

Article VII.

Election of Officers.

Section 1. The General Officers of this Association shall be elected by ballot on the last day but one of the annual meeting. Nominations shall be made to the Association at least twenty-four hours before the election.

Sec. 2. The terms of the General Officers shall expire at the end of the last session of the Convention, and the terms of the newly elected officers shall commence with the session of the Executive Committee held at the close of the Convention.

Sec. 3. The Board of General Officers may fill any vacancy on that Board which may occur during the year.

Article VIII.

This Constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote at any annual meeting, after one day's notice in the Convention, notice of the proposed amendment having been given to the Board of General Officers, which notice said officers shall publish in the Official Organ twice, the first time not less than three months in advance of the Convention.

BY-LAWS.

By-Law I.

Annual Convention.

Section 1. This Association shall hold an Annual Convention of regularly elected delegates for the election of officers and the transaction of business. This meeting shall be held between election day and Thanksgiving. An annual meeting may be held in Washington, D. C., during the first session of Congress.

Sec. 2. In the absence of an auxiliary president or auxiliary member of the Executive Committee, the delegation from that auxiliary may select a proxy by ballot.

Sec. 3. An auxiliary Association having no delegates present shall not give a proxy to a person from another State.

Sec. 4. All membership dues shall be paid not later than October 15. Any organization whose dues are not paid by that date shall lose its vote in the Convention for that year.

Sec. 5. Delegates must present credentials signed by the President and Recording Secretary of their respective organizations.

Sec. 6. All pledges made at the Annual Convention shall be payable not later than April 1.

By-Law II.

The Committee on Resolutions shall consist of one person from each State, elected by its delegation, and also a chairman to be elected by the Executive Committee.

By-Law III.

Section 1. After each Annual Convention the Board of General Officers shall elect the following Standing Committees: A Committee on Program, of which the President shall be Chairman, to arrange the program for the next annual meeting; a Congressional Committee, to have in charge the direct Congressional work; Committees on Literature, Press Work, Enrollment, Presidential Suffrage, Local Arrangements and Railroad Rates.

Sec. 2. The President shall appoint, during each Annual Convention, a Committee on Resolutions, consisting of five members, who shall report to the Resolutions Committee at the next Annual Convention.

Sec. 3. The Executive Committee shall elect from itself a Membership Committee, which shall pass upon the qualifications of organizations applying for auxiliaryship.

Sec. 4. Special Committees may be elected by the Board of General Officers.

By-Law IV.

The official report presented by any auxiliary of the National Association shall be printed in the minutes as authorized by the President and Secretary of that auxiliary.

By-Law V.

The Treasurer of the Association shall give bond in such sum as shall cover the funds in her charge.

By-Law VI.

These By-Laws may be amended by a two-thirds vote at any annual meeting, one day's notice having been given in Convention.

By-Law VII.

Method of Election.

The working details of the nomination and election shall be left to election officers appointed or elected by the convention.

LIFE MEMBERS.

Arabia.

Susan V. V. Hamilton

Alabama.

Adella Hunt Logan

California.

Annie K. Bidwell
Beda S. Sperry
Emily A. Brown
Catherine Cachot
Annie L. Corbert
Frank P. Deering
Mabel Craft Deering
Albert H. Elliott
Mrs. Benjamin Goodridge
Mary E. F. Gould
Alice L. Hollingsworth
Emma Shafter Howard
Karl Howard
Maud Shafter Howard
Louisa S. Janvier
Fidelia Jewett
David Starr Jordan
Viola Kaufman
William Keith
Mary McHenry Keith
Mary S. Keen
Abbie E. Krebbs
Miss L. J. Martin
Ellen J. McHenry
Mrs. A. A. Moore
Frances H. Rosebrook
Adelaide Ballard
J. H. Braly
Mrs. J. H. Braby
Florence R. Dwight
Mrs. Rhoderic Ringrose
Clara Schlingheyde
Mary Simpson Sperry
Ellen Clark Sargent
Dr. Mary A. Sperry
Philenda Spencer
Helen W. K. Stambach
Dr. Ida V. Stambach
Mary Wood Swift
Lucretia Watson Taylor
Margaret E. Waters
Amanda Way
Carrie A. Whelan
Emily G. Wright
Madeline Francis Wills

Canada.

Laura C. Hughes

Colorado.

Susan Riley Ashley
Mary C. C. Bradford
Amy K. Cornwall
Laughlin Gail
Emily R. Meredith
Ellis Meredith
Katherine A. G. Patterson

Connecticut.

Isabella Beecher Hooker
H. J. Lewis

Delaware.

Martha S. Cranston

District of Columbia.

Julia L. Langdon Barber
Lucia E. Blount
Charlotte Crocker
Emma M. Gillett

Elizabeth Hemstreet
Mary Foote Henderson
Margaret J. Henry
Alice J. Jenkins
Carrie E. Kent
Lizzie McClary
Hannah Cassell Mills
Mary A. McPherson
Martha McWhirter
Mary C. Nason
Robt. L. Owen (Senator)
Rosena M. Parnell
Sophronia C. Snow
Mary L. Talbot
Janet E. Richards
Mary Church Terrell
Ellen Powell Thompson
Helen Rand Tindall
Mary E. Terry
Jessie Waite Wright
Nettie L. White

Georgia.

Gertrude C. Thomas

Florida.

Mary V. Jewett

Idaho.

Eleanor B. Boyce

Illinois.

Jane Addams
Emily Bradford
Mrs. Minerva Butlin
Margaret W. Campbell
Climenia K. Dennett
Ellen E. B. Fifield
Elizabeth M. Fifield
Maud Emily Gross
Bertha Harwood
Anna N. Kendall
Catherine Waugh McCulloch
Ida S. Noyes
Angie Rand Schneppe
Dr. Julia Holmes Smith
Gertrude A. Shanklin
Elmina E. Springer
Mrs. Coonley Ward

Indiana.

Mary Isabella Bybee
Alice Wheeler Pierce
May Wright Sewall

Iowa.

Mary Emsley Adams
Josephine A. Barnes
George W. Bemis
Birdie May Bemis
Caroline V. Burghardt
Martha C. Callahan
Mary J. Coggeshall
A. H. Gale
Dr. George W. Hinkle
Nancy Logan
Sarah T. McCarron
Metie Laub Romans

Kansas.

Mabel La Porte Digga
Laura A. Gregg
C. A. Hoffman
Lucy B. Johnston
Sarah E. Morrow
Mrs. H. Stivers

Kentucky.

Sarah Clay Bennett
Laura Clay
Mary B. Clay
Sarah Coonley Davies
Mary E. Giltner
Helen Avery Robinson
Mary R. Trimble
Laura R. White

Louisiana.

Dudley H. Coleman
Jean M. Gordon
Kate M. Gordon

Fannie R. Gordon
Caroline E. Merrick
Kate Mushet O'Brien
Evelyn Walton Ordway
Susannah M. Otis
Jesica Coleman Romain
Jess Steven

Maine.

Harriet U. Fuller Baker
Helen N. Bates
Lucy Hobart Day
Lilla Floyd Donnell
Mrs. Fannie J. Fernald
Dr. Jennie Fuller
Dr. Abby M. Fulton
Sara Fairfield Hamilton
Etta H. Osgood
C. W. Spofford
Jane H. Spofford

Maryland.

Clara Barton
Mrs. Octavia Williams Bates
Miss Mary Garrett
Margaret J. Grove
Caroline Hallowell Miller
Constance Mills Overton
Mrs. Julia R. Rogers
Mrs. Jessie Waite Wright

Massachusetts.

Ellen Wright Garrison
Carrie Anders
Martha M. Atkins
Alice Stone Blackwell
Henry B. Blackwell
Anna G. Fowler
Nellie S. Smith Hill
Julia Ward Howe
Katherine Choate Ireson
Mae Nichols
Ellen F. Powers
Pauline A. Shaw
Eunice J. Simpson
Judith W. Smith
Myrtle Smith
Antoine Stolle

Michigan.

Delos A. Blodgett
Daisy Peck Blodgett
Katharine Shaw Curtis
Olivia B. Hall
Lillian M. Hollister
Helen P. Jenkins
Belle M. Perry

Minnesota.

Mrs. A. T. Anderson
Alice Scott Cash
Mrs. Eugenia B. Farmer
Clyde McClary
Lizzie McClary
Dr. Margaret Koch
Julia B. Nelson
Elizabeth A. Russell
Maud C. Stockwell
Sarah Vail Thompson
Mary Powell Wheeler

Montana.

Mrs. P. A. Dann

Missouri.

Sarah E. Turner

New York.

Susan Look Avery
Carrie Bahl
Dr. L. Adele Cuinet
Samatha Vail Lapham
Amanda F. Lauterbach
Mrs. Frank Leslie
Edna B. Lewis
Mary Hilliard Loines
Miss Hilda Loines
Miss Silvia Loines
Mrs. Clarence Mackay
Anne Fitzhigh Miller

Elizabeth Smith Miller
Harriet A. Mills
Harriet May Mills
Mignonette S. Mortimor
Sara A. C. Murtrugh
Elizabeth G. Otis
Sarah Ely Parsons
Mary Gray Peck
A. S. Prather
Martha Fuller Prather
Euphemia C. Purton
Georgia F. Raynesford
Dr. Marcena Sherman Ricker
Julia T. Ripley
Mary Thayer Sanford
James F. Sargent
Angelina M. Sargent
Elizabeth Cady Stanton
Mrs. Emma B. Sweet
Mrs. Roby S. Sisson
Fanny T. Slocum
Susan J. Taber, M. D.
Mrs. Marcia Allen Townsend
Mrs. Fanny Garrison Villard
Mrs. Anna Ross Weeks
Elizabeth A. Willard
Juliet Willets Williams
Charlotte B. Wilbour
Sarah L. Willis
Sarah E. Anderson
Susan B. Anthony
Mary S. Anthony
Zobedia Alleman
Mrs. John Winters Brannan
Maude R. Babcock
Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont
Elnora M. Babcock
Victoria Bradley
Laura Sprague Brooks
Jennie V. Baker
Amelia Cameron
Cornelia H. Carey
George W. Catt
Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt
Marianna W. Chapman
Mrs. Mary E. Craigie
Mrs. Herbert S. Carpenter
Winifred Harper Cooley
Mrs. Ella Hawley Crossett
Amelia Stowell Davis
Mrs. Crystal Eastman Benedict
Emogene L. Dewey
Anna Dormitzer
Max Eastman
Sophia Fuller Ely
Dr. Mary E. Emery
Gertrude A. Flanders
Mrs. Nicholas Shaw Fraser
Blanche Culbertson French
Rachel Shaw Fraser
Rebecca Friedlander
Fannie Humphreys Gaffney
Matilda Joslyn Gage
Mary T. L. Gannett
Charlotte Katherine Gannett
Jean Brooks Greenleaf
Charlotte Perkins Gilman
Dr. Kate Gleason
Priscilla Dudley Hackstaff
Sarah V. Hallock
Mary H. Hallowell
Mrs. Ida Husted Harper
Mary G. Hay
Miss Emily Howland
Miss Isabel Howland
Hannah L. Howland
Dorcas Hull
Mrs. Emma G. Ivins
Mr. Wm. H. Ivins
Dr. Mary Putnam Jacobi
Rhody J. Kenyon
Mary Elizabeth Lapham
James Lees Laidlaw
Harriet Burton Laidlaw
Sarah E. Ostranda
Caroline L. Reilly

New Jersey.

Rev. Antoinette Brown Blackwell
Florence Howe Hall
Joanna Hartshorn
Laura Lloyd Heulings
Cornelia C. Hussey
Dr. Mary D. Hussey
Mrs. S. R. Krom
Anna W. Heulings Lippincott
Susan W. Lippincott
Calista S. Mayhew
Alice Paul
Minola Graham Sexton
Dr. Sarah C. Spotteswoode
Ellen Hoxie Squier
Elizabeth M. Vail

New Hampshire.

Armenia S. White
Susan A. Whiting Ives
Marilla M. Ricker

Nebraska.

Ellen D. Harn
Fannie C. Norris
Miss Nettie M. Nelson
Mrs. M. B. Philbrick
Dr. Inez C. Philbrick
Amanda J. Marble
Mary G. Ward
Anna A. Wells
Mrs. Susan Whitesell
Mary H. Williams
Clara A. Young
Anjenette Albertson
Alice Isabel Brayton
Ollie K. Carriker
Annie Daily
Rev. Louis Dewey
Mary Smith Hayward

Ohio.

Anna Anthony Bacon
Sarah A. Bissell
John S. Casement
Frances M. Casement
Audrey I. Doty
Martha H. Elwell
Caroline McCullough Evergard
Anne S. Hall
Elizabeth J. Hauser
Mary B. Hauser
Sallie J. McCall
Anna C. Mott
Alice E. Peters
Rosa L. Segur
Louisa Southworth
Dr. Sarah W. Siewers
Susan M. Sturgis
Ezra B. Taylor
Anna Ruth Tucker
Harriet Taylor Upton

Oregon.

Jane Y. Buchman
Viola M. Coe
Clara Bewick Colby
Abigail Scott Duniway
Dorothy Edith Duniway
Lucy A. Mallory
Mary Therkelson
Dr. Mary A. Thompson

Pennsylvania.

Lucy E. Anthony
Rachel Foster Avery
Emma J. Bartol
Lucretia L. Blankenburg
Ellen K. Brazier
Emma J. Brazier
Ida Porter Boyer
Katherine J. Campbell
Rachel Costelloe
Kate W. Dewald
Julia T. Foster
Elizabeth N. Garrett
Alberta Morehouse Goudis
Grace G. Green
Alice P. Hadley
Martha M. Hovenden
Alvin T. James

Helen M. James
Edith C. James
Mary S. A. Jenkins
Dr. Agnes Kemp
Caroline Lippincott
Emily L. Lippincott
Mary W. Lippincott
Hannah E. Longshore
Dr. Jennie E. Medley
Etta H. Osgood
Charlotte L. Peirce
Ellen H. E. Price
Jacob Rees
Elinor Rendell
Caroline Hadley Robinson
Anna Howard Shaw
M. J. Stecker
Virginia Shaw Smith
Eleanor Shaw Smith
Lincoln Shaw Smith
M. Adeline Thompson
M. Carey Thomas

Oklahoma.

Kate H. Biggers
Rachel Rees Griffiths
Adelia C. Stephens

Rhode Island.

Ardelia Cook Dewing
Sarah J. Eddy
Sarah S. Wilbour

South Carolina.

A. Violet Neblett
Martha Schofield

South Dakota.

Philena Everett Johnson
Dr. Frances Woods

Texas.

Annette Finnigan
Dr. Madge P. Stephens

Utah.

Emily S. Richard
Emeline Wells

Virginia.

Mary Johnston
Elizabeth Johnston
Eloise Johnston
Virginia L. Minor

Vermont.

Mrs. A. D. Chandler
Caroline Scott

Washington.

Annie M. Brown
Emma Smith Devoe
Dr. Cora Smith Eaton
May Arkwright Hutton
Ora Brown Richardson
Mrs. George A. Smith

West Virginia.

Elizabeth I. Cummins
Anne M. Cummins
Virginia H. Kendall
Mrs. M. C. Parsons
Albert H. Elliott

Wisconsin.

Rev. Olympia Brown

AUXILIARY ASSOCIATIONS.

ALABAMA.

Pres.....Mrs. Patty Jacobs, 1404 Beech St., Birmingham.
Mem. Ex. Com....Miss Amelia Worthington, Birmingham.
Cor. Sec.....Miss Helen Benners, Birmingham.

ARIZONA.

Pres.....Mrs. Frances W. Munds, Prescott.
Mem. Ex. Com....Angela H. Hammer, Wickenburg.
Cor. Sec.....Mrs. Mary L. Prescott.

CALIFORNIA.

Pres.....Mrs. Mary McHenry Keith, 2207 Atherton St., Berkeley.
Mem. Ex. Com....
Cor. Sec.....Nellie Scoville, 2223 Pacific Ave., San Francisco.

COLORADO.

Pres.....Mrs. Harriet G. R. Wright, 3346 Moncrief Pl., Denver.
Mem. Ex. Com....Mrs. Mary C. C. Bradford, 1921 East 16th Ave., Denver.
Cor. Sec.....Mrs. M. Octavia Floaten, 1430 Monroe St., Denver.

CONNECTICUT.

Pres.....Mrs. Maud M. Hincks, 152 Park Pl., Bridgeport.
Mem. Ex. Com....Mrs. Grace G. Seton, 24 Ford St., Hartford.
Cor. Sec.....Miss Mabel C. Washburn, 64 Evergreen Ave., Hartford.

DELAWARE.

Pres.....Mrs. Martha S. Cranston, Newport.
Mem. Ex. Com....Caroline M. Cooper, care of Wm. D. Bancroft, Wilmington.
Cor. Sec.....Miss Mary R. de Vou, Wilmington.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Pres.....Miss Florence Etheridge, 3011 Cambridge St., Washington.
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Mem. Ex. Com....Mrs. Antoinette D. Leach, Sullivan.
Cor. Sec.....Mrs. Kathrine Hoffman, Logansport.

INDIANA—Woman's Franchise League.

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Mem. Ex. Com....Mrs. Grace Julian Clarke, 115 South Audubon Rd., Indianapolis.
Cor. Sec.....Mrs. G. M. Henderson, 816 Odd Fellow Bldg., Indianapolis.

IOWA.

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Mem. Ex. Com....Miss Flora Dunlap, Roadside Settlement, Des Moines.
Cor. Sec.....Mrs. Ruby Eckerson, Des Moines.

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Pres.....Mrs. Lucy B. Johnston, 617 Mills Bldgs., Topeka.
Mem. Ex. Com....Miss Helen N. Eacker, 939 Tennessee St., Lawrence.
Cor. Sec.....Mrs. Ella M. Evans, 1318 Buchannan St., Topeka.

KENTUCKY.

Pres.....Mrs. Desha Breckinridge, 726 McClelland Bldg., Lexington.
Mem. Ex. Com....
Cor. Sec.....Miss Laura Clay, 189 New Mill St., Lexington.

LOUISIANA.

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Cor. Sec.....Miss Etta H. Maddox, 1631 Eutaw Pl., Baltimore.

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Mem. Ex. Com....Mrs. George Kenyon, 445 Summit Ave., St. Paul.
Cor. Sec.....Mrs. Gertrude S. Hunter, 2439 Blairsdell Ave., Minneapolis.

MINNESOTA—Equal Franchise League.

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Mem. Ex. Com....Mrs. Julia B. Nelson, Red Wing.
Cor. Sec.....Abraham I. Levin, 208 Fenton St., St. Paul.

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Mem. Ex. Com....Mrs. Barbara Blackman O'Neill, Suffrage Headquarters, Syndicate Trust Bldg., St. Louis.
Cor. Sec.....Miss Helen Osborn, 716 W. 10th St., Kansas City.

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Cor. Sec.....Mrs. Mary L. Colvin, 56 North Maple Ave., East Orange.

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Mem. Ex. Com....Miss Emily Howland, Sherwood.
Cor. Sec.....Mrs. Joseph Gavit, 802 Myrtle Ave., Albany.

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Pres.....Miss Mary Garrett Hay, 48 E. 34th St.
Mem. Ex. Com....
Cor. Sec.....Mrs. Thomas B. Wells, 48 E. 34th St.

NEW YORK—Woman's Political Union

Pres.....Mrs. Harriot Stanton Blatch, 46 E. 29th St.
Mem. Ex. Com....Mrs. Marcia Townsend, 46 E. 29th St.
Cor. Sec.....Mrs. Nora Blatch de Forest, 46 E. 29th St.

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Pres.....Dr. Esther Pohl Lovejoy, 393 Willliam Ave., Portland.

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Mem. Ex. Com....Miss Jane Campbell, School House Lane, Germantown.
Cor. Sec.....Mrs. John O. Miller, 5147 Woodmont St., Pittsburgh.

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Presidential Suffrage—Elizabeth U. Yates, 209 Butler Avenue, Providence, R. I.

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Church Work—Mary E. Craigie, 295 Delaware Avenue, Buffalo, N. Y.

Previous conventions have been held at the following places:

Washington, D. C., March 4 to 7, 1884.
Washington, D. C., January 16 to 19, 1893.
Washington, D. C., February 15 to 20, 1894.
Atlanta, Ga., January 31 to February 5, 1895.
Washington, D. C., January 23 to 28, 1896.
Des Moines, Ia., January 26 to 29, 1897.
Washington, D. C., February 13 to 19, 1898.
Grand Rapids, Mich., April 27 to May 3, 1899.
Washington, D. C., February 8 to 14, 1900.
Minneapolis, Minn., June 1 to 5, 1901.
Washington, D. C., February 14 to 18, 1902.
New Orleans, La., March 15 to 25, 1903.
Washington, D. C., February 11 to 17, 1904.
Portland, Ore., June 28 to July 5, 1905.
Baltimore, Md., February 7 to 13, 1906.
Chicago, Ill., February 14 to 19, 1907.
Buffalo, N. Y., October 15 to 21, 1908.
Seattle, Wash., July 1 to 6, 1909.
Washington, D. C., April 14 to 19, 1910.
Louisville, Ky., October 19 to 25, 1911.

			Yes	
			All but one	

	Alabama	Arizona	California	Colorado	Connecticut	Delaware	Dist. of Columbia	Georgia	Illinois	Indiana E. S. A.	Indiana W. F. L.	Iowa	Kansas	Kentucky	Louisiana	Maine
How many members had your Association one year ago?	No organization				About 5000	90	About 350	27	1024	90		120	1160			193
How many members has it now?	415	4600			About 10,000	188	429	75			986	1092	3000	1719		193
Of these how many are dues paying?	80					136	320	50	1000	122	All	962				
How many are non dues paying?	335	All			About 5000	50	100	25				200				33 life members
How many meetings have been held during the past year?	One				Hundreds	22	About 50	34	19	5	+ Large Numerous small	Over 60	Thousands			2
Of these, how many have been out-door meetings?					Many	2	None	2	None	1		5	Hundreds			1
How much literature has been distributed?	Hundreds of thousands of pages	About 400 dollars worth			Hundreds of dollars worth	1500 pieces		2 or a thousand pieces	1000s of pieces	6000 pieces	ore dollars worth	About three pieces	Many tons			100 packages
How much money has been expended?	Only state dues	Less than $2000			$10,000	$109.75	About $2m sent to campaigns	$40.00	$6886.92	$620.50	About $1000	$2004 11	$16,000			$288.00
How much of it was raised from dues?	That paid by 40 members	Not any			A small part	$58.90	Very little	$25.00	$3527.75	$30.50	$254.00	$726 50	Very little			$31 50
How much of it was donated?	That paid by 285 members	All			Most of it	$6.75	Practically all	$15.00	$4280 25	$590 00	$620.00	$1706.50	Nearly all	All		$98.62
How much of it was raised by collections, receipts from sales, etc.					Small part	$44.10	Very little		$1004.82	None		$25 67	Very little			$10.34
How much of this money came from outside the State?	None	About $600			None	None	None	None	None	None	None	$5 00	$2300	None		None
How many newspapers have been reached in your press work?	Most of the state papers	Every paper			112	4	All—4	4	200 every 2 weeks		50	150	Every paper over 50			40
What proportion of your State is organized by political districts?					A small proportion	None			None	¼	None	None	All of it			None
How many subscribers to the Woman's Journal have been secured?	Many				Don't know	3	25	12	156		35	360	Several hundred			
How many members of the legislature have been questioned in regard to Woman Suffrage?	No legislative session since 1911				All			Nearly all	All			Nearly all				
How many are in favor?					About ¾			A few					¼ majority			
What proportion do these form of the total number?																
How many worked to defeat candidates known to be opposed?					No			Yes	Yes	Yes		No	Yes			
If so, in how many instances?								5								
Have you introduced a suffrage bill into the legislature?	No session till 1915	Yes			No session of legislature	No session of legislature			Yes	No session of legislature	No session of legislature	No session of legislature		Yes		
Was it reported out of committee?		Yes							Yes					School Suffrage		
How did the final vote stand?		10 to 9 against							Passed by Senate 25 to 20 House with out vote					Yes Carried		
Have you a Headquarters?	No	No			Yes	No	The Anthony League has	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes			No
Have you any paid workers?	No	One during campaign			Yes	No	No	No	3	No	Yes	Yes				No
If so, how many?					1 Organizer 2 Stenographers						1	2	13			
What committees have you?	Enrollment Finance Legislative Press	State Central Committee			Enrollment		Congressional Health Labor Conditions Cost of Living	Enrollment Legislative Petition Press	Organization Press Literature Publicity Church Lecture Industrial	Legislative Literature Church	Ways and Means Organization Legislative Educational Publicity		Campaign Committee	Press Church Peace Industrial Education		Finance Literature Press Enrollment Legislative
Is there any town in your State with over 5,000 inhabitants still without a suffrage organization of some sort?					Yes	Yes						Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
If so, how many?					At least 9							Most of them	10	None	4	A good many

	Maryland W. S. A.	Maryland* F. C. L.	Maryland F. F. L.	Massachusetts	Michigan	Minnesota W. S. A.	Minnesota* F. F. L.	Missouri*	Mississippi	Nevada	Nebraska	New Hampshire	New Jersey	New York W. S. A.	New York W. S. P.	New York W. P. U.
How many members had your Association one year ago?	841	About 2000	1112		244	449		291	164	100		495	838	6197	60,000	About 3000
How many members has it now?	430	About 3500	1200		412	3025	720	370	518	500		724	2200	7246	70,240	About fewer
Of these how many are dues paying?		None	450	1853	None	1915	620	418	108	300		All	682	All	None	100 paid 25 cents Initiation fee
How many are non dues paying?		All pay initiation fee 25 cents	750	5000		2500	100	452	414	200		1500 (Many Largest)	About 800		All	About 25,000
How many meetings have been held during the past year?	45	249	Weekly	Many			Monthly		2	Over 200		150	75	Over 300	2000	Over 1000
Of these, how many have been out-door meetings?	15	67		Many	Many				None	None		1	25	Over 150	1000	About ½
How much literature has been distributed?	Tons	About 250,000 pieces		Much	Over 1,250,000 pieces		1000 pieces		Thousands			3000 leaflets	About 10,000 pieces	Tons	50,000 pieces	About 750,000 pieces
How much money has been expended?		About $11,000	About $3000	$16,438.20	About 5000 out building counties	$765.99	$200.00	$486.56	$250.50	200 to 300 dollars		Over $1000	$1212 73	$40,871 42	$13,983.93	$12,624.27
How much of it was raised from dues?		None	$450	$385.25	Very little	$165.50		$444.70	$136.00	About ½		About $400	$180.10	$782.49	None	$250 00
How much of it was donated?		About $9000	$2250	$9011.60	Almost all	$288.59		$19000	$149.00	Nearly ½		About $600	$308 54	$4120 63	All	$1500 42
How much of it was raised by collections, receipts from sales, etc.		About $2000	$300	$7642.07		$14 75			$42 50	About 10%		About $35	$231.91	$5022.49		$4755 68
How much of this money came from outside the State?	None	None	None	None	$1583.00	$6.30	None	None	$18.00	About $60.00		$500	None	None	None	None
How many newspapers have been reached in your press work?	All	30	14		About 300	160	500	30		About 50		25	50	Hundreds	All in W C papers	85
What proportion of your State is organized by political districts?	None	11 out of 24 counties		Boston and 3 or 4 outlying towns	53 counties		18 counties			All but 3 counties		None	None	New York Brooklyn	Greater New York	11 out of 51 Congressional Districts
How many subscribers to the Womin's Journal have been secured?		475		466					10	50			About 100			Whole membership canvassed
How many members of the legislature have been questioned in regard to Woman Suffrage?	All	All	All	All	All	All Senators				All		All delegates to Council, Convention	Practically all	All	All in New York City	All
How many are in favor?	45	26		91 on House Majority in Senate	Senate 28 House 56	63 Senators				In Assembly in Senate		131			Most of the 63	31 Senate 81 Assembly
What proportion do these form of the total number?	About ½	Less than ½								About ⅔		About ½	Small percentage	More than ever before		39% Senate 54% Assembly
How many worked to defeat candidates known to be opposed?	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No					Yes		Yes	No	No	No	Yes
If so, in how many instances?				2						5						6
Have you introduced a suffrage bill into the legislature?		Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes			No session of legislature	Yes		No legislature Could Constitution revised only purpose	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Was it reported out of committee?		Yes, unfavorably		Yes, adversely	Yes	Yes—Senate				Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes		Yes
How did the final vote stand?		73—22		116—96 against	Senate 28 House 56	33—31				11—13 House 7—5 Senate carried		200 to 149 against	2 Senate 11 Assembly In favor	Not advanced, Senate Carried, Assembly		
Have you a Headquarters?	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes		No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Have you any paid workers?	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
If so, how many?		5	3	4	2					1		2—part time	2	1	7	2
What committees have you?	Enrollment Press Literature Legislative Press	Literature Press Lecture Journal	Publication Literature Criminal Court Press Legislation Temperance	Meetings Legislative Campaign Organization Ways and Means Women's Journal	Organization Press Enrollment Headquarters Church Endorsement				Legislative Propaganda Finance	Legislative Press Education Instruction	Executive Finance Press Meetings	Literature Legislative	Same as National	Legislative School and Tax suffrage County Press Church Work Association Publicity Organization		Finance
Is there any town in your State with over 5,000 inhabitants still without a suffrage organization of some sort?		Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes				Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
If so, how many?		2	7	37					15	7	None	1	28	Several		Great many
		* This report is only to July 20, 1912						* Report from Sept 1, 1912 only	* Report to Sept. 1, 1912 only							

	Ohio W. S. A.	Ohio F. C. L.	Oklahoma	Oregon W. C. T. C.	Oregon E. S. L.	Oregon F. F. S. L.	Pennsylvania	Rhode Island	Tennessee	Texas	Vermont	Virginia	Wisconsin W. S. A.	Wisconsin P. L. L.	Washington	West Virginia
How many members had your Association one year ago?				None	30	2053	187	141	None			45	210	150		90
How many members has it now?				$80	304	2613	400	484	370	38		1354	2666	15,694		66
Of these how many are dues paying?				All	All	About 2446	210		All	All		None	300	694		66
How many are non dues paying?				None	None	About 10,000			None			All	2300	15,000		None
How many meetings have been held during the past year?				3	Monthly	263	Several hundreds	68	13			240	1700	Hundreds		12
Of these, how many have been out-door meetings?				None	None	35	1	None	1			None except at State Fair	Few	The majority		None
How much literature has been distributed?	60,000 pieces		150,000 pieces	40,000 pieces	100 dollars worth	287,000 pieces		4091 pieces	About three pieces		Thousands	200 dollars worth	About 50,000 pieces	About three worth		Not much
How much money has been expended?	$40,000		$550	$100.00	$2911.70	$5975.20	About $4000	$456.82	$665.00			$1645.38	$2900	$10,000		About $150
How much of it was raised from dues?				All	$503.00		$210	$181.24	$228 85				$300	$500		Nearly all
How much of it was donated?					$2005.70		Most of it	$326.55	$336.46			Practically all	$1100			None
How much of it was raised by collections, receipts from sales, etc.				None	None			None	$170.00			$45 00	$1100	About $2000		
How much of this money came from outside the State?				About $2.00	None	None	None	None	None			None	$800	$2000		None
How many newspapers have been reached in your press work?					86	464	25	28	10			34	All	253		
What proportion of your State is organized by political districts?					None		None	None	None			None	11 out of 11 counties	88 out of 72		
How many subscribers to the Woman's Journal have been secured?					None		75									All
How many members of the legislature have been questioned in regard to Woman Suffrage?						880 candidates	None		Few			Candidates				About 20
How many are in favor?						291	A negligible number					18				About ⅓
What proportion do these form of the total number?						⅓						⅓				No
How many worked to defeat candidates known to be opposed?						No	No					No	No			
If so, in how many instances?																
Have you introduced a suffrage bill into the legislature?							Yes					Yes	Yes			
Was it reported out of committee?							No					Yes, unfavorably	Yes			
How did the final vote stand?												18 votes in favor in House				
Have you a Headquarters?					No	Yes	Yes	No	No			Yes	Yes	Yes		No
Have you any paid workers?					Ye-	Yes	Yes	No	No			Yes	Yes	Yes		No
If so, how many?					3	4	1					1	3	9		
What committees have you?					None	Church Press Legislation Finance Headquarters Finance	11	Educational Membership Press Literature Legislative Finance Petition				Legislative Press Church	Executive Finance	Finance Literature Press Organization		
Is there any town in your State with over 5,000 inhabitants still without a suffrage organization of some sort?						Probably	Yes	Yes	Yes			Yes	No	Yes		Yes
						Don't know		Don't know	Many			8	5			All but one

organization of some sort? .....

so, how many? .....

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

FORTY-FIFTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

OF THE

NATIONAL-AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

HELD AT WASHINGTON, D. C.
NOVEMBER 29 to DECEMBER 5
(INCLUSIVE)
1913

FORTY-FIFTH
ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

NATIONAL-AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

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Gift
Mrs. IDA HUSTED HARPER
NOV 1 1924

CALL TO THE FORTY-FIFTH CONVENTION OF THE NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

For the forty-fifth time in its history the National American Woman Suffrage Association summons its members together in council. By thus assembling, one more united step toward the final emancipation of the women of this country is made practicable. It is part of the destiny of those who are laboring actively in the cause of any reform, that they cannot fully discern the extent of the changes they are accomplishing. It is only after their task is finished, when the new ideal is established, and the widely distributed effects thereof made evident, that it is possible to realize how world-changing was the initial work. Let us appreciate this fact to-day not only that we may get inspiration, but that seeing clearly whither we go we may take our last steps swiftly, surely, and unitedly.

To the wise and courageous, to those not fearful of the changes demanded by the vital needs of growing humanity, this Call is sent, for to such only can it appeal. For them it will have two meanings: first, it will speak of loyalty to work and to comrade workers; of large undertakings worthily begun and to be worthily finished; of the stimulus of difficulty; of joy in the exercise of talents and strength; of the self-control and ability required for co-operation.

Second, and to some carrying a deeper meaning, this Call will express—like other summons of women to women throughout the ages—the need not alone for counsel and comfort, but for the preservation of all they hold most high—for that to which they gladly give their lives. Also it will speak of the struggle for development which individual women have made; of the opportunities they have won for each other; of the unequivocal demand for the best, to which the few have led the many. It will tell of the stifled but ever-present desire for the

great impersonal fields of human activity—fields in which the individual can achieve largely as well as feel deeply—and where the hurt of generations of intensive living will be assuaged as life forces are turned into the wide purposeful channels of helpful endeavor.

To you who grasp the underlying meaning of this struggle, to you who know yourselves akin to those who have preceded and to those who will follow, to you who are daily making this ideal a reality, this Call is sent.

Anna Howard Shaw,
Jane Addams.
Charlotte Anita Whitney,
Mary Ware Dennett,
Susan Walker Fitzgerald,
Katherine Dexter McCormick.
Harriet Burton Laidlaw,
Louise Dekoven Bowen,

General Officers of the N. A. W. S. A.

PROGRAM

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 29

Credentials Committee on duty all day. Hotel Bellevue.
Official Board Meeting—all day.

Evening, 8 o'clock

Executive Committee Meeting—Parlors of Hotel Bellevue.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 30

Afternoon, 3 O'clock

Mass Meeting, Columbia Theatre (12th and F Sts.)
President presiding.

Address.....JANE ADDAMS
Addresses—"The Woman Worker and the Ballot".....MARY ANDERSON
(Organizer for the National Women's Trade Union League.)
Margaret Hinchey (laundry-worker). Rose Winslow (weaver).
Address—"Women as Legislators".....SEN. HELEN RING ROBINSON
of Colorado

Evening, 8.30 O'clock

The officers of the National Association will be "at home" to delegates and visitors to the Convention, at Hotel Bellevue.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 1

Morning, 10 O'clock

Executive Committee Meeting—Masonic Temple.

Afternoon, 2.30 O'clock

Convention called to order by the President.
Welcome from the District of Columbia Suffrage Association,
MRS. NINA ALLENDAR
Welcome from the Congressional Union.....MISS ALICE PAUL
Response on behalf of the N. A. W. S. A.....MRS. PATTY RUFFNER JACOBS
of Alabama
Appointment of Committees—Resolutions, Election, Courtesies.
Reports of Officers and Departments:
Membership Committee.....SUSAN W. FITZGERALD
Credentials Committee (preliminary report).
KATHARINE DEXTER MCCORMICK
Railroad Rates Committee.....MARIE V. SMITH
Auditors.....HARRIET BURTON LAIDLAW

Treasurer.....KATHARINE DEXTER MCCORMICK
Corresponding Secretary.....MARY WARE DENNETT
Press Bureau.....ELINOR BYRNES
Literature.....FRANCES MAULE BJÖRKMAN

Evening, 8 O'clock

President Presiding

1913 Victories:

Illinois—CATHARINE WAUGH MCCULLOCH
ELLA SEASS STEWART
GRACE WILBUR TROUT
ANTOINETTE FUNK
RUTH MCCORMICK
ELIZABETH K. BOOTH
Alaska—
Address—"The National Amendment".....LUCY BURNS
President's Annual Address .....DR. ANNA HOWARD SHAW

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 2

Morning, 10 O'clock

Reports:

Credentials Committee.....KATHARINE DEXTER MCCORMICK
Committee on Presidential Suffrage.....ELIZABETH U. YATES
Legal Advisor.....MARY RUTTER TOWLE
Ways and Means Committee.....M. CAREY THOMAS
Congressional Committee.....ALICE PAUL
Church Work Committee.....MARY E. CRAIGIE
Constitutional Revision Committee.....CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT

Afternoon, 2.30 O'clock

Adoption of Proposed Constitution.
Report of Committee on Election
Nomination of Officers
Conference on Methods—

Discussion led by Henrietta Livermore.

Evening, 8 O'clock

MRS. JOSEPH T. BOWEN, Presiding

"Women and Children and the Courts"

Addresses:

"The Juvenile Court".....JUDGE JULIAN MACK
"The Court of Domestic Relations and the Court of Morals,"
CHIEF JUSTICE HARRY OLSEN
"The Women's Night Court and the Work of a Probation Officer,"
MISS MAUDE MINER

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 3

Morning, 10 O'clock

Hearing before the Rules Committee of the House of Representatives, to secure the appointment of a Woman Suffrage Committee for the House.

Afternoon, 2.30 O'clock

Reports from Auxiliary Presidents:

Alabama.....Pattie Ruffner Jacobs
California.....Mary McHenry Keith
Colorado.....Harriet G. R. Wright
Congressional Union.....Alice Paul
Connecticut.....Katherine Houghton Hepburn
Delaware.....Martha Cranston
District of Columbia.....Nina Allendar
Florida.....Mary Safford
Georgia.....Mary L. McLendon

Conference on Methods—Discussion led by Helen Eacker
Adoption of the Budget and Plan of Work

Evening, 8 O'clock

Programme Under the Auspices of the National Men's League for Woman Suffrage

Mr. James Lees Laidlaw, Presiding

Addresses:

Senator Charles S. Thomas of Colorado
Senator Joseph L. Bristow of Kansas
Senator Robert L. Owen of Oklahoma
Representative J. W. Bryan of Washington
Representative Frank W. Mondell of Wyoming
Representative Victor Murdock of Kansas
Representative William Kent of California
and Other Members of Congress
George Creel

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 4

Morning, 10 O'clock

Election of Officers
Reports from Auxiliary Presidents:

Hawaii.....Wilhelmina Dowsett
Illinois.....Grace Wilbur Trout
Indiana.....Grace Dunn Noland

Indiana W. F. L.....Amelia R. Keller
Iowa.....Flora Dunlap
Kansas.....Genevieve Chalkley
Kentucky.....M. McD. Breckenridge
Louisiana.....Kate M. Gordon
Louisiana W. S. P.....Mrs. Albert J. Kittridge
Maine.....Helen Bates
Maryland W. S. A.....Emma Maddox Funck
Maryland J. G. L.....Edith Houghton Hooker
Maryland E. F. L.....Mrs. William J. Brown
Massachusetts W. S. A.....Alice Stone Blackwell
Massachusetts P. E. U.....Susan W. FitzGerald
Michigan.....Nellie Sawyer Clark
Minnesota W. S. A.....Mrs. A. H. Bright
Minnesota E. F. L.....Theresa B. Peyton

Unfinished Business

Afternoon, 2.30 O'clock

Unfinished Business.
Reports from Auxiliary Presidents:

Missouri.....Mrs. Walter McNab Miller
Mississippi.....Annie K. Dent
Montana.....Jeanette Rankin
Nebraska.....Mrs. Draper Smith
Nevada.....Anne H. Martin
New Hampshire.....Martha Kimball
New Jersey W. S. A.....Lillian F. Feickert
New Jersey W. P. U.....Mina Van Winkle
New York W. S. A.....Gertrude Foster Brown
New York W. S. P.....Mary Garrett Hay
New York W. P. U.....Harriot Stanton Blatch
North Dakota.....Clara L. Darrow
Ohio W. S. A.....Harriet Taylor Upton
Ohio E. F. L.....Flora Worthington
Oklahoma.....Ruth Gay
Oregon E. S. L.....Esther Pohl Lovejoy
Pennsylvania.....Jennie Bradley Roessing
Rhode Island.....Elizabeth U. Yates

Evening, 8 O'clock

President Presiding

Address—"A Prophecy Fulfilled".....Miss Harriet May Mills
Address—"Hartford Women and Commercialized Vice,"
Katharine Houghton Hepburn
Address—"Pot Boilers".....Carrie Chapman Catt

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 5

Morning, 10 O'clock

Reports of Auxiliary Presidents:

Tennessee.....Sarah Barnwell Elliott
Texas.....Eleanor Brackenridge
Vermont.....Frances Rastall Wyman
Virginia.....Lila Mead Valentine
Wisconsin.....Theodora Youmans
Washington..... Mrs. George A. Smith
West Virginia.....Allie Haymond
Friends' Equal Rights Association.....Ellen H. E. Price
Equal Franchise Society.....Helen C. Mansfield
National College Suffrage League.....M. Carey Thomas

Unfinished Business

Afternoon, 2 O'clock

Executive Committee Meeting

4 to 7 O'clock

Reception at the home of Mrs. Robert La Follette, 3320 Sixteenth St.

A cordial invitation is extended to all the delegates and registered visitors to the Convention by Mrs. La Follette and ladies of the Cabinet and Congressional Circles.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS.

State	Dues	Entitled to	Present
Alabama	$70.00	9	8
California	30.00	5	5
Colorado	5.00	1	0
Connecticut	500.00	52	50
Delaware	17.00	4	4
District of Columbia	40.10	6	6
Florida	5.50	1	0
Georgia	10.00	3	2
Indiana—Equal Suffrage Association	12.50	3	1
Indiana—Women's Franchise League	118.80	14	3
Illinois	375.00	39	29
Iowa	134.00	15	8
Kansas	30.00	5	1
Kentucky	106.00	13	13
Louisiana	50.00	7	2
Louisiana—Woman Suffrage Party	31.40	5	2
Maine	20.00	4	4
Maryland—Woman Suffrage Association	43.00	6	3
Maryland—Just Government League	160.00	18	18
Maryland—Equal Franchise League	56.00	8	8
Michigan	45.00	6	6
Massachusetts—Woman Suffrage Association	265.00	28	18
Massachusetts — Political Equality Union	107.90	13	13
Minnesota—Woman Suffrage Association	143.70	16	6
Minnesota—Equal Franchise League	30.00	5	2
Missouri	129.90	15	2
Mississippi	24.20	4	1
Montana	40.00	6	4
Nebrasaka	100.00	12	7
Nevada	60.00	8	1
New Hampshire	62.10	8	7

State	Dues	Entitled to	Present
New Jersey—Woman Suffrage Association	229.80	25	25
New Jersey—Women's Political Union	30.00	5	2
New York—Woman Suffrage Association	483.90	50	50
New York—Woman Suffrage Party	50.00	6	6
New York—Women's Political Union	30.00	5	4
North Dakota	25.00	4	0
North Carolina	20.00	4	2
Ohio—Woman Suffrage Association	94.70	11	5
Ohio—Equal Franchise League	32.50	5	5
Oklahoma	10.00	3	0
Oregon—Equal Suffrage League	28.00	5	0
Pennsylvania	302.50	32	32
Rhode Island	26.30	5	5
Tennessee	40.10	6	5
Texas	133.50	15	6
Vermont	6.00	1	0
Virginia	167.00	19	19
Wisconsin	50.00	7	7
Washington	10.00	3	0
West Virginia	14.50	3	3
Friends' Equal Rights	12.10	3	2
Equal Franchise Society, N. Y.	10.00	1	1
National College League	375.75	40	38
Congressional Union	43.60	5	5
Hawaii Woman Suffrage Association	5.00	1	0
Number of Officers			8
Members of Standing Committee			3
International President—Mrs. Catt			1
	$5,052.35	603	468

SUMMARY

Total number of votes convention entitled to———— 603
Number present 468

REPORT OF CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

There are three suffrage decisions on record for the year just passed,—victory in Alaska and in Illinois, by act of the Legislature, and temporary defeat in Michigan by vote of the electorate.

There are four actual campaign States where the amendment will be submitted to the voters next autumn, Nevada (where the bill has passed two legislatures) Montana, North and South Dakota, and there are three other States where initiative petitions are now in circulation, and if the requisite number of signers is secured the amendment will also be submitted next autumn, Ohio, Nebraska and Missouri.

Then there are three half-way campaign States where the amendment has passed one Legislature and must pass again, in which case the decision will be made by the voters in 1915. These States are New York, Pennsylvania and Iowa, in the first two of which the amendment has the very promising advantage of having been endorsed by all political parties. New Jersey should rightfully be listed with the half-way campaign States, even if, legally speaking, it cannot again become such until the Legislature passes the bill next January, which although passed by handsome majority last year was lost by failure on the part of the authorities to carry out the technical requirement in regard to spreading on the legislative minutes and advertising for three months in the newspapers. In New Jersey also the amendment has the endorsement of all the political parties, and this legal hiatus in the campaign is increasing rather than diminishing suffrage activity.

The details of the work in the victorious and campaign States will be given in the reports of those States, but since there is no suffrage association in Alaska, a brief history of that victory may be recorded here.

Being a territory, the question was settled by the Legislature and not referred to the voters. The bill was the first

one acted upon when the Legislature convened last January, and was introduced by Rep. Arthur Shoup, whose speech in its behalf was characteristic of the modern progressive spirit of fair play, which characterizes so many of the Western men.

Previous to the introduction of the bill Representative Shoup had corresponded with headquarters and had sent us a copy of the proposed bill for approval. We sent a supply of literature for the legislators and wrote to some Seattle women, former residents of Alaska, asking them to write letters to the members of the Legislature. We also sent to each legislator the following: "Five good reasons why the Alaska Legislature should vote for Woman Suffrage.

Because Woman Suffrage offers the best kind of advertising for a new territory. Washington and California business men agree that nothing ever attracted such wide-spread attention to their States as the suffrage campaigns.

Because Alaska must offer some inducement if it is to attract not only women but married men with families, the most solid kind of citizens, to settle there. In order to secure men for the building of the Panama Canal, the United States Government had to send a woman there to organize clubs, etc., that the life there should be made more attractive to the wives of the employees.

Because the experience of all frontier States has been that whenever women have the vote, it is easier to secure public support for measures looking toward the establishment of a settled, stable and orderly state of society, with schools, churches, public utilities and all that characterizes a civilized up-to-date community.

Because frontier communities above all others need the help that women can give, to overcome the conditions inherent in frontier life. Wyoming men, realizing this refused to accept statehood unless women were granted the full right of citizenship.

Because Woman Suffrage is in accord with the progressive spirit of the times. Nine Western States have already adopted it, and the men of one of the Central States, Michigan—voted to do so, but were balked by a fraudulent count of the ballots. Almost every civilized country in the world has either

given some measure of suffrage to women or is entertaining some sort of suffrage measure."

The bill was carried unanimously the first week in March. One member had started in by offering some opposition, but he was presently so lonely among his fellow legislators, that he changed his mind, and the measure became a part of the law ninety days afterward. The Governor sent us a photograph of himself signing the bill.

The bulk of suffrage legislation this past year is quite unprecedented. Bills were introduced in twenty-five legislatures, and in the U. S. Congress. Bills were passed by ten legislatures, and received record-breaking votes in seven of the others. And for the first time in history there has been a unanimous favorable report from the Woman Suffrage Committee of the United States Senate. The leaflet, "Of Interest to Legislators,' was sent to every State which had a legislative session this year,—enough copies for each legislator. This leaflet gives no arguments whatever in favor of suffrage, but simply statements and statistics to show the size and importance of the movement and why the question should be referred to the voters.

Roughly estimated, the dues-paying membership of the National Association has increased about 12 per cent during the year, in spite of the fact that there has been a most noticeable falling off in membership in the recently enfranchised States. The total dues-paying membership of the State branches is considerably larger than the total dues-paying membership reported by the Credentials Committee, since all of the State branches do not pay dues to the National on their full dues-paying membership. Of the branch associations reported by the Membership Committee, several have existed previously—but have now become directly affiliated with the National. Others have joined as newly organized associations. These include the Massachusetts Political Equality Union, the Congressional Union, and the associations in Montana, North Dakota, Florida and Hawaii.

One of the Campaign States is having an exceedingly uncomfortable situation to meet, namely, the organization of a so-called suffrage association, which shows every indication

of being the work of our bitterest opponents. No actual proof has been secured, as yet, but a thorough investigation is now being carried on. The results will doubtless be illuminating to all concerned.

There are now only two States in the Union beside the suffrage States, without a definite suffrage organization,—South Carolina and New Mexico, and even these have not been without suffrage activity. South Carolina is one of the States in which students in the public schools have widely debated the subject of suffrage, and the invariable result of that is that public opinion in favor is increased and solidified.

Texas and North Carolina have also had State-wide debates. National Headquarters has shipped large quantities of the literature used by the students in all these States. No application for debate literature is ever disregarded—something is always sent in response. When no money is sent with the application, a slip is included with the literature reminding the recipient that it costs us money to provide the literature and asking that the requisite amount be remitted. About one-fifth respond.

The National Executive Committee has been consulted once during the year, namely, in regard to moving the date of the Convention four days beyond the limit prescribed by by-law of the Constitution. The vote was within two of being unanimous.

The presidents of all the branches have been consulted in reference to supplying data for the committee appointed to revise the Constitution, in regard to the financial condition of the National, and have been asked to request the secretaries of all their local organizations to send into headquarters the names and addresses of their dues-paying members. The National president has also at intervals sent general letters to the State presidents putting them in touch with the National work.

The full number of delegates and alternates went from the National Association to the Congress of the International Alliance in Budapest, last June. Twelve delegates are allowed, and there were many more applicants, than that.

The delegates were as follows: Dr. Shaw, Miss Jane Addams, Mrs. Stanley McCormick, Mrs. Henry Villard, Mrs. Maud Nathan, Miss Caroline Ruutz-Rees, Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, Mrs. Crystal Eastman Benedict, Mrs. Todd Helmuth, Miss Anna Maxwell Jones, Mrs. Minnie Rutherford, and Mrs. Emma B. Sweet.

Delegates were also sent to the recent annual meeting of the National Council of Women.

During the year the president has spoken at many large meetings in New Hampshire, Nebraska, New York State, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Florida, Missouri, Kansas, New Jersey, Maryland, Massachusetts, Connecticut and Michigan. The Michigan meetings were in the campaign preceding the election of April 7th. A number of the meetings were in connection with State Suffrage Conventions. She also spoke in England, Holland, Germany, Austria and Hungary.

Mrs. Frances Maule Bjorkman and Miss Marie Virginia Smith of the office staff and the corresponding secretary have filled such nearby speaking engagements as were possible at intervals.

There has been one large mass-meeting under the auspices of the Association held at Carnegie Hall, New York. The subject of the meeting was "Woman Suffrage on the Home Stretch." It was illustrated by colored slides, showing the Evolution of the Suffrage Map in the United States. The program contained charts showing the possibilities for victory in the next few years, and the method of amending the various State constitutions. The International President and all but one of the officers were present and spoke. Every ticket was sold and a goodly sum of money was raised.

Headquarters co-operated with the New York local Societies for the big Suffrage benefit at the New York Metropolitan Opera House, the night before the May parade, where the beautiful pageant was performed and Theodore Roosevelt spoke—then also there was a capacity audience and many people were turned away. The proceeds were divided among the six co-operating New York Societies and the National Association.

Headquarters has taken part so far as possible, in all the

big parades, that of March 3rd, in Washington, those of May and November in New York and Brooklyn, that of October, in Newark, New Jersey.

The Association was represented at the annual meeting of the House of Governors in Richmond, Virginia, last December, by Mrs. Lila Mead Valentine and Miss Mary Johnston. Miss Johnston's admirable speech was subsequently published in pamphlet form by the literature department.

Perhaps no more representative instance of the modern attitude of progressive officials toward Suffrage could be given than the reply of Governor Eberhardt of Minnesota to a letter sent him from Headquarters in appreciation of his services at the Governor's meeting. He said, "Whatever service I may have performed is truly merited on your part as well as the great movement which you represent."

For about half the year a sub-station for literature and supplies was maintained in Chicago at the Headquarters of the Illinois Association. It was given up in April, simultaneously with the suspension of all publishing, because of lack of funds. The Association offered to supply any public library with a copy of the four volume "History of Woman Suffrage" for express charges only, and the demand has been so great that there are only a few whole sets of the History remaining, which must be carefully apportioned among the larger libraries and there is a long waiting list of libraries still on file.

The Association has co-operated as fully as was possible with the Congressional Committee in all its amazing and most creditable year's work. This Committee is unique in that its original members volunteered to give their services and to raise all the funds for the work themselves. Their single-mindedness and devotion has been remarkable and the whole movement in the country has been wonderfully furthered by the series of important events which have taken place in Washington, beginning with the great parade the day before the inauguration of the President. The National officers have several of them made special trips to Washington to assist at these various events—the March parade, the Senate Hearing, the April 7th Deputation to Congress, the

July 31st Senate Demonstration and the Conference of Women Voters in August.

An Automobile trip was made from Headquarters the last week in July with outdoor meetings held all the way to Washington to join the other pilgrims who came from all over the country. Mrs. Rheta Child Dorr, Miss Helen Todd, Mrs. Frances Maule Bjorkman and the Corresponding Secretary were the speakers for the trip.

Lists of useful names have been provided for the Congressional Committee and many recommendations made for securing able assistance in each State. The services of Miss Jeannette Rankin, the field secretary, were contributed to the Congressional Committee for six weeks and the services of the literature secretary for nearly two weeks.

Petitions to Congress were circulated, special letters on behalf of the Association were sent to the members of the Senate Committee before the report was made and to the Rules Committee urging the appointment of a Woman Suffrage Committee for the House.

The field secretary will present the report of her own work, but it may be well to state here that the experiment of appointing a National Field Secretary has been amply justified by the results, judging from the letters which have come in to Headquarters from the States she has visited. Her itinerary has been planned to meet several special State exigencies, and to help the Northwestern States work out their plans of campaign.

Considering the fact that the head of each department at Headquarters has more work than she can adequately handle, there has been a very fair amount of research work accomplished. The Executive Secretary of the literature department, Mrs. Bjorkman, has secured and classified an invaluable amount of data, and the revised edition of "Where Women Vote" is an excellent single instance of the result.

Miss Byrns, assisted by another lawyer, Miss Helen Ranlett, has made a chart of the legislation in the Suffrage States since the women have been enfranchised. It is the first comprehensive, representative, unbiassed report made on this subject, and it has already been given exceptional newspaper

notice, and one of the legal magazines has, in view of that, asked for articles on similar subjects.

A collection of all the State Constitutions has been made with all the sections bearing on amendments and the qualifications for voting marked and indexed.

Many special requests from foreign countries for data have been received and complied with so far as possible. The United Suffrage Societies of Great Britain have sent an elaborate questionaire on the care of children and the economic condition of women in the Suffrage States. These questions have been forwarded to responsible people in each State for answers. In addition to data directly supplied to England from Headquarters, Monsieur Buisson of the French Chamber of Deputies asked for detailed information on women's voting and office holding. Requests have even come from unexpected quarters of the globe, like Chile.

The President has given letters of introduction for an American woman, who has gone to Germany to investigate the movement to protect motherhood, in preparation for some magazine articles, and data has been furnished a German author writing a book on "Woman and the Community."

Articles are regularly sent to International paper, "Jus Suffragii," from the Press Bureau, and effort is being made to secure adequate answers to the questionaires on the condition of women which come monthly from the editor of the International paper.

Our relations with foreign countries are largely responses to requests made of us, but in one instance, at least, we took the initiative; that was when the infamous "Cat and Mouse" bill was first put into execution in England. The following telegram was sent to Premier Asquith: "We urge that the British Government frankly acknowledge its responsibility for the present intolerable situation and remove it by introducing immediately an emergency franchise measure.

(Signed) National American Woman Suffrage Association.

April 4, 1913."

This message was sent as an indication of the spirit which animates all suffragists alike, no matter what their opinions

may be on the merits or the ethics of the militant movement in England, and was quite in harmony with the demands made upon the British Government by the large body of Constitutional suffragists.

The president has recently taken by request the editorship of a suffrage department in the Trend Magazine, two numbers of which have already been published.

Suffrage in graphic and dramatic form is more than ever in demand. A talking moving-picture reel has been made by the Edison Company arranged by National Headquarters and there are some new moving-picture plays about to be released, which have been produced in co-operation with the Women's Political Union of New York. There is also a very big ambitious moving-picture plan, partly worked out, which will quite excel any previous thing of the sort.

There is a steady demand for short suffrage plays, and "How the Vote Was Won," still leads them all in popularity. And at last there is a really worthy three-act suffrage play visible on the horizon, which will doubtless be produced this winter.

This year has seen more than the customary number of propositions from people outside the suffrage movement for raising sums of money by combining commercial enterprises with suffrage work. Two of these proposals have been of considerable magnitude, one for the production and sale of a suffrage stamp after the fashion of the Red Cross Stamp, the other for a magazine subscription bureau. In both these instances large sums of money were to be used in launching the business, all of which was to have been provided by the men proposing the plan, but since they wished the enterprise conducted in the name of the National Association, the Board decided that it was not wise to accept, since the Association could not have sufficient control of the conduct of the business.

Headquarters is steadily asked to recommend speakers all over the country, and the answers given are so far as possible recommendations for speakers in the same general section from which the inquiry comes.

Constant suggestions on methods of work are given by

both president and secretary, and at least an attempt made to help solve all manner of suffrage problems which are presented to us by the local associations. And first, middle, last and always we are all of us asked to provide accurate information on all phases of suffrage and its allied interests. Typical recent requests are for the number of suffrage Headquarters in the United States, the number of women's clubs that have endorsed suffrage, the number of men's leagues for Woman Suffrage, the exact adverse vote in all suffrage elections in the last ten years, the proportion of illiteracy in all the States, the proportion of colored people in the Southern States, a complete list of all the suffrage campaigns in the United States from the beginning and the result in each, etc.

The extent to which these and similar questions can be adequately answered depends partly upon the efficiency of the workers at Headquarters and partly upon you, who furnish the wherewithal that secures the workers at Headquarters.

Respectfully submitted,

MARY WARE DENNETT, Cor. Sec.

REPORT OF THE PRESS BUREAU.

The press bureau is one department of the clearing house of information which the National Association maintains. It is a busy and vital department because there comes to it an overwhelming demand from newspapers, magazines, suffrage organizations, individuals and even from Government officials of the United States and foreign countries. The stimulation and satisfaction of this demand are the life of the suffrage movement in this country, yet one press chairman and an inexperienced stenographer are expected to carry on the work. Because of the fine spirit of co-operation which exists at Headquarters, the press bureau this year has had much help from the Corresponding Secretary and the Literature Department. In fact, to such an extent have we all worked together in both the collection and distribution of information, it is difficult to separate the work of any one department.

It seems important, however, that you should know just what the special activities of the press bureau have been. They include giving out news stories; working up and giving out feature stories, general propaganda articles and articles on the history of the suffrage movement or the results of equal suffrage; preparing material, especially statistics and legal data, for the use of magazine writers, editorial writers, fiction writers, syndicate writers, press associations and special suffrage editions; suggesting ideas for fiction stories, special articles, cartoons and articles dealing with various phases of the feminist movement; giving out interviews on suffrage and on all questions which can possibly be connected with any phase of the feminist movement; writing articles in cases where an official statement has been asked for as to the progress of the suffrage movement or the work of the National Association; filing newspaper clippings and other material useful to writers and speech makers; preparing and sending out biographical material concerning suffragists; securing and distributing to newspapers and magazines photographs of suffragists and suffrage activities; editing and sending out the weekly press bulletin.

First, as to news stories. We give out comparatively little news about the National Association itself, because its function is chiefly to help other suffragists in their work rather than to do things which make news. For instance, the work of the Congressional Committee is news, but selling on an average fifty dollars' worth of literature per day, explaining methods of organization to new associations or preparing publicity material is not news. The news stories we do give out are usually of a supplementary character. For instance, when the newspapers received brief dispatches on the granting of suffrage in Norway and Iceland, we were called upon to tell the story of the victories. When Alaska enfranchised its women we had to tell the papers how it was done. Whenever a State Legislature passes a suffrage bill, we have an opportunity to tell all we know about the preliminary work. We were fortunately prepared long enough before the Illinois victory to study the law and know how it was put through, but sometimes we have been much embarrassed by lack of

advance information. Another example of our kind of a supplementary news story was the article on the suffrage amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which the press bureau prepared and sent to seven hundred papers for publication the Sunday before petitions from all over the United States were brought to the Senate on July 31st. Because of the co-operation of the various State presidents and press chairmen, a surprisingly large number of these stories was printed. The whole campaign for the national amendment, as carried on this year, illustrates the possibility of securing a great deal of space if one has facts to add to the brief news item telling of a current event. For example, the favorable report of the Senate Committee opened the way to the publication of much information on previous Senate Committee reports, and on the whole history of Congressional suffrage work.

As to the second line of work mentioned, which is the preparing and giving out of material for feature stories, general propaganda articles and articles on the history of suffrage or the results of equal suffrage, it is clear that a very great deal of labor is involved of a sort which cannot easily be done by reporters or by writers not intimate with our work. We simply have to furnish the proper historical, legal or political background for them. Of course it often takes two or three days to learn what we can give out in fifteen minutes. We are therefore absolutely unable to meet adequately the demands made upon us for information.

The preparation of statistics and legal or historical data is a most important part of the press bureau's work, just as it is of the work of the Corresponding Secretary and the Literature Department. But we are all constantly hampered by lack of time to do proper research work ourselves, and by being unable to pay anyone to do work for us. It is, of course, obvious to anyone familiar with office work that those of us at Headquarters who are spending six or seven hours a day in giving out information have little opportunity for careful and scientific research. We cannot very well shorten the time spent in giving out facts, for almost every visitor wants something different.

We have, however, found that a very little knowledge sometimes travels a long way. For instance, our blackboard on suffrage legislation in 1913, prepared in the first instance for our own convenience, has been copied thousands of times in order to meet the demands of newspapers and magazine writers all over the world. The data on 1913 legislation in California and the number of women voting in that State, prepared for us by the College Equal Suffrage League of California, have been of very great value. We have circulated these facts all over this country, and are still receiving editorial comments thereon through the clipping bureau. The editor of "Jus Suffragii" writes that most of the London papers have printed good articles made up from the California data we sent her.

Our constitutional amendment chart and the digest of laws in equal suffrage States, first printed in the New York "Evening Post," are the sort of thing the press bureau has had to spend its time on, in order to answer innumerable questions; but, under present conditions, such work can be accomplished only by neglecting other work almost as important.

Suggesting ideas is perhaps the most difficult part of the work, though it does not take so much time as furnishing data and statistics. Cartoonists come to the press bureau, saying that they have been ordered to do a series of cartoons, but that they know too little of the suffrage movement to get the cartoon slant upon it. As one of these men frankly remarked: "It used to be easy when we always ridiculed you people; now we have to understand what you are doing." It is no uncommon thing to be told over the telephone that a certain writer has an order for a story for either a magazine or a Sunday Supplement, and wishes us to furnish an idea—something that has not been used before. Sometimes we succeed in persuading people who haven't planned to write about suffrage at all to believe it is the one timely subjct. Or, when writers have an article in mind, we help them plan it, tell them whom to interview and what material they can get. For example, we speak proudly of having been of some assisttance to Mrs. Kinkaid in her recent "Delineator article," to Samuel Merwin and to Rose Young in articles for "Good

Housekeeping," and to Mary Isabel Brush in her article in the "Saturday Evening Post." Still another part of this branch of publicity work is suggesting articles on the feminist movement which do not mention suffrage, yet give our point of view.

It often seems that a press bureau is not expected to do anything but give out interviews. Sometimes the interview is valuable, for it offers us a chance to get into print facts which will not make a story in themselves. When we have any information which is particularly dull, we ask our National President to give an interview on it and she makes it so interesting the papers take it. But we are also interviewed upon many subjects not in the least relevant to suffrage—such as what kind of clothes women will wear when they vote, how much time per day a woman requires for housekeeping, whether men should wear white suits in summer, whether teachers may be mothers and what kind of woman makes the best mother. However, we have to submit because the reporters who are sent to us to get this information are the very reporters who do most to help us. For the same reason we allow ourselves to be used as a bureau of information on child welfare, labor legislation, the Consumers' League, minimum wage commissions and white slavery. If we cannot answer every question off-hand, the inquirer usually says: "Oh, I thought you were a press bureau." The articles which the press chairman has been called upon to write are of wide range, including contributions to "Judge," to the "Democratic National Monthly," and to a "Men's Fashion Bulletin."

Biographies of suffrage workers are called for by the newspapers, but more often by the magazines and by suffrage organizations wishing to advertise speakers. We find it almost impossible to persuade suffragists to write their autobiographies, and therefore usually do this part of the work ourselves—very badly because no one has time to do it properly. We are constantly besieged with demands for photographs. For the Washington parade alone we gave out twenty-one dozen. Suffragists are extremely reluctant to give us their photographs, and we are allowed only a very small amount of money for reproduction. Any suffragist

who has done press work realizes, however, that it is the photographs which carry the story and that money spent for this work is well spent.

We are still sending the weekly press bulletin from the National Headquarters. The editorial work connected with the bulletin has not been changed, but last February we were forced to discontinue sending the bulletin to newspapers throughout the country because we could not afford to pay for the multigraphing and posting of thousands of copies each week. An opportunity was given the various State associations to pay this cost, allowing the editorial work to be done at the National Headquarters as before. Only two States felt willing to guarantee the sum necessary, therefore, it was decided to send the bulletin only to the president or press chairman in each State so that national and international items might be sent out with the State bulletins. We understand that this plan is successful wherever the State press work is well organized. To Nevada we send twenty-eight copies weekly; to Montana fifty-six. This is because they are campaign States, and very eager for special assistance. The bulletins sent to magazines, press associations, to England and to Canada bring the total number of bulletins multigraphed and sent out by us weekly, up to one hundred and forty-seven. The many applications we have received from newspapers to furnish them with our press bulletin, have been forwarded to the several State associations, so that no opportunity for publicity need be lost.

This report has taken up in some detail the various branches of the work in the hope that members of the Convention would appreciate two facts. The first is, that there now exists a most remarkable and unprecedented demand for information about suffragists and suffrage events. We are news as we have never been before. Moreover, we are not only amusing and sometimes picturesque, but we are of real intellectual and political interest. The other fact is that we have not in any particular been able to take advantage of all the opportunities we have had for publicity.

Our failure to measure up to our opportunities is, of course, due primarily to lack of money, although in some instances

a greater co-operation would enable us to off-set the poverty handicap. Having no appropriation, our press work is, of course, not in the least like that of any political organization or reform movement which is able to buy plates, pay for matrix material, or send great quantities of typewritten and printed material to newspapers throughout the country. But, even assuming that we shall never have the large sums necessary for this sort of work, and admitting that in some instances we get more space because we work as amateurs, it would seem ridiculous, were it not so deplorable, that we are unable to afford workers enough to do those things which can be done only by suffragists. We can never expect the newspapers to pay experts to collect the suffrage material which we would most like to have published. If we fail to supply them with the best sort of material, and to dramatize it so to speak, in order to make its news value apparent, the papers very naturally fill the space with stories which are easiest for professionals to write. There is very little information on suffrage of any news value which is not printed, provided someone has had time to get it into shape. The reporters and syndicate writers are many of them most intelligent concerning the suffrage movement, but they cannot be expected to do the work which it is our place to do.

While there are some editors who give us space because they have to—that is, because we are always doing something different and making news which cannot be ignored—there are perhaps even more editors who are either suffragists or who have a real interest in the suffrage movement, and are therefore eager to give us all the space which the business department of their papers permits. And, by the way, one of the most valuable kinds of press work is that which can be done by every suffragist individually. Newspaper and magazine offices are most sensitive to the praise and blame of readers. Suffrage departments are sometimes stopped because no readers write their approval. Individual newspaper policies, belittling or perverting the suffrage issue, are sometimes persisted in because no readers write their disapproval. Also, it is discouraging to the editor when a reader writes a letter complaining of one news item or one cartoon, although

she has ignored everything which has been printed in favor of suffrage.

Demands upon the press bureau, as upon every department at Headquarters, have materially increased during the past year. There is, of course, little doubt that the increase during the coming year will be even greater. For carrying on the press work in anything like an adequate manner, we need now at least one person who is skilled in research work and has had legal training; one person who can devote all her time to reading and filing material, two stenographers, and one person who will give out all the material prepared by the other four. At present there is only the press chairman and one assistant who divides her time between filing and stenography. The demands which now come to the National Press Bureau cannot be met by the local associations without a much greater expenditure of time and money than are necessary for centralized work. The press work which can be done by wholesale, so to speak—that is the assembling of news which is circulated throughout the country by the great magazines, the press associations and the syndicates—can obviously best be done in the Headquarters which is, more than any other place in the country, a clearing house for information, ideas and knowledge of the personalities of suffragists. Moreover preparing data and statistics for the use of other suffragists can in many cases be better done by the National Association than by local associations which, in the stress of legislative work and active campaigns, cannot take time for any sort of research work. In other words, the State associations should be able to demand of the National, the work which the National can do most economically, which it can do without infringing upon the press work the local associations are best able to do for themselves, and which it would do if the financial resources of the press bureau were adequate.

ELINOR BYRNS, Chairman.

REPORT OF THE AUDITORS.

We herewith beg to state that we have examined the Report of the certified accountants, Barrow, Wade, Guthrie and Company, employed by us to examine and audit the books kept by the Treasurer of the National American Woman Suffrage Association and have found them to be correct.

Respectfully,

HARRIETT BURTON LAIDLAW,
LOUISE DEKOVEN BOWEN,
Auditors.

Mrs. Stanley McCormick, Treasurer, National American Woman Suffrage Association,
505 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

Dear Madam:

We have completed our cash audit of the books and accounts of the National American Woman Suffrage Association for the year ended October 31, 1913, and we respectfully submit herewith the following accounts and report thereon:

1. Balance Sheet for year ended October 31, 1913.
2. Statement of Receipts and Disbursements for the year ended October 31, 1913.
3. Statement of Income and Expenditure for the same period.

In the course of our examination, we counted the cash on hand which was found in agreement with the balance as called for by the Petty Cash Book. The Bank balance was also reconciled with the balance as disclosed by the Cash Book, for which we obtained a certificate verifying the correctness of the amount on deposit in the Fifth Avenue Branch of the Guaranty Trust Company of New York as of October 31, 1913.

We examined the cash disbursements and either received receipted vouchers or paid checks for all of these.

Submitting the foregoing, we are,

Yours truly,

BARROW, WADE, GUTHRIE & Co.

FINANCIAL REPORT.

NOVEMBER 1, 1912, TO NOVEMBER 1, 1913

KATHARINE DEXTER McCORMICK, TREASURER, IN ACCOUNT WITH THE NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

Balance Sheet for Year Ended October 31, 1913

ASSETS

Cash:		
In Bank	$2,761.72	
Petty Cash Fund	50.00	
Cash and Checks on Hand	243.40	
		3,055.12
Gold and Silver Coins		36.00
Furniture and Fixtures		680.00
Literature (Inventory)		4,050.82
Total Assets		$7,821.94

LIABILITIES

Loans:		
Laura Clay	$1,000.00	
Estate of M. S. and S. B. Anthony	1,000.00	
Trustees S. B. A. Memorial Fund	1,000.00	
Dr. Anna H. Shaw	3,431.72	
Total Liabilities		$6,431.72
General Fund Surplus		1,390.22
		$7,821.94

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS FOR YEAR ENDED OCTOBER 31, 1913

Receipts

Members' Dues	$5,178.20	
Associate Members	250.00	
General Donations	13,050.01	
Restricted Donations	3,309.12	
Annual Pledges	5,661.61	
Literature Sales	10,797.95	
Woman's Journal	80.00	
Miscellaneous	464.63	
Loan from Dr. Anna H. Shaw	3,931.72	
Total Receipts	$42,723.24	
Balance at Beginning of Period	2,874.55	
		$45,597.79

Disbursements

National Association Vouchers Payable	$32,768.80	
Woman's Journal Vouchers Payable	4,842.15	
Return of Dr. Anna H. Shaw's Loan	500.00	
Payment of Miss Jessie Ashley's Loan	3,931.72	
Payment of Part of Dr. Anna Shaw's Loan (Assumption of J. Ashley's Loan of $3,931.72)	500.00	
		$42,542.67

Distribution of Balance

Guaranty Trust Co. (5th Avenue Branch)	2,761.72
Petty Cash	50.00
On Hand, Cash and Checks Deposited Nov. 7	243.40
	$45,597.79

STATEMENT OF INCOME AND EXPENDITURE FOR YEAR ENDED OCTOBER 31, 1913

Income

General Donations	$13,050.01	
Restricted Donations	3,309.12	
Annual Pledges	5,661.61	
Literature Sales	10,797.95	
Members' Dues	5,178.20	
Associate Members	250.00	
Woman's Journal	80.00	
Miscellaneous	410.43	$38,737.52
		$38,737.52

Expenditures

Headquarters	$11,300.96	
Official Board	360.34	
Press Bureau	3,642.33	
Campaigns	1,622.09	
Field Secretary	1,577.22	
Field Collector and Ways and Means Committee.	1,585.12	
Woman's Journal	64.76	
Literature	12,357.78	
	$32,510.60	
Decrease in Inventory During Period	4,076.18	$36,586.78
Excess of Income Over Expenditure for Period.		$2,150.54
Deduct:		
Dr. Anna Shaw's Oct., 1912, Loan Returned.	$500.00	
Deduct:		
Transfer of Gold Coins Sold	10.00	
	$510.00	
Less:		
Outstanding Checks Not Used Credited Back	54.20	$455.80
		$1,694.74
Deduct:		
Deficit Oct. 31, 1912		304.52
Surplus at End of Period		$1,390.22

REPORT OF THE WAYS AND MEANS COMMITTEE.

The Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee has only a brief report.

As stated in the information to delegates issued by the Official Board the total amount collected by the Ways and Means Committee was $3,635.22, of which $3,415.22 was cash and $210 in pledges. But the expenses were heavy: Printing appeals, $469.25; Salaries of mailing clerks, $535.53; Postage, $438.07 and so on, amounting to $1,585.12 in all. Total net return to National Treasurer, $1,830.10.

It is interesting to observe that this is the response from 22,000 appeals. To these appeals only 827 persons responded and of these 512 persons gave $3,622 which was a splendid showing. 41 Antis wrote very cross letters. 257 appeals came back from the Dead Letter Office.

An Interstate Ways and Means Committee could not be formed because no one wished the thankless task of serving on it. The Collector appointed by the National resigned after a few weeks because she was so deeply discouraged. State and other Suffrage organizations objected to the Ways and Means Committee begging within their borders. This is not encouraging for a Ways and Means Committee. Yet it is evident the National Association must hold out its hat in every State in the Union unless the Convention provides for its bread and butter.

M. Carey Thomas, Chairman

REPORT OF THE LITERATURE COMMITTEE.

In the publication of literature, as in every other department of suffrage work, the demands upon us have outgrown our resources, and our opportunities have far exceeded our capacity to take advantage of them. A record of what we have actually accomplished is, therefore, of relatively small importance compared with a statement of what we felt we should do and could not. I shall, accordingly, sketch out our achievements very briefly in order to give the more time to our possibilities.

In the month following the last convention—December, 1912—the Literature Department brought out, in addition to the monthly bulletin, "What To Read On Suffrage,'" new editions of Miss Addams' booklet, "Why Women Should Vote," and Mrs. Howe's "An Anti-Suffrage Monologue"; and published a supplementary list to the catalog. This last was one of our numerous economies. The catalog was so far out of date that people were beginning to complain of it. We had, however, some 5,000 copies in stock. Instead of doing a wholly new catalog, therefore, we stamped out of the old catalog all the articles that were out of stock and published only a few supplementary sheets containing our new acquisitions.

In January, besides the bulletin, we printed a new edition of the rainbow flyers, new editions of twelve Political Equality Leaflets, and a new and revised edition of Mrs. Catt's "Do You Know," bringing all its facts and figures up to date.

With special reference to Legislative work, we published in pamphlet form Miss Johnston's address to the House of Governors, and a new and revised edition of the leaflet—originally prepared by Mrs. Dennett—entitled, "Of Interest To Legislators." This last we distributed free, sending a sufficient number to each State President—in whose State the Legislature was in session—to supply every member with a copy. We prepared and published the map poster, "Imitation Is the Sincerest Flattery."

In February, in addition to the bulletin, we published a new edition of John Stuart Mill's great speech in the British Parliament which, year in and year out, remains one of our steady sellers ;and a set of twelve Political Equality leaflets, including four wholly new ones, Mrs. Nathan's, "The Justice and Expediency of Woman Suffrage," which won the prize in the New York Herald's contest; "Votes for Women a Success Proven by the Map," by Minnie J. Reynolds; "The Question of Fitness," by Florence Richardson Usher, and "Business vs. the Home," by Caroline Bartlett Crane.

The time of the secretary of the committee was largely occupied during this month in helping with the preparations for the National Campaign Meeting which took place on February 17th.

In March, in addition to the bulletin, we published only a new and revised edition of "Objections Answered." During this month, however, it was decided that, since the Spring Suffrage Parade was to be made, as far as possible, national in scope, the National Association should organize all the groups but those representing New York State, and the Secretary of the literature committee was put in charge of that work. (The State Presidents will doubtless remember my voluminous letters on the subject.)

During April we printed nothing but the bulletin, the time of the secretary being almost wholly given up to organizing the National's section of the parade, but the bulletin was extended to contain, in addition to existing features, a list of new books of interest to suffragists.

In May, by order of the official Board, all publishing and purchasing of supplies was suspended until the next Board meeting in September, and the literature secretary accordingly took her vacation the last three weeks of May and a month's leave of absence—without pay—during June.

In July, however, we published the pamphlet, "Woman Suffrage and the Liquor Interests" and the "Voiceless Speech"; money for the former having been advanced by Miss Shaw and for the latter by Mrs. Raymond Brown. The pamphlet was prepared in response to the demand for proof that the liquor interests were carrying on an organized opposition to woman suffrage. It contains no charges or statements whatever, but is made up wholly of extracts from two liquor journals (which, according to the declaration on their own title pages, are the official organs of two liquor dealers' associations) and from certain circular appeals sent out by liquor associations. The "Voiceless Speech" was also done in response to an insistent demand. The only style in existence at that time was a set of heavy cards—modelled after the original "Voiceless Speech" worked out by Miss Emily Pierson and used in one of the Connecticut campaigns, which was awkward to handle and expensive both to produce and to ship; and which, moreover—admirable as it was in its text—did not bring out certain points which we were especially anxious to have covered. A new kind was designed, therefore, more

inclusive in the scope of its arguments, and printed on light but tough paper and mounted on a light wooden rack, so that it can be held in one hand and turned with the other, and rolled conveniently for transportation.

During July and August the department, or, perhaps I should say rightly the suffragists of the country, began to feel the pinch of the embargo on printing. A number of the most useful pamphlets and leaflets ran out and we were unable to fill numerous orders. Toward the end of August, just at the time the suffragists were ordering supplies for their work at the Fairs, the stock of rainbow flyers became exhausted. As this is the one variety of suffrage literature which is indispensable for all kinds of outdoor work, we felt that it would be a real calamity for the publishing bureau of the suffragists of the entire country to fail them at such a time, and we so presented the matter to Dr. Shaw, whereupon Dr. Shaw offered to be responsible personally for the printing of a new edition. During these months when there was, naturally, practically no editorial work and very little research work for the literature secretary, her time was employed in organizing a filing and reference system for all sorts of data on suffrage and allied subjects; in building up the reference library; and in extending the business in bound books dealing with subjects of special interest to suffragists. We have now on the shelves of the reception-room at Headquarters a copy of every book on the lists printed in the bulletin, and the collection has proved very useful to the innumerable people who are nowadays seeking information on our subject. We take orders on these books, and this serves the three-fold purpose of bringing in a small but steady gain to the Association, extending the distribution of propaganda and educational literature on our subject, and serving as a book-purchasing agency for suffragists to whom large book stores are inaccessible.

During these months of enforced inactivity in the publishing line, we also seized the opportunity to revise and bring up to date the two slide lectures, and to make additions and corrections in the literature by means of printed slips or gummed labels—our recent rapid gains having put practically all our publications out of date. We went over the stock, sold

the hopelessly out-of-date matter as waste paper, and offered reduced rates on matter that, while out of date, still had a certain value—an extraordinarily small quantity, by the way, considering the volume of our stock and the rapidity with which we are making history nowadays.

In September, in response to insistent demands for the map poster, chiefly for booths at Fairs, for a map post-card, chiefly to sell at Fairs, and for certain of the most popular Political Equality Leaflets, which were out of stock, we printed all these things, Dr. Shaw once more standing personally responsible.

At the meeting of the Official Board in September the dire need for a comparatively large amount of publishing was laid before the members, and the Literature Department was authorized to print to the extent of $1,000; Dr. Shaw having offered to advance that sum. Since then we have brought out, besides the bulletin, new editions of the little blue bound book, "Arguments and Results"; Miss Blackwell's "Objections Answered," Mrs. Catt's "Do You Know," Mrs. Bjorkman's "Where Women Vote," Mrs. Harper's, "A Brief History of Woman Suffrage in the United States," "Eminent Opinions," twelve Political Equality Leaflets, three of which required extensive revision; a new catalog; a new play list and a wholly new pamphlet, "Man and Women-made Laws in the Equal Suffrage States," by Miss Byrns, the press chairman, and Miss Helen A. Ranlett, who, like Miss Byrns, is a lawyer. This pamphlet gives a long and most ardently desired summary of all the legislation affecting women and children passed in the equal suffrage States since women got the vote. This was also published in the New York Evening Post and was printed for us by the Post in its present form as a separate pamphlet; but it is also incorporated in the new edition of "Arguments and Results." "Arguments and Results" has now had the word "History" added to its title, as we have incorporated in the new edition a wonderfully succinct and complete survey of the movement in this country from the earliest times to the present, which Mrs. Harper has prepared for us from her two pamphlets, "A Brief History of the Woman Suffrage Movement in the United States," published some years ago, and

"How Six States Won Woman Suffrage," with all the new material necessary to bring it up to date.

The "little blue bound book" now contains, we believe, a comprehensible survey of the whole suffrage field embracing, as it does, history, extent, results, sentiment for, general arguments and answers to specific objections.

All these things represent only absolute necessities, all being—except for the pamphlet on the laws—merely replenishments of stock; but even so, in bringing them out we have considerably exceeded the appropriation made by the Official Board. When we got our estimates, however, we were authorized to proceed by Miss Shaw, who agreed to stand personally responsible to the Board.

During the past year also, the Literature Department has co-operated with a commercial publishing concern in promoting the sale of a suffrage calendar. This is the only time, within the past two years that we have fallen in with any of the innumerable schemes laid before us by commercial people for making money for suffrage, and we decided to do this on this occasion only because the calendar had a rather unusual propaganda value because of its return suffrage postcard feature; because our own stock of suffrage novelties was so meagre, and because the publishers offered it to suffragists on terms which made possible a very substantial profit to the organization selling it. The results have, I believe, justified our judgment, as we have had reports of excellent success with it from numbers of Associations.

During the past year the Department has advertised more widely than it has ever done before: that is to say, in more papers—the space used has actually been less. While the Woman's Journal remained the organ of the Association, and we could, therefore, advertise in the Journal without an actual outlay of cash, practically the only advertising we did was in the Journal. After the Journal ceased to be the organ of the Association an arrangement was made whereby we continued to have a certain amount of space on an exchange basis, as practically all of our literature carried an advertisement for the Journal. Some months ago this arrangement expired, and, as advertising space in the Journal is relatively high, that

is, compared with rates made for us by other suffrage papers, we have had only a small space in the Journal ever since. We advertise there continuously, however, and in the Woman Voter and the Women's Political World. We have advertised occasionally in "Life and Labor," the "Maryland Suffrage News," "The Progressive Woman," "The Masses," "The Woman's Bulletin" of California and in various suffrage editions of regular newspapers. The cost of our advertising averages $30 per month, and while we have no way of checking up accurately how much business it brings us, it is clear from the orders that a very large number of them come to us through one or the other of our advertisements. The bulletin, "What to Read on Suffrage," serves us as an excellent advertising medium, as, in the recent issues, we have listed all our new publications.

As the leaflet, "Facts for Delegates" informs you, the Department has earned $10,797.95 during the past year. To that must be added the value of the stock, $4,050.82 and the uncollected bills, $1,551.12, making a total of $16,399.89 for the credit side. It has spent $12,357.78, making a loss of $34.07, allowing $4,042.11 for decrease of stock during the year. However, considering that this was not a campaign year, that we were unable to fill a number of our orders for months at a time, and that the worst shortage came at one of the best seasons in the year, it is clear that the business—as a business—is growing, the difference in the amount of business done last year—which was a campaign year—and this being only $1,205.90. From the results of the year's work we felt confident that, with working capital guaranteed, we could next year show a very substantial profit.

It must be remembered, also, that the Association has made no appropriation for distributing literature free, but that there is, nevertheless, a continuous and rather large demand for free literature. This comes from the campaign States, from libraries, from the travelling package libraries of universities, from debating societies and individual debaters, from progressive organizations of various kinds, and from young suffrage leagues which can raise no money for literature, until they have roused public sentiment with literature.

Most of these demands, you see, we cannot afford not to respond to. In the case of the campaign States and the libraries, Miss Shaw has made it possible for us to send out relatively large quantities by purchasing the literature from the department out of her private campaign fund. The other demands we have met as well as we could, and put the cost down in our books, "account advertising or general propaganda." To be thoroughly business-like, it seems to me the Association should appropriate a sum for this purpose on which the literature department could make requisitions for sending out literature free where the opportunity offered was such as should not be missed.

We have all—I do not mean the workers in the Literature Department alone, but the suffragists all over the country, learned a great deal about suffrage literature in the last few years, and by pooling our knowledge and all working together there is, I believe, no reason why we should not make a National publication bureau not only maintain itself, but help to maintain those parts of the work that never can be self-supporting.

But whether the work of a publication bureau can be made profitable or not, even if it could never be made self-supporting—it is obvious suffrage literature must be published somehow. It is merely a question whether the publishing shall be done in the most effective and economical way possible, or, in a haphazard and wasteful way: whether it can help to pay for other branches of the work or whether it, also, shall be a tax upon everybody.

There is no business in which the principle that it is wasteful and expensive to order in small quantities is more true than in the printing business. One of the chief items in the cost of any publication is in setting up the type; once the type is set, the proof read and the corrections made, the cost of every additional thousand imprint is almost only a matter of paper. If our literature is to be printed in large editions it must, of course, be printed in one central bureau. Against this enormous advantage there is, so far as I have been able to find out, two objections: first, that the publications do not contain the address of the local organization circulating it; and

second, that they do not deal with local issues and conditions. Both these difficulties could, I think, be easily overcome by co-operation between the local organizations and the publication bureau, and by no more elaborate device than a special edition containing the particular matter desired.

Furthermore it would be quite impossible for each organization to employ a person trained to research and editorial work, and this it would have to do if it were to produce the kind of suffrage literature that is demanded to-day.

More and more the emphasis has been shifted from general suffrage arguments, that practically anyone who believes in suffrage and has some literary facility can produce, to the collecting and tabulation of data, for which special experience and training are indispensable.

I would almost go so far as to say that we have now enough good general arguments to see us through our movement. I have gone over them innumerable times—reading proof on them in galley and in page each time we print an edition, and I have come to the conclusion that we can hardly improve on such pamphlets as Miss Addams' "Why Women Should Vote," Miss Thomas' "A New Fashioned Argument," Professor Thomas' "Why Woman Suffrage Has Been a Success," Clifford Howard's "Why Man Needs Woman's Ballot," Professor Ward's "Women Should Mind Their Own Business," Mrs. Catt's "Do You Know," Miss Blackwell's "Objections Answered," Max Eastman's "Is Woman Suffrage Important," Mill's "Suffrage for Women," and the best of the purely argumentative "Political Equality Leaflets," the "Rainbow Flyers" and a number of the other old stand-bys. All this material is required in constantly larger and larger quantities but not necessarily in greater variety. In fact we have found that it takes something like a year to start the demand for a new publication not containing facts and statistics, the suffragists apparently preferring, where purely argumentative matter is concerned, to stick to the old things that they have tested and found effective.

The demand for facts and statistics is, however, insatiable, and the worst—or the best—of it is that it covers a wide range of subjects some of which are apparently connected

with suffrage only in the remotest way. During my two years' experience in the literature department the demands most frequently made upon us have been:

First—Digest of laws, (a) affecting women and children in all the States, and (b) attributable to the influence or work of women in the equal suffrage States.

Second—Actual results in the equal suffrage States, covering the entire range of women's political activities from the numbers in which they go to the polls, to the numbers elected to office.

Third—Extent of woman suffrage all over the world "strictly up to date."

Fourth—Facts and figures with respect to the amount and distribution of illiteracy, foreign population, negro population, prostitution, white slavery, child labor, regulation of liquor traffic, number and condition and wages of women in industry, and in the trades and professions, achievements of great women, achievements of women in civic improvement (with the vote and without the vote) and in practically every other branch of human activity.

We have made a beginning towards meeting these demands with the pamphlet on the laws in equal suffrage States by Miss Byrns and Miss Ranlett, with our filing and reference system and our reference library; but it must be remembered that here we are dealing with material that changes almost daily and that to keep it up to date requires the constant and endless checking up of at least one person trained to that kind of work.

During the past year, the literature secretary has had, besides the research and editorial work, all the correspondence connected with the department—except during the last few weeks while engaged in getting out the recent new publications and making the exhibit for the Convention—and then most of the time without the services of a stenographer. This correspondence includes—not only letters of inquiry and other correspondence properly belonging to a publication and research bureau—but all the correspondence inevitable to the carrying on of what is really a relatively large wholesale mail order business. One of the best features of the incor-

poration plan is that it would provide for the handling of the strictly business correspondence by a business manager. The literature secretary cannot do justice to the research and editorial work—including the correspondence arising therefrom—if she has also to handle the business correspondence, if for no other reason than that the two sorts of work are so wholly different as to require different and—one might almost say mutual exclusive—types of mind.

To sum up, we require at the present time, to make the publication and research bureau self-supporting and possibly even profitable, working capital to provide:

First—For the printing of very large editions of the general propaganda material not containing facts requiring constant revision, with provisions for special editions for local associations.

Second—To provide for the printing of frequent small editions of material containing facts and figures requiring frequent revision.

Third—To provide for a large assortment of propaganda devices which we might designate as "organizers' supplies."

Fourth—To provide for a trained person who could give all her time to editorial and research work and to the correspondence and other work incidental to the maintenance of a general information bureau.

Fifth—Various devices for making propaganda by means of headquarters window displays, booths at fairs and exhibitions, sandwich board parades, poster campaigns, illustrated lectures, and in numerous other ways which the ingenuity of the organizers is finding out. We have made a beginning with the voiceless speech, the map poster, the picture flyers, the poster talks, the two-slide lectures, the photograph gallery of eminent suffragists and the play bureau; but we are constantly being asked for other things which would greatly facilitate the work of organizers and active workers which we have not been able to provide.

It seems to me that the dignity and importance of our movement require that we should have a research, information and publication bureau that compares favorably in every respect with the bureaus of this kind maintained by other

great national associations; but this we cannot have without a certain amount of working capital guaranteed in advance to support the work.

Frances Maule Bjorkman,
Editor and Secretary.

REPORT OF LEGAL ADVISER.

The work of the legal adviser during the past year has been chiefly in connection with two bequests to the Association.

Mrs. Lila S. Buckley, of Kansas, died in December, 1912, leaving to the Association property valued at upwards of $30,000. Her will was admitted to probate on January 28, 1913, and shortly thereafter her son, Charles S. Buckley, filed a petition to set it aside on the grounds of insanity and undue influence. It becoming necessary to choose local trial counsel, your legal adviser spent several days in Kansas investigating the matter, and after consulting with distinguished western suffragists and with the Board of General Officers of the Association, chose A. L. Wilmoth, Esq., of Concordia, Kansas, to represent us there. The trial of the case will probably occur within two or three months.

The second important will controversy in which there have been developments during the past year is the McCall case. Sallie J. McCall, of Cincinnati, who died in March, 1909, left to the Association about five thousand dollars' worth of stock in the Cincinnati Street Railway Company. Since that date a strange fatality seems to have followed this bequest, and it may not be out of place to enumerate briefly here the incidents that have, up to this time, made it impossible for us to receive any benefit from this profit.

Just six months after Mrs. McCall's death her widower, William J. McCall, who had been named in the will as executor, elected to marry again. Five days after his second marriage he died. He had at that time made practically no progress in administering his deceased wife's estate, and the

Court appointed Mr. Jerome D. Creed, of Cincinnati, administrator de bonis non. Mr. McCall's widow contended that he had never agreed to take under the will, and that he had hence at the time of his decease been entitled, under the Ohio law, to one-third of his wife's personal estate and to dower in her real estate. She contended that she, as his widow, was entitled to her legal proportion of this as of his other property.

The controversy over this point, which was still going on in the Ohio courts when your legal adviser visited Cincinnati last March to investigate the matter, has since been decided by the lower court in favor of the widow. This decision, even if affirmed, will in all probability not affect the amount of the bequest to the Association, and there is little doubt that we shall ultimately receive the entire amount bequeathed to us, but the property cannot be turned over by the administrator until the entire estate is ready for settlement. A settlement has been still further delayed by the death of Mr. Creed during the summer and by the recently announced determination of one of the other legatees to appeal from the decision of the lower court. W. C. Cochran, Esq., of Cincinnati, has been representing our interests there in an able manner, having been retained by the Association in 1909.

Mary Rutter Towle.

REPORT OF THE FIELD SECRETARY.

Having had some experience in suffrage work, the office of Field Secretary was accepted realizing that the possibility of having well defined duties would be very slight, but feeling that the general idea would be to try to bring the National Association in closer touch with the states and to acquaint the states in a more intimate way with the National work.

The work done has been divided under four heads: Legislative, Visiting of States, Work with the Congressional

Committee, and Work in Campaign States. The first legislative work was done in North Dakota. The women there were very anxious to be taught legislative methods. After studying the situation, giving advice, and outlining a campaign, the work was left to be done by Mrs. Darrow and her assistants. They remained at the Capital until their bills were signed by the Governor—which require dtheir attendance during almost the entire session.

The Delaware women could not be in constant attendance at the Capital; this hindered the teaching of legislative methods and necessitated a certain amount of interviewing by the Field Secretary alone. The same was true of Florida; although here a peculiar situation arose which made it appear wise to spend more time than the results accomplished seemed to warrant. However, both states had a bill introduced and voted on in each House, which makes a good foundation for future legislative work, also a good excuse for a Federal amendment.

The Visiting of States: In Alabama, Tennessee, Missouri, Nebraska, and South Dakota the State officers were visited, their peculiar difficulties and advantages were discussed and recommendations made. Missouri and Nebraska were in the midst of circulating petitions for a referendum. South Dakota, with the bill before the people, seemed well prepared to avoid past mistakes. Mrs. Pyle, the State President, is a very able woman. She has the confidence of her people and is a leader. One of the encouraging features of the campaign is that while other questions voted on at the last election were such that the forces for evil used the slogan "Vote NO"—this year there is an issue before the voters which the liquor people are anxious to carry and they are going to instruct voters to "Vote Yes." Fortunately, they can be taught only one thing at a time.

Work with Congressional Committee: July was spent in travelling from Montana to Washington with petitions for the Federal amendment, stopping at thirty-three places—eleven in Montana, nineteen in North Dakota, where with the President, Vice-President and their sons, six hundred miles were travelled by automobile. One stop was made in

Minnesota, one in Illinois, and one in Indiana. Two weeks were spent in Washington interviewing Senators.

Work in Campaign States: Three weeks preceding April 7th were spent in Saginaw, Michigan, organizing the city into wards and precincts. Five weeks were spent in North Dakota attending the State Convention and speaking and canvassing in eleven counties. The situation in North Dakota is unusual in that the vice interests have no organization to work there. The population is essentially rural with a large proportion Scandinavian, which can be won, while there are some Germans and Russians. Considering the ease with which the bill passed the legislature, and the general sentiment in favor of suffrage, it seems probable that with very little work the bill will receive a majority vote, but it will require a great deal of agitation to secure a majority of all the votes cast, which is a necessity. The women are almost unanimous in believing it is all right for women to vote, but since they have never had a campaign, they feel no necessity of working for it. They seem quite confident that their very able President, although ill, can carry the State alone. It takes a great deal of energy to convince a perfectly comfortable woman that two years is too long a time to wait for suffrage. You must remember that they have practically no "horrors" to arouse them. More time has been spent in Montana than was perhaps her share, partly because the situation seems more critical and partly because it was always possible to obtain the complete co-operation of the State Chairman.* In fact, I might say the Chairman never left the Field Secretary except on one occasion—when the Field Secretary was asked to meet a committee from an outside organization.

The Field Secretaryship made it possible to visit the State Federation of Women's Clubs and to speak before them, also to hold two meetings of the State Central Committee, one in June and one in September, to arrange for work to be done at the State and County fairs. A great deal of organizing was also done. Labor in Montana is

*Miss Rankin was the State Chairman.

well organized. The largest center re-elected a Socialist mayor, and both the labor organizations and the Socialists are pledged in favor of the amendment.

JEANETTE RANKIN,
Field Secretary.

REPORT OF THE MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE.

During the year 1913—since the last National Convention, the following organizations applied for membership and having in the minds of the Committee conformed with all the requirements for membership, were by vote of the Committee, admitted to Auxiliary Membership in the National American Woman Suffrage Association:

Florida Equal Franchise Association,
Louisiana Woman Suffrage Association,
New Jersey Women's Political Union,
Massachusetts Political Equality Union,
Montana Woman Suffrage Association,
North Dakota Woman Suffrage Association,
Hawaiian Woman Suffrage Association,
Congressional Union.

(Signed) SUSAN W. FITZGERALD, Chairman;
MAUD M. HINKS,
JANE CAMPBELL,
LILLIAN F. FEICKERT,
R. T. FOSTER.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON PRESIDENTIAL SUFFRAGE.

The extraordinary victory for women's suffrage in Illinois has emphasized the fact, not duly apprehended hitherto, that State legislatures have power to grant presidential suffrage to women. No man derives his right to vote for presidential electors from the constitution of his state. The United States Constitution delegates the power and duty to qualify citi-

zens to vote for presidential electors to the legislatures of the States. The first section of Article II of the United States Constitution provides for the choice of presidential electors in these words: "Each state shall appoint in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct a number of electors equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives, to which the State may be entitled in Congress." Probably Senator George F. Hoar was the first to discover that this power, given by the United States Constitution to all State Legislatures, involved the possibility of the enfranchisement of women, as voters for presidential electors. Mr. Henry B. Blackwell for many years sagaciously argued the possibility.

The conspicuous position that women suddenly attained in American politics, in 1912, was due to the fact that in six states women were able to determine the choice of thirty-seven presidential electors. The large interests involved in a presidential administration, among which are 300,000 offices of honor and emolument, cause keen political concern from the fact that women voters may hold the balance of power in a close election.

The whole number of electoral votes in the nine states where women have full suffrage is fifty-four. These were attained by campaigns for constitutional amendments that involved vast outlay of time and treasure. Simply by act of legislature, Illinois has added twenty-nine to the list, an increase of over thirty-three per cent, thus bringing an incalculable influence and power into the arena of national politics. Politicians no longer ignore the question of women's enfranchisement, but vie with one another in obtaining the support and co-operation of women voters.

Some state constitutions are very difficult to amend, requiring a two-thirds vote in two successive legislatures, and then an expensive and exhaustive campaign must follow, to carry the measure, while presidential suffrage, the most influential privilege of enfranchisement, may be obtained by a majority vote of one in the Legislature.

State legislatures vary in regard to power to grant municipal and school suffrage. But the power to determine

presidential electors, being conferred by the United States Constitution upon the state legislatures, anything in a state constitution contrary to the provisions of such a law, is thereby rendered void, for the United States Constitution supercedes all other laws.

Professor Graham Taylor, commenting on the Illinois victory, says: "If for no other reason, political necessity will compel every state in the Union to follow Illinois in legislating votes to women. The balance of power in the National Convention of every party has been disturbed by the act of this first of the great states to make women presidential electors. The number of votes, and not the census of population, will surely determine the number of delegates to which each state is entitled in the national conventions. Illinois has added 1,500,000 citizens who are eligible to vote, by enfranchising all its women. Illinois, therefore, could send up to the National Convention of every one of its parties, an increased delegation in proportion to this huge gain. If New York continues to restrict its suffrage to men, the men and women voters of Illinois will send enough representatives to their party conventions to outvote the Empire State. The pressure upon the most reactionary state would appeal so strongly to its political self-interest, if not to its instinct of political self-preservation, that every such state would be almost compelled to come into line. So this suffrage reform seems bound to go forward to the limit set by Illinois."

This astute diagnosis of the situation created by the step Illinois has taken shows that political expediency will bring states into line that cannot be constrained by sense of justice to women.

In those states where there is no possibility of procuring full suffrage at present, this potent fraction of enfranchisement might be obtained. And a bill for presidential suffrage might well be submitted to the legislatures of those states now contemplating campaigns for full suffrage, in order to test the sincerity of politicians and gauge popular support. If such a bill passes, it will greatly increase the possibility of success by popular vote for full suffrage. If it

should fail, it would prove that the demand for full suffrage is premature, and that more complete organization and more extensive education should precede an appeal for constitutional amendment, thereby saving a great amount of misspent energy and financial loss.

This measure has an important bearing on the question of obtaining an amendment to the Federal Constitution for the enfranchisement of all women in the United States. Such an act is now pending in Congress, and when passed by a two-thirds vote, must be endorsed by three-fourths of the States. Legislatures that have been educated up to granting presidential suffrage will not fail to support the national amendment for full suffrage; while those states that have not reached this degree of political evolution may be depended upon to vote against it. This brings to the endeavors of any state to obtain presidential suffrage the inspiration of the possibility that it may be, in a close contest, the pivotal state that shall pass the amendment to the national Constitution enfranchising all the women of the United States, and thus hasten political equality for women throughout the world.

Is it not good political tactics to proceed along the lines of least resistance, and bring our energies to bear upon our legislatures, for the measure of political privilege most potent, and at the same time most easily procured?

The hour has struck for the practical application of this great principle, imbedded in our national Constitution, and so long unrecognized and unappreciated. It is in accordance with the twentieth century spirit of scientific efficiency, the maximum of result with the minimum of effort.

ELIZABETH UPHAM YATES,
Chairman.

REPORT OF CHURCH WORK COMMITTEE.

The members of this Committee report a marked increase of interest in Woman Suffrage among the churches and church organizations. It is no longer difficult to find plenty of opportunities to bring the subject before them,

and the requests for speakers on Woman Suffrage, as related to practical church work, are more frequent than can be accepted. And it is only because of the apathy of our church women and their indifference to the importance of this field of work, that the great religious organizations are not all committed to our Cause and pledged to support it along with other reform measures they are studying as social problems which the churches must help to solve.

The churches are freely opened to-day for the discussion of the problems of temperance, child-labor, pure food and the White Slave traffic, all subjects of vital interest to women, and the solution of which will depend largely upon the women's vote in making and enforcing legislation. The Anti-Saloon League, headed by hundreds of clergymen, is the "Church in Action." It is a vision of human brotherhood, and the church freely opens its doors to them and not only indorses their reform work but, last year, financed it by contributions amounting to $75,000.00. Why should not the Woman Suffrage reform, that would bring two-thirds more power to this movement, through the votes of the women of the churches, receive the same co-operation and support from the churches?

The answer is plainly: "Because of the apathy of the women in demanding it!"

Women have always been the mainstay and support of the churches, and when the women become sufficiently broad-minded and far-seeing and awake to a realization of their duty and their power, they will demand equal representation in church and state, and full power to do their part in the world's work which they now are hindered from doing through disfranchisement in both church and state. The church is beginning to realize that the primary mission of the church is to deal with all those problems of human life that involve health, wages, sanitation, child-labor, the suppression of vice and the saloon evil; all of which in our dealings with our fellowmen present new applications of the Golden Rule and new conceptions of the social aspect of religion and its application to everyday life.

Under this quickening of church interest in moral and

social questions we find it an auspicious time to introduce the subject of Woman Suffrage and its relations to the great moral and social issues of the day, and the churches stand ready to accede to the request of its women on this subject. Our Committee has found that the Mothers' Day circular letters are the best medium for reaching many clergymen and we printed and sent out several thousand of these letters again this year. Very many ministers responded to our request and preached sermons bearing on the need of the mothers' influence in the state. I will quote one letter from among many received, to show the spirit aroused by our request:

"I have received your circular letter regarding the observation of Mother's Day, and I wish to assure you that for the first time I appreciate that the ballot in the hands of women would give an added power to our church work, and I recognize that the churches have been slow in showing an interest in this question which has a more vital bearing to-day because of the changed attitude of the churches toward the great moral and social questions, in the solution of which we need the help of Christian women. I shall preach on this subject on Mother's Day, and, in addition, I have written on the subject for our next church paper and have taken a bold stand for Woman Suffrage.

I have also invited Mrs. Jenny L. Hardy, who is a strong advocate of your cause, to address our Men's League on Sunday evening, April 24th.

Cordially yours,

W. B. Hertzog,

First Baptist Church, Tecumseh, Mich."

Mrs. Royden Douglas, State Chairman for Louisiana, sent Mother's Day circulars to all the clergymen of New Orleans, and met with a liberal response. She also arranged for a meeting in one of the leading Methodist churches in New Orleans, at which your Chairman spoke to a conservative and critical audience. And, although it was the first time that the subject of Woman Suffrage had ever been presented, it was most favorably received and was endorsed by the meeting.

One of the New Orleans clergymen who preached on Mother's Day, the Rev. Chas. T. Alexander, said in part:

"Whatever may be our views regarding the wisdom of woman entering the field of political responsibility by the side of man, he who can read the future must see that the day is not far distant when she will possess the ballot in every state in this American Union. . . . The ballot is not the panacea for all ills, though it often is the mightiest factor in the accomplishment of reforms that can only come through the enactment and enforcement of law. And I might say that we, as Baptists, ought to be the last people on earth to oppose the right of the ballot for women of our land. We are taught, from our infancy, that the church of Christ is essentially a pure democracy, in which every member stands on an absolutely equal footing of privilege and responsibility before God. The majority voice, when expressed in common conference, is, with us, the voice of authority in all ecclesiastical matters; and in our conferences all men and women alike have the privilege and responsibility of voting. We believe in and practice the equality of rights of men and women in matters ecclesiastical, and it is one source of our strength. The further application of equal political rights to women would be no more than an extension of the principle for which we have stood through all our history."

Mrs. Mina Wilson Dewey, Chairman for Iowa, went before the Des Moines Ministerial Association during the session of the last Legislature, and asked them for four things. First, that each Minister would preach on Woman Suffrage on Sunday, February the 9th. Second, that each Minister would select three of his most influential members, and that they might go personally to their own Representatives and Senators and any others that they might know and talk personally for Suffrage. Third, that they would select six other influential members who might not be able to go in person, but who would write to as many members in the Legislature as they knew. On February 3rd at their monthly meeting the Des Moines Ministerial Association, which included all the denominations of the city, did endorse Suffrage

most heartily, and at least some half dozen Ministers preached on the subject directly after.

Among the members of the Church Work Committee are a number of women ministers who are peculiarly fitted to help us in this church work. There are also, in addition, about 4,000 women ministers in various parts of our country, most of whom are advocates of Woman Suffrage. For all those whose duties, as ministers, deaconesses, settlement workers or mission workers, require a study of conditions in our cities, and who meet men and women of misfortune, the victims of bad social conditions, cannot fail to arrive at the conclusion that, while the vote is not a panacea for all social ills, it is an indispensable tool.

Mrs. Emeline Burlingame Cheney, of Michigan, for ten years President of the National Free Baptist Woman's Missionary Society, became convinced that women as a disfranchised class were powerless to carry on efficient mission and reform work. She, therefore, printed a leaflet entitled, "An Appeal to Women's Missionary Societies Urging Church Women to Support Woman Suffrage as a Step Toward More Efficient Missionary Work." Through the courtesy of Mrs. Cheney, our Committee has had several thousand of these leaflets printed and distributed among missionary societies in the churches.

This broadening that is encouragingly apparent among the women's church organizations, is made manifest in the policy of other great religious bodies. At a recent meeting of the general conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America, the greater part of the session was given over to the discussion of social problems and the duty of the churches toward them, which resulted in a resolution stating that "The Methodist Church stands for equal rights and complete justice for all men in all stations of life."

What better opportunity could women ask than this invitation to press their claim for the consideration and support of Woman Suffrage by the Methodist Church?

In like manner the Federal Council of the Church of Christ in America, representing thirty-three denominations and 40,000,000 adherents, at its last conference declared it

the duty of all Christian people to concern themselves in the solution of such problems as involve specific social subjects which should claim their attention and support; but Woman Suffrage, not being adequately presented by the women, was not included among them.

Most of the large church organizations have made special departments of church work and have appointed committees to make a systematic study of present day social, industrial and economic problems with a view of bringing about a truer, saner and safer understanding on the part of religious bodies. This gives the women an opportunity that should not be neglected.

The Catholic clergy as leaders of thought among the people, hold immense power for influencing public sentiment and shaping the destiny of communities and thus helping to solve the problems of laboring men and women. Upon the women of the Catholic Church rests the responsibility of arousing their clergy to the significance of the ballot in the hands of women as a potent factor in righting wrongs and bettering conditions in the industrial world. With the great Catholic Church on the side of Woman Suffrage and the Protestant and Jewish churches aslo committed to it, our battle would be speedily won.

Prof. James C. Monaghan, ex-Consul to Germany and former professor of history and economics of the University of Wisconsin and at the University of Notre Dame, at a meeting of St. Catherine's Welfare Society at New York, said: "Don't listen to the rubbish they say about the ballot endangering the home. What are the things that endanger the home most? Rum and white slavery. The latter is a new evil that has come to us through the immigrant office. Those are the greatest dangers to the home. The woman casting her vote is not going to hurt it. The women take up quarterly offerings in our churches; there is a great deal of hard work about it; it is a good thing; I believe in giving to the support of the church; but in taking that offering the women work much harder than they will in casting their vote once a year. This is a sacred cause and as much a part of progress as any we have.

In order to secure the weapons to obtain these much needed reforms, our constructive program should include full citizenship for women."

Other Catholic clergymen who have come out in favor of Woman Suffrage are: Archbishop John L. Spaulding; Bishop Bernard J. McQuaid; Bishop James J. Keane, of Wyoming; Rev. Joseph M. Gleason, of California; Rev. Edward McSweeney, of Mt. St. Mary, Washington; Rev. John H. McMahon, of Our Lady of Lourdes, New York; Rev. Geo. S. Searle, of California; Rev. James J. McKeever, of New Jersey, who has consented to act on the advisory board of the Woman's Political Union of Jersey City.

Large numbers of Jewish young women are also becoming interested in this movement and many are members of our association. Already some of the ablest of the rabbis have openly spoken in favor of Woman Suffrage.

On Mother's Day in Chicago, Dr. Emil Hirsch, of Sinai Temple, spoke on Woman Suffrage.

Professor Rauschenbusch, in his book, "Christianity and the Social Crisis," says: "There is probably no social wrong of our times so strongly seated that it could resist the united and persistent attack of the churches."

Fellow workers, we are a band of religious women; our ranks are made up of Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, Greek, Buddhist and Armenian; all of us believing in that special religion or creed that most helps us in so far as it uplifts and strengthens us and inspires us to think rightly, to live nobly and to do our work faithfully. It is, however, one thing to think religiously, and quite another to act religiously. Our great Cause needs not only professions but activities.

Can we not, this coming year, make a more united effort through state and local committees to arouse the church women to demand the recognition of our work by the churches and their co-operation?

Respectfully submitted,

Mary E. Craigie,
Chairman.

Mrs. Harry Hastings, New York,
Mrs. J. Hyams Douglas, Louisiana,
Mrs. A. M. Harrison, Kentucky,
Mrs. M. B. Folsom, Michigan,
Dr. Nina Wilson Dewey, Iowa,
Mrs. John H. Farraday, New Jersey,
Mrs. Wilhelmina Sharp, Delaware,
Mrs. Henry L. Cloud, Oklahoma,
Mrs. C. M. Miller, Washington,
Mrs. J. J. Ansley, Georgia,
Mrs. Mary McH. Keith, California,
Rev. Jeannette O. Ferris, Oregon,
Rev. Mary G. Andrews, Nebraska,
Mrs. Annette Parmelee, Vermont,
Rev Ada C Bowles, Massachusetts,
Miss Martha C Kimball, New Hampshire,
Miss Grace W Reilly, Tennessee,
Mrs. Julia B. Nelson, Minnesota,
Mrs. Edward Peach, Maryland,
Miss Anna Ebner, Ohio,
Mrs. Lydia K. Andrews, Nebraska,
Mrs. Ada M. Greenwell, Arizona,

Members of the Committee.

REPORT OF CONGRESSIONAL WORK.*

1. SITUATION IN CONGRESS:

   (a) Senate and House Joint Resolution Number One introduced in Congress April 7, 1913.
   (b) Majority Woman Suffrage Committee secured in Senate.
   (c) Woman Suffrage Committee of Senate voted on May 14th to report the Resolution favorably.

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* This report combines the work of the Congressional Committee of the National Association and the work of the Congressional Union which was organized by Miss Paul to assist the work of the committee. Miss Paul stated to the Convention that the reports were inseparable.

(d) Woman Suffrage Committee of Senate submitted on June 13th a unanimous favorable report to the Senate.

(e) On July 31st, twenty-two Senators spoke in favor of the Suffrage Resolution, and three against it.

(f) On September 18th Senator Jones spoke on the floor of the Senate in favor of the Suffrage Resolution, and asked for immediate action upon it.

On the same day Senator Ashurst announced on the floor of the Senate that he would press the measure to a vote at the earliest possible moment.

(g) Three Resolutions were introduced in the House for the creation of a Woman Suffrage Committee. These Resolutions were referred to the Rules Committee.

(h) Present Status:

Suffrage Resolution is awaiting third reading in the Senate, and is before the Judiciary Committee in the House. Resolutions for creation of Suffrage Committee in the House are still before the Rules Committee.

Work Carried on in Effort to Aid in Passage of the Amendment.

1. **Headquarters** opened in Washington, January 2, 1913.
2. **Hearings Arranged:**
   (a) Before the Woman Suffrage Committee of Senate.
   (b) Before Rules Committee of the House when members of National Council of Women Voters were the speakers.
   (c) Before Rules Committee during the present Convention.
3. **Processions:**
   (a) March 3, when from 8,000 to 10,000 women participated.
   (b) April 7, when one woman from each Congressional district in the country went to Congress with petitions and resolutions from her district.

(c) July 31, when an automobile procession met the Pilgrims who had come from all parts of the country, and escorted them through the streets of Washington to the United States Senate. This procession was headed by an automobile in which rode a number of members of the Suffrage Committee of the Senate.

4. Pilgrimages:

Pilgrimages coming from all parts of the country and extending over the month of July, or part of July, were organized last summer, there being about twelve pilgrimages in all. These pilgrimages all ended in Washington on July 31st, when approximately 200,000 signatures to petitions were presented to the Senate.

5. Deputations:

Three deputations to the President were organized immediately preceding the calling of the special session of Congress in order to ask the President to give the administration support to suffrage during the special session. One of these deputations was from the National Association, one from the College Suffrage League, and one from the National Council of Women Voters.

On November 17th a fourth deputation, composed of 73 women from New Jersey, was sent to the President in order to urge him to take up suffrage during the regular session of Congress.

6. Conventions:

Local arrangements were made for the Convention of the National Council of Women Voters and the Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

7. Summer Campaigns:

(a) A campaign under a salaried organizer was conducted through the resort regions of New Jersey, Long Island, and Rhode Island, during the months of July, August and September.

(b) A campaign under a salaried organizer was con-

ducted through New Jersey, Delaware and Maryland during the month of July.

(c) A month's campaign was carried on in North Carolina. As a result of this campaign a suffrage organization was, for the first time, started in North Carolina.

8. **New Jersey Campaign:**

A month's campaign was carried on in New Jersey which culminated in the deputation of 73 New Jersey women to the President.

9. **Delaware Headquarters:**

On September 1st permanent headquarters were opened in Wilmington, in charge of a salaried organizer, and since that time a vigorous campaign has been carried on in Delaware in the attempt to influence the attitude of the Senators and the Representatives from that state.

10. **Press:**

A salaried press chairman has been employed throughout the year, who has furnished daily press copy to the local papers, to the Washington correspondents of the various papers throughout the country, and to all of the telegraphic bureaus in Washington.

11. **Literature:**

Approximately 120,000 pieces of literature have been printed and distributed.

12. **Suffragist:**

A weekly paper, under the editorship of Mrs. Rheta Childe Dorr, was established on November 15th. This now has a paid circulation list of about 1,200 names, and is self-supporting from its advertisements.

13. **Men's League:**

A men's league was organized, General Anson Mills, U. S. A., being the temporary, and Dr. Harvey W. Wiley the permanent chairman. A large number of Congressmen are members.

14. **Meetings:**

Eight theatre meetings, exclusive of those during the Convention, have been held in Washington. Smaller meetings both indoor and out have been held almost daily, and frequently as many as five or ten meetings a day have been held.

15. **Tableau:**

A tableau was given on the Treasury steps at the time of the Suffrage procession of March 3rd, under the direction of Miss Hazel Mackaye.

16. **Play:**

A suffrage play was given.

17. **Social Events:**

Two banquets, a reception, and a luncheon were given.

18. **Money Raising Events:**

A benefit and a luncheon were given, for the purpose of raising funds.

19. **Participation in Events of Other Societies:**

(a) A delegation in two special cars went to New York for the procession of May 3rd.

(b) An even larger delegation went to Baltimore for the procession of May 31st.

(c) The suffrage play given in Washington was reproduced in Baltimore for the benefit of one of the suffrage societies there.

(d) A week's campaign was conducted in the four southern counties of Maryland prior to the primary election, at the request of one of the Maryland Societies.

(e) Speakers have been supplied for a large number of meetings in Maryland and Virginia.

20. **The Congressional Union** was formed during the latter part of April. It now numbers over a thousand members.

ALICE PAUL,
Chairman of Congressional Committee;
President of Congressional Union.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT OF CONGRESSIONAL WORK.

Receipts from December 7, 1912, to December 31, 1913

Advertisements	$768.25
Contributions and Collections	12,597.79
Membership Fees to Congressional Union	248.75
Miscellaneous	192.30
Other Organizations: Sale of Tickets for Meetings of Other Suffrage Societies, Collections Made for Other Organizations, Subscriptions Secured to the Woman's Journal.	1,069.12
Sale of Costumes for Procession, Play and Tableaux	1,485.39
Sale of Literature, Programs, Pennants, Buttons, Etc	2,453.16
Sale of Tickets for Meetings, Procession, Play, Luncheon, Etc.	7,933.27
Subscriptions to "The Suffragist"	629.96
Gross Receipts	$27,377.99

Expenditures from December 7, 1912, to December 31, 1913

Banquet, March 1, 1913 (Catering, Decorations, Tickets, Miss Vernon, Manager)	$107.50
Campaign in New Jersey, Delaware and Maryland, for the Month of July (Salary and Traveling Expenses of Organizer, Expenses of Meetings, Etc.; Miss Marsden, Manager	208.69
Campaign in New Jersey, Long Island and Rhode Island During July, August and September (Salary and Traveling Expenses of Organizer, Expenses of Meetings, Etc.)	377.01
Congressional Union Dues to National American Woman Suffrage Association	43.60
Demonstration, April 7 (Bands for Procession, Rent of Theatre, Banners, Advertising, Printing, Expenses of Speaker at Meeting, Decoration of Theatre)	674.49
Demonstration, July 31 (Automobiles for Procession, Banners, Petitions, Advertising, Printing, Banquet at Hotel Brighton)	1,028.86
Delaware Headquarters, September 1 to December 31 (Rent of Headquarters, Salary of Organizer, Rent of Halls for Meetings, Advertising Meetings, Office Expenses)	488.18
Entertainment of Convention of National American Woman Suffrage Association (Rent of Halls, Badges, Advertising, Printing, Hospitality)	1,440.55
Entertainment of Convention, National Council of Women Voters (Rent of Halls, Advertising, Badges, Printing, Traveling Expenses of Speaker, Etc.)	761.83

Expressage and Hauling		13.92
Judge Lindsey Meeting (Rent of Hall, Advertising, Etc.)		176.93
Literature		1,079.59
Miscellaneous		304.90
New Jersey Deputation to President Wilson, Nov. 16 (Rent of Theatre, Decoration of Theatre, Advertising Meeting, Traveling Expenses of Speaker for Meeting)		153.87
Office Expenses (Janitor, Messengers, Card Catalogue, Ink, Erasers, Pens, Etc.)		384.77
Office Furnishing		65.26
Other Societies:		
Transferred to—		
Collected for Michigan Campaign	$2.00	
For Ohio Flood Sufferers	5.00	
Subscriptions Forwarded to Woman's Journal	6.25	
Tickets Sold and Boxes Taken for Carnegie Hall Meeting, N. Y., at Close of N. Y. Procession; for Metropolitan Meeting, N. Y., Preceding N. Y. Procession; for Lyric Theatre Meeting, Following Baltimore Procession; for benefit given by Stanton Club of D. C., for benefit given by D. C. Suffrage Association; for Mrs. Pankhurst's Columbia Theatre Meeting	947.27	
Expenses Incurred For—		
Donation to Michigan Campaign	$25.00	
Formation D. C. Men's League	56.38	
Department Woman Suffrage League; Alexandria Co., Va., Court House Meeting; Production of Suffrage Play for Maryland Just Govt. League; Expenses in Connection Pankhurst Meeting	153.00	1,194.90
Press Department (Salary of Chairman, Messenger Boy Photographs, Mimeographing Press Bulletin)		587.74
Printing and Duplicating		841.05
Procession Rally, Columbia Theatre, March 3		210.00
Procession, March 3, 1913:		
Automobiles	$140.00	
Bands	1,739.50	
Banners	1,026.05	
Cavalry	110.10	
Costumes	3,249.75	
Floats	907.11	
Hauling and Storage	36.25	
Meeting at Close of Procession (Rent of Hall, Decorations and Advertising)	134.25	

Pennants	455.00	
Regalia	73.95	
Traveling Expenses	150.00	8,021.96
Programs		1,031.25
Rent of Headquarters		1,026.25
Rent (Additional for Meetings)		39.00
Stamps		451.70
Stationery (Office Routine)		83.91
Stenographers, Typists, Typing Machines		1,886.69
Suffrage Luncheon, Oct. 1 to 4 (Rent of Furniture, Dishes, Wages of Servants, Purchase of Food Supplies, Gas, Electric Light, Advertising, Printing, Etc.)		481.72
Suffrage Play, May 20 (Rent of Theatre, Costumes, Scenery, Orchestra, Advertising, Stage Props., Electrician, Stage Hands and Ushers)		534.13
Suffrage School, Dec. 8 to 20 (Rent of Hall, Programs, Advertising, Printing)		101.00
"Suffragist, The" (Printing, Engraving, Salary Business Manager, Assistant Manager, Stationery, Postage, Wrapping, Addressing, Etc.)		892.11
Telephone and Telegrams		488.14
Tableaux on Treasury Steps, March 3 (Costumes, Scenery, Music, Stage Props., Traveling Expenses of Participants Expenses in Connection with Grandstand)		1,172.40
Traveling and Other Expenses of Suffrage Workers		998.45
Gross Expenditures		$27,352.35
Balance on Hand Dec. 31, 1913		25.64
		$27,377.99

I have examined the Receipts and Disbursements as shown in the above account and have found them correct; the Disbursements being supported by proper vouchers.

Total Amount Received		$27,377.99
Total Amount Disbursed as Follows:		
By Mrs. M. M. Lockwood, Treasurer	$12,546.70	
By Miss E. M. Gillett, Treas. Joint Inaugural Com.	13,986.54	
By Miss Paul, Chairman of Congressional Com.	819.11	
		27,352.35
Leaving a Balance of		$25.64

JNO. C. ATHUR,
Auditor and Accountant.

January 31, 1914.

RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

of the

Congressional Committee of the National American Woman Suffrage Association

(Account in Name of Alice Paul)

Receipts		Expenditures	
Sale of Tickets	$20.00	Rent of Headquarters	$60.00
Sale of Literature	165.28	Stenographers and Type'rs.	59.75
Contributions and Collec'ns	658.11	Office Expenses	27.25
		Press	9.54
		Literature	1.50
		Telephone and Telegrams.	19.90
		Printing and Duplicating..	17.50
		Stationery	10.68
		Stamps	69.54
		Costumes for Procession...	100.00
		Hauling and Expressage...	2.25
		Traveling and Living Exp..	441.20
		Transfer to Cong. Union..	24.28
	$843.39	Total Expenditure	$843.39

I have examined the receipts and disbursements as shown in the above account, and have found them correct; the disbursements being supported by proper vouchers.

JNO. C. ATHUR,
Auditor and Accountant.

January 31, 1914.

EXPENDITURES

Joint Inaugural Procession—March, 1913

(E. M. Gillett, Treasurer)

Banquet, March 1, 1913 (Catering, Decorations and Tickets).	$107.50
Entertainment of Convention of National American Woman Suffrage Association (Rent of Halls, Badges, Advertising, Printing and Hospitality)	200.00
Literature	834.67
Miscellaneous	248.56
Office Expenses (Janitor, Messenger, Card Catalogues, Ink, Erasers, Pens, Etc.)	172.13

Other Societies:		
Expenses Incurred For—		
Donation to Michigan Campaign	$25.00	
Formation D. C. Men's League	38.00	
		63.00
Procession Rally, Columbia Theatre, March 3		210.00
Procession, March 3, 1913:		
Automobiles	$140.00	
Bands	1,739.50	
Banners	1,026.05	
Cavalry	110.10	
Costumes	3,149.75	
Floats	907.15	
Hauling and Storage	36.25	
Meeting at Close of Procession (Rent of Hall, Decorations, Advertising)	134.25	
Pennants	455.00	
Regalia	73.95	
Traveling Expenses	150.00	7,922.00
Programs		1,031.25
Press Department (Salary of Press Chairman, Messenger Boy, Photographs, Mimeographing Press Bulletin)		43.55
Printing and Duplicating		676.02
Rent of Headquarters		325.00
Rent (Additional for Meetings)		39.00
Stamps (Office Routine)		230.94
Stationery (Office Routine)		6.30
Stenographers, Typists, Typewriting Machines		583.05
Tableaux on Treasury Steps, March 3 (Costumes, Scenery, Music, Stage Properties, Traveling Expenses of Participants, Expenses in Connection with Grandstand)		1,172.40
Telephone and Telegrams		121.17
		$13,986.54
Transfer to Congressional Union Fund		919.54
		$14,906.08

I have examined the receipts and disbursements as shown in the above account, and have found them correct; the disbursements being supported by proper vouchers.

JNO. C. ATHUR,
Auditor and Accountant.

January 31, 1914.

RECEIPTS

Joint Inaugural Procession Fund—March, 1913

(E. M. Gillett, Treasurer)

Sale of Tickets	$3,643.51
Literature, Regalias, Pennants and Programs	1,783.82
Contributions and Collections	7,378.89
Sale of Costumes	1,472.64
Advertisements	527.75
Miscellaneous	99.47
	$14,906.08

EXPENDITURES

Congressional Union, March 29—December 31, 1913

(Mrs. Annette W. Bayley and Mrs. Mary Morris Lockwood, Treasurers)

Banners and Regalia	$69.62
Campaign Under Miss Vernon in New Jersey, Delaware and Maryland, During July (Salary and Traveling Expenses of Organizer, Expenses of Meeting, Etc.)	208.69
Campaign Under Miss Marsden in New Jersey, Long Island and Rhode Island, During July, August and September Salary and Traveling Expenses of Organizer, Expenses of Meetings, Etc.)	377.01
Delaware Headquarters, Sept. 1 to Dec. 31 (Rent of Headquarters, Salary of Organizer, Rent of Halls for Meetings, Advertising Meetings, Office Expenses)	488.18
Demonstration of April 7 (Bands for Procession, Rent of Theatre, Banners, Advertising, Printing, Expenses of Speaker at Meeting, Decoration of Theatre)	674.49
Demonstration of July 31 (Automobile for Procession, Banners, Petition, Advertising, Printing, Banquet at Hotel Brighton)	1,028.86
Entertainment of Convention, National Council of Women Voters (Rent of Hall, Advertising, Badges, Printing, Traveling Expenses of Speaker, Etc.)	761.83
Entertainment of Convention of National Aberican Woman Suffrage Association (Rent of Halls, Badges, Advertising, Printing, Hospitality)	1,240.55
Expressage and Hauling	11.67
Judge Lindsey Meeting (Rent of Hall, Advertising, Etc.)	176.93
Literature	173.80
Miscellaneous	56.84
New Jersey Deputation to President Wilson, Nov. 16 (Rent of Theatre, Decoration of Theatre, Advertising of Meeting, Traveling Expenses of Speaker for Meeting)	153.87

Office Furnishing		65.26
Office Expenses (Janitor, Messenger, Card Catalogues, Ink, Erasers, Pens, Etc.)		185.39
Other Societies:		
Transferred to—		
Collected from Michigan Campaign	$2.00	
Collected for Ohio Flood Sufferers	5.00	
Subscriptions Forwarded to Woman's Journal	6.25	
Tickets Sold and Boxes Taken for Carnegie Hall Meeting, N. Y., at the Close of N. Y. Procession; for Metropolitan Opera House Meeting, N. Y., preceding N. Y. Procession; for Lyric Theatre Meeting Following Baltimore Procession; for Benefit Given by Stanton Club of District of Columbia; for Benefit Given by District of Columbia Suffrage Association; for Mrs. Pankhurst's Columbia Theatre Meeting	947.27	
Expenses Incurred For—		
Formation of District of Columbia Men's League		18.38
Department Women's Suffrage League, Alexandria Co., Va., Court House Meeting; Production of Suffrage Play for Maryland's Just Government League; Expenses in Connection with Pankhurst Meeting	153.00	1,131.90
		$6,804.39
Other Societies (Continued):		
"Suffragist, The" (Printing, Engraving, Salary Business Manager and Assistant Manager, Stationery, Postage, Wrapping and Addressing, etc)		892.11
Congressional Union Dues to the National American Woman Suffrage Association		43.60
Printing and Duplicating		147.53
Press Department (Salary of Press Chairman, Messenger Boy, Photographs, Mimeographing Press Bulletin		534.65
Rent of Headquarters		641.25
Stationery (Office Routine)		66.93
Stamps (Office Routine)		151.22
Stenographers, Typists, Typewriters, Etc		1,243.85
Suffrage Play, May 20 (Rent of Theatre, Costumes, Orchestra, Advertising, Stage Properties, Electrician, Stage Hands, and Ushers)		534.13
Suffrage Luncheon, Oct. 1 to 4 (Rent of Furniture and Dishes, Wages of Servants, Purchase of Food Supplies, Gas, Electric Light, Advertising, Printing, Etc.)		481.72

Suffrage School, Dec. 8 to 20 (Rent of Hall, Programs, Advertising, Printing)	101.00
Traveling and Other Expenses of Suffrage Workers	557.25
Telephone and Telegrams	347.07
	$12,546.70
By Balance	25.64
	$12,572.34

I have examined the receipts and disbursements as shown in the above account, and have found them correct; the disbursements being supported by proper vouchers.

JNO. C. ATHUR,
Auditor and Accountant.

January 31, 1914.

RECEIPTS

Congressional Union from March 29, 1913 to December 31, 1913

(Mrs. Annette W. Bayley and Mrs. Mary Morris Lockwood, Treasurers)

Advertisements	$240.50
Congressional Union Membership Dues	248.75
Contributions and Collections	4,560.79
Literature, Pennants, Buttons and Programs	504.06
Miscellaneous	92.83
Other Organizations: Sale of Tickets for Meetings of Other Suffrage Societies, Collections Made for Other Organizations, Subscriptions Secured for Woman's Journal	1,069.12
Sale of Costumes	12.75
Subscriptions to "The Suffragist"	629.96
Sale of Tickets	4,269.76
	$11,628.52
Transfer from Procession Fund	919.54
Transfer from Congressional Committee Fund	24.28
	$12,572.34

REPORT OF RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE

We, the National American Woman Suffrage Association at our Forty-fifth Annual Convention in the City of Washington assembled, reaffirm our belief in the justice, expediency and necessity of extending the franchise to women.

We rejoice in the securing of full franchise by the women of Alaska, and of greatly increased franchise by the women of Illinois.

We consecrate ourselves anew to the work of this great cause.

Hence be it

RESOLVED—That the N. A. W. S. A. calls upon the U. S. Senate to pass immediately Senate Joint Resolution No. 1, proposing an amendment to the Federal Constitution enfranchising women.

RESOLVED—That the N. A. W. S. A. calls upon the Rules Committee of the House of Represetatives to make an immediate and favorable report on the proposition to create a Woman Suffrage Committee in the United States House of Representatives.

RESOLVED—That, believing there is no question of greater importance to the people of the United States than that of the political freedom of its women, the N. A. W. S. A. urges the President of our nation to adopt as an Administration measure the submission to the states of an amendment to the U. S. Constitution enfranchising women and asks that he include in his next message a recommendation for the passage of the pending suffrage resolution.

RESOLVED—That the N. A. W. S. A. urges such legislation by Congress as is necessary to protect the rights of citizenship of American women who marry unnaturalized foreigners.

RESOLVED—That the appreciation of the convention be extended to the Commissioner of the District of Columbia, to the Congressional Union and the Woman Suffrage Association of the District of Columbia, for their cordial welcome to the delegates, to the Committee on Local Arrangements, to the National Men's League, to those Senators and Congressmen who have aided us in the convention and in the halls of Congress, and to every co-worker who has helped to make this convention a great and complete success. We also extend our thanks to the press.

HELEN BREWSTER OWENS,
Chairman.

REPORT OF THE ELECTIONS COMMITTEE

The hours of voting shall be from one to six P. M. Wednesday.

There shall be election booths in convenient locations outside convention hall.

There shall be three shifts of election officers consisting of a clerk and two judges. One of the clerks shall be a member of the Credentials Committee and shall have charge of the registration book. Voters shall be required to sign their names (upon voting) with the clerk in the registration book.

There shall be a locked ballot box into which folded ballots shall be cast.

The shifts shall serve as election officers for one hour and ten minutes each on Wednesday.

The polls shall close promptly at six o'clock.

There shall be six tellers appointed by the Chair.

The results shall be announced and posted before 8 P. M.

The two names highest in the primary vote for each office shall be declared the nominees for that office and shall be eligible to election Thursday.

On behalf of the tellers, all delegates are urged to vote before four o'clock.

Election proper shall take place between nine A. M. and two-thirty P. M. Thursday, the rules of the primary applying as on Wednesday.

Caroline Ruutz Rees,
Chairman.

RESULTS OF THE ELECTION

PRIMARY BALLOT

President

Anna Howard Shaw 326
Harriet Taylor Upton... 4

First Vice-President

Jane Addams 349

Second Vice-President

Caroline Ruutz-Rees.... 141
Mrs. Desha Breckinridge 116

Recording Secretary

Susan Fitzgerald 210
Edith H. Hooker 66

Executive Secretary

Mary Ware Dennett.... 208
Ida Porter Boyer..... 64

Treasurer

Katharine D. McCormick 339
Ruth McCormick 3

First Auditor

Harriet B. Laidlaw..... 166
Patty Ruffner Jacobs.... 117

Second Auditor

Louise DeK. Bowen.... 285
Patty R. Jacobs 26

FINAL BALLOT

President

Dr. Shaw 376
Mrs. Upton 14
Mrs. Catt 1

Vice-President

Miss Addams 391
Mrs. Catt 1

Second Vice-President

Mrs. Breckinridge 250
Miss Ruutz-Rees 145

Executive Secretary

Mrs. Dennett 289
Mrs. Boyer 110

Recording Secretary

Mrs. Fitzgerald 317
Mrs. Hooker 57
Mrs. McCormick 2
Mrs. Boyer 1
Mrs. Medill McCormick. 5

Treasurer

Mrs. Stanley McCormick 376
Mrs. Medill McCormick. 22

First Auditor

Mrs. Laidlaw 265
Mrs. Jacobs 136

Second Auditor

Mrs. Bowen 349
Mrs. Jacobs 51

NOTE—After the adoption of the revised constitution Miss Caroline Ruutz-Rees was elected third vice-president by acclamation.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON SECURING GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTS

For several years past I have tried to keep one eye on such government documents as seemed to me to be useful to suffrage work and workers. When campaigns were on in a state I have tried to send the State President and other workers samples of these documents and explain to them how to secure them in large numbers for use in their states.

But it is difficult to make people understand the various kinds of documents and the fact that some may be had free and that others must be paid for.

It seems to be fixed in the minds of the public that all anyone has to do is to write to her Congressman or Senator and ask him to send the desired documents. Sometimes, and for some documents, this is true; but when a large number are wanted for distribution it is not true and you are asking the man to present you with that which he has to pay for himself.

A Congressman has to pay the Government for his own speech.

That is to say, the Government charges him so much a thousand for printing it and for the paper on which it is printed. He is usually generous enough to send a good many of these to his own state and sometimes elsewhere, but it is not fair to ask it of him when numbers are wanted, for the necessary expenses of your Congressman are far heavier than ever appear on the surface, and if he is able and willing to send you a "sample copy" of his speech which will be helpful to you, that is all that should be asked of him. He dislikes exceedingly to tell you that the price of it to him is so and so and that you are asking him not only to do the work for you but to pay for the privilege.

For example, Mr. Edward T. Taylor of Colorado made an exceedingly useful speech on April 24, 1912. It went into the Congressional Record and also into one of our hearings. This latter document was free, so long as it lasted, for these "hearings" are supposed to be for the information of the government and are ordered printed up to the limit of a small fund for that purpose. The limit is usually $500.

If it is a short document that prints a good many, if a long one, it does not. Generally they strain a point and print for us or for those who secure hearings, about ten-thousand copies.

If we want or need more we must pay at the government rate for them, but so long as the original government printing of them holds out your Congressman can get them for you free. But, remember, that is never a large number for

there are all the states and all the Senators and Representatives to be supplied from that stock.

Now, we come to wanting others. The government stock is exhausted.

Having been plated (if that was done) they can be ordered and paid for by us in the name of some Congressman who is willing to allow the use of his name and franked envelopes for your benefit.

So you are still his debtor for a great courtesy and kindness even when you pay for the printing and paper that the government charges him. But he is generally quite willing to do this for you. Any man who is willing to make a speech for us is usually willing to go that much farther—but remember, it is a courtesy and that it saves you a tremendous amount of money, for government prices to the Congressman, plus the use of his franked envelopes, is a saving that is far beyond what we realize. The original plating of the speech is his expense. Now, to turn to the Taylor speech for the reason that we have used more of those than all others combined so far.

On the kind of paper Congressmen order for themselves we have to pay the government $47.95 for the first 5,000 copies and $9.05 for each following 1,000.

On the paper we generally order (called newspaper) it is $37.80 for the first 5,000 and $7.05 per 1,000 thereafter.

Now please to understand this method of reckoning. I've had to write literally hundreds of letters to correct the impression that if a state (or person) has once ordered 5,000 that thereafter, at any time, they can send checks at the lower rate and get the number ordered.

That is not the case. Every time that the plates have to be taken out of storage and rehandled it is called "the first 5,000" and returns to the higher rate, and any smaller number than 5,000 which may be ordered will cost at a higher rate.

BUT, if while you have your plates on the press for this "first 5,000" you order other additional thousands the rate decreases, as given.

During the last spring and summer when Ohio, Kansas, Oregon, Michigan, Wisconsin and other states were waging

a lively campaign they sent to me constantly for this speech, so that altogether over 300,000 of them were sent out by me. The state presidents, clubs, men's organizations, individuals sent for them.

You will readily see that had Mr. Taylor tried to respond to the calls made for his speech he would have had to borrow money to do it with—for his own state demanded so many also, which he did try to send and pay for that we kept the press pretty busy.

Now, when two or three states or clubs sent me checks so that the orders could all go in at once the cheaper rate thus secured resulted in getting a good many more than the number expected by each state.

These I divided pro rata and sent along. They were sent (free of cost as to postage) and were in envelopes ready to mail, sealed and franked. Of course, you know that the frank is used instead of postage and all you have to do is to address the envelopes and mail to your voters or workers, as you desire. Don't forget under any circumstances why they are sealed. There is a fine of $300 for using the frank for any other purpose than these government documents and the business mail of the men entitled to a frank. So that were you to put other matter into those franked envelopes you would get into very serious trouble with the postal laws, beside getting your Congressman into trouble and losing the very great advantage he allowed you.

If you send to me, and desire as many as 5,000 or more make your check either to me or to the Government Printer (the latter I prefer) and I will take pleasure in getting the permission of the man who made the speech to order them in his name and send them to you at the exact government rates. If you want only sample copies to decide on whether or not to order. I can also see that you get those, and will gladly do anything along those lines that I can to aid your various campaigns.

Helen H. Gardner,
Chairman.

FACTS FOR DELEGATES

WHAT THE WORK OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION HAS COST DURING THE YEAR

General Organization Work

Pay Roll	$5,422.96
Rent	1,800.03
Postage and Telegrams	386.03
Telephone	123.31
Convention and Parade Expenses	760.80
Office Supplies	397.52
Miscellaneous	2,410.31
Total	$11,300.96

Press Bureau

Pay Roll	$2,175.37
Rent	600.00
Postage, Supplies, Telephone	343.30
Press Service and Clippings	231.78
Miscellaneous	291.88
Total	$3,642.33

Direct Contributions of Cash and Literature to Campaigns

Ohio	$14.45
Michigan	904.22
Arizona	3.35
Kansas	68.35
South Dakota	100.00
Oregon	2.70
Nevada	500.00
Nebraska	29.02
Literature	100.00
Total	$1,722.09

Field Secretary (For Nine Months)

Salary	$900.00
Expenses	677.22
Total	$1,577.22

LITERATURE AND SUPPLIES

Pay Roll	$3,553.33	
Rent	1,200.00	
Printing	3,048.74	
Supplies and Purchases	3,064.39	
Freight and Express	306.40	
Postage and Advertising	717.32	
Miscellaneous	467.60	
Total Cost		$12,357.78
Total Receipts from Sales	$10,797.95	
Unsold Stock	4,050.82	
Uncollected Bills	1,551.12	
Total Receipts		$16,399.89
DEDUCT: Decrease in Stock During Year		4,042.11
Net Loss		$34.07
Free Literature given to Life and Associate Members		$143.74

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES

Annual Pledges at Philadelphia Convention, Nov., 1912	$5,761.61
Members' Dues, 1912	145.85
Members' Dues, 1913	5,032.35
Receipts Carnegie Hall Meeting	6,696.71
General Donations	2,971.03
Restricted Donations	3,309.12
Ways and Means Committee	3,415.22
Literature Sales	10,797.95
Miscellaneous	607.48
Total	$38,737.32

Expenditures

Headquarters General Expenses	$11,300.96
Literature	12,357.78
Press Bureau	3,642.33
Woman's Journal Bills Paid	4,842.15
National Association Bills Paid for 1912	322.96
Field Secretary (9 Months)	1,577.22
Official Board	360.34
Campaigns	1,622.09
Ways and Means	1,585.12
Total	$37,610.95

WAYS AND MEANS COMMITTEE REPORT

Expenses

Printing	$469.25
Postage	438.07
Clerical Work	536.53
Field Collector	103.00
Miscellaneous	38.27
Total	$1,585.12

Receipts

Contributions from Yellow Appeals and Those Received by Members of the Ways and Means Committee	$3,415.22
Total	$3,415.22
Balance	$1,830.10

BUDGET FOR 1914

	Rent	Salaries	Routine Expenses (incl. Printing)	Total
Literature	$1,200.00	$5,178.00 (Six People)	$15,000.00	$21,378.00
Press	600.00	3,058.00 (Three People)	1,200.00	4,858.00
General Organization work	2,000.00	5,568.00 (Four People)	6,000.00	13,568.00
Field Secretary	.....	1,200.00 (One Person)	1,000.00	2,200.00
Total	$3,800.00	$15,004.00	$23,200.00	$42,004.00

Note—If the proposed plan for incorporating the literature department is adopted and a sufficient amount of stock is paid in and pledged, the entire literature budget can be deducted from the total budget, which thereby will be reduced to $20,626.00.

Note—In estimating the various salaries, the services of certain people are divided between two departments.

Note—The routine expenses include printing, which means not only the literature and office printing, but an allowance of $1,000.00 which is made for printing a monthly statement to some 10,000 active members of the Association, showing the new publications, reporting the progress of the work, giving bits of helpful information for workers, the treasurer's monthly statement, etc.

Note—This budget plans for a partial reorganization of the work of the office staff, the most important part of which is devoting the time of one person exclusively to the securing and editing of data which will be used by the Press department, the Literature department and the officers. This is a practical economy and a saving of labor.

Note—The budget provides for the services of four more people than were included in the budget presented to last year's Convention, and at an increase of only $1,324.00 over last year's budget, which is an increase of only $2,652.34 over this year's actual payroll. Two of these salaries are for a business manager and stenographer for the Literature department.

Note—If the Convention accepts the proposed new constitution, and the plan for incorporating the publishing department is carried out, the amount to be raised by assessing the affiliated societies, beyond the amount secured by the regular ten cents per capita dues, will be only about $15,626.00, which in comparison with the budgets of some of the state associations is exceedingly small.

In this case all money pledged at the Convention can be used for direct help to the Campaign states, providing for a travelling school for suffrage workers, and any additional special work which may be needed.

REPORTS OF AUXILIARIES

Note—By vote of the Official Board, the reports of the winning States, the Campaign States, and the semi-campaign States, are printed in full, the reports of the other States being included in the tabulation at the end of the book. Montana, North Dakota, New York and Missouri, and one New Jersey Association, are omitted with regret. The officers of these States failed to hand in written reports.

ILLINOIS.

Illinois has just held its Forty-fifth Annual Convention. All the work of the past, and all the influence emanating from the previous conventions, culminated in the passage of the Suffrage Bill last June.

It has been a pleasure and privilege to serve Illinois during the historic year of 1913.

When we first went down to Springfield at the beginning of the year we found no Suffrage enthusiasm, but we did find Suffrage antagonism. After careful consultation with our friends in Springfield, our State Board of Directors voted not to introduce a resolution asking for a Suffrage amendment until after the passage of the Bill.

Owing to the peculiar Constitution of Illinois, but one amendment can be added to the State Constitution at a time. In order to pass, this requires a two-thirds vote of the Senate and House.

Then it is submitted to the voters of the State, and requires a majority of all the votes cast at the election in order to become a law.

In other Suffrage States it has required only a majority of the votes cast on the amendment. Those familiar with the situation in Illinois have long realized that the Suffrage Bill, which gives such tremendous power to women, would have to be passed first before the full franchise could ever be secured in this State.

A careful card index was prepared by the Legislative Chairman before we went to Springfield. This card index gave valuable information in regard to each legislator, telling his party affiliation, past record, reputation at home, church affiliation, etc.

Mrs. Booth, our Legislative Chairman, went down to Springfield at the beginning of the year, and our former Legislative Chairman, Mrs. McCulloch, went with her the first week to initiate her into the mysteries of Legislative procedures. After that Mrs. Booth was down at Springfield for several weeks, alone, studying the faces of the Legislators and locating them in the Senate and House, and getting a list of those who were willing to vote for the Suffrage Bill. I went down several times to size up the situation and consult with Mrs. Booth.

In the early part of March we both began going every week to Springfield, and we attended the sessions of the Legislature until its close in June. I was obliged to leave Mrs. Booth on guard alone one week because it was deemed necessary for me to attend the Mississippi Valley Conference held in St. Louis in April. After the Bill was passed, we remained for a week and a half at Springfield, until the Governor signed the Bill.

After the Bill had passed the Senate and was on second reading in the House, we sent for Mrs. Antoinette Funk. She was with us for the last ten weeks and rendered brilliant and efficient service. Mrs. Medill McCormick moved to Springfield, and during the last three or four weeks, gave of herself, her time and her money, and brought fresh enthusiasm to our work.

Miss Margaret Dobyne, our Press Chairman, and Miss Jennie F. W. Johnson, our State Treasurer, were at Headquarters in Chicago during this time and sent out communications and responded to every call for help.

Mrs. Harriette Taylor Treadwell, President of the Chicago Political Equality League; Mrs. Charlotte Rhodus, President of the Woman's Party, and Mrs. James Morrison, Secretary of the Chicago Equal Suffrage Association; Mrs. E. L. Stillman, of the Rogers Park Woman's Club, and Miss Mary Miller, President of the Human Rights Party, helped us greatly at this time. Other organizations in Chicago as well as the Suffrage organizations in Oak Park, Evanston, Aurora, Elgin, Peoria, Joliet, Galesburg, Monmouth, Quincy, Belleville, Lincoln, Petersburg, Jacksonville, Clinton and other towns

throughout the State responded instantly when letters were to be written or telegrams sent to Springfield. The Bill was won through co-operation and organization.

We have had a wonderful growth in membership in our association during the past year. Last year we paid dues to the National Association on 962 members—this year our treasurer sent a check for dues to the National paying for 4,750 members. Last year we had 24 dues paying organizations—many of them inactive—and no non-dues paying organizations. This year we have 31 dues paying clubs, and 50 non-dues paying, making a total of 81 active organizations that sent delegates to the convention in Peoria. We have started organization work in every senatorial district in the State, and we are now completing plans for still more perfect organization. Last year we spent $83.60 in organization work, and this year $1,141.79. We have increased our literature sales this year nearly $1,000.00. Every month our Press Chairman, Miss Dobyne, has sent out 500 Bulletins to newspapers throughout Illinois, which have copied the suffrage news, partially taken from the press bulletin sent out by the National, as well as Illinois suffrage news.

We have been fortunate in our financial undertakings. We started out to work a year ago with $34.45 in the general fund, and were owing $100.00 to the National, and some minor bills, so that we were $100.00 worse than nothing. When we returned from Springfield, after the passage of the Suffrage Bill, we found again an absolutely depleted treasury. At this critical juncture the Chicago Examiner generously offered the use of its plant for the publication of the Woman Voters Edition. The State Board voted to accept the offer. Unfortunately, however, the Board members had made plans to be away or were otherwise engaged and could not assist in getting out the paper, with but one exception. Miss Margaret Dobyne gave up a trip to Panama to work on the Suffrage edition. Mrs. Antoinette Funk, who was not a member of the Board, eliminated a trip to Colorado to assist. The Chicago Political Equality League, The Woman's Party, The Human Rights Party and other Suffrage organizations and women's clubs helped secure advertisements and sell the papers.

We were encouraged by the cheerful pessimists who prophesied that we would be financially in the hole as a result of the venture. This was exhilarating, as I had already borrowed $800.00 from my husband with which to start the paper. It was more exhilarating, however, at the end of those long, hot weeks of incessant labor, to learn that we had cleared for the Suffrage Cause about $15,000.00. In the neighborhood of $4,000.00 of this amount was paid to the clubs and organizations for commission, but it all helped the Cause just the same. The State Association, after paying all expenses, netted in cash between $7,000.00 and $8,000.00, and adding to this the merchandise and stock, we made in all $10,492.50.

It is ethical for people to pay for what they receive. There is a practical law of reciprocity. For this reason, wherever I have spoken during the year when it has been possible, I have asked the clubs and organizations to send money to the State treasury. In this way I was able to earn $1,233.00. The sum would have been larger, but my time was so taken up at Springfield that I had to cancel a number of engagements. I would advise all Suffragists, everywhere, to do likewise, for where people pay for an address there is always a good crowd of people to listen. There is less wasted energy and much greater good is accomplished.

The total receipts for the year amounted to $20,835.51. After deducting the disbursements of $12,851.99 a balance was left on hand in our treasury October 31st of $4,553.52 cash, with our rent paid a year in advance and $3,430.00 in merchandise and stock, made a total of about $9,000.00 with which to begin this year's work.

We are going to have a big, unexpected expense to start with —the constitutionality of the Suffrage Bill has been attacked. Several suits have already been brought and been decided in our favor. We have studied the situation carefully and secured the best possible legal talent to look after our interests.

The Law has been pronounced constitutional, and we have confidence that it will be proven constitutional by the Supreme Court of Illinois. We, as a Board, rejoice over the economical management of the Springfield campaign. Men who have had experience have been kind enough to say that we, as mere women, have managed the funds in a manner that they pronounce as wonderful as the passage of the Bill. The entire cost of the Springfield campaign—which lasted six months, and included the expense of going back and forth to Springfield each week—cost only a little over $1,500.00.

The only way to prepare Illinois for the full enfranchisement through a constitutional amendment—which will have to be submitted to the men voters of the State—is to educate our citizens and demonstrate by our wise actions that Equal Suffrage is beneficial to all. We must be broad in our views, charitable in our judgment of those who disagree with us; remembering always, that our beliefs are largely a matter of education and environment. We must not always impugn to those who hold opposite opinions, dark, ulterior motives. Let us give as much credence to the appearance of good as we do to the appearance of evil.

Let us not be discouraged if at times our progress seems slow. Women are just ordinary human beings, the same as men, and as such will encounter the same obstacles, the same jealousies, the same misunderstandings that men have had to encounter in their civic work. A certain amount of opposition is the price we pay for progress.

GRACE WILBUR TROUT, President.

MICHIGAN

At the time Michigan's report was made to this body one year ago, the Woman Suffrage amendment voted upon at the general election, November 5th, 1912, was considered carried and yet the suffragists were enduring agonies of suspense over the final outcome. Returns on the amendment were delayed, notably from certain precincts in Detroit where opposition to suffrage was firmly entrenched. The story of the careless handling of the amendment, the undue haste in the burning of election ballots, the illegalities and irregularities of the vote on suffrage are familiar to you all. For several weeks the doubt and the bitter contest made by anti-suffragists to prevent the re-counts or to prevent the count of votes on ballots said to have been improperly printed by county officials kept the Michigan suffragists in a mighty unrest, and when finally the amendment was officially declared defeated by a majority of 612 votes the question at once arose whether to contest the election on the ground of fraud, of which we had abundant proof, whether to appeal our case or whether to demand of the legislature an investigation and a recount, or whether to ask the legislature for immediate re-submission.

A questionaire prepared by the State Suffrage Board assisted by our national president, Miss Shaw, was sent to all county chairmen and the heads of co-operating societies. The replies favored asking the Legislature for re-submission of the amendment and a majority favored immediate re-submission at the April election. It was argued that indignation over our defeat when it was obvious that the voters desired the adoption of the amendment was so acute that we should not delay taking advantage of this favoring situation. Though the spring vote is lighter than the presidential one, yet experienced men pointed out that township supervisors were to be elected, and that rural communities where our measure was especially favored were deeply interested in choosing these officials. After careful consideration it was decided to press our bill in the Legislature, then in session, with re-submission of our amendment at the spring election, April 5th. Then ensued a nerve-trying period of lengthened passage of the bill. There were anxious waits, perplexing delays and annoying proposals to amend the amendment. A Hearing was arranged and at this Hearing, for the first time in Michigan's history, Michigan women appeared to protest against the franchise for their sex. These women were from Detroit and their leader and only speaker was from New York, or whichever Eastern State claims the honor of her birth.

The Bill finally passed both Houses with a comfortable majority.

The campaign which followed and which was but a prolonging of the first campaign was most energetic and was crowded full of enthusiasm, self-sacrifice and courage. The Michigan suffragists, true to their State motto, "Neither Delayed Nor Rested." Suffragists in other States sent generous contributions. Headquarters were in De-

troit. Mrs. Ida Porter Boyer, of Pennsylvania, was engaged to be general assistant to the president and press chairman, Mrs. Boyer's experience in campaign work making her of especial value all through the campaign.

In this short campaign Michigan depended very greatly on free distribution of literature, on the spirit of fair play evinced by the press and on the splendid corps of speakers who were present from many parts of the United States. Among those who spoke during the campaign are our international president, Mrs. Catt, our national president, Dr. Shaw, and Miss Laura Clay who each donated her services and are most gratefully appreciated. In our State Year Book will appear the names of all who came to Michigan to help together with a list of the donors of money, literature or supplies. Michigan suffragists are grateful and realize that it was the sympathy and assistance of sister suffrage organizations which sustained them while battling in the new campaign.

That Michigan was defeated is disappointing but not dismaying. The enemy of freedom for women was fighting as never before, the close vote, as many think the favorable vote, in the preceding campaign, causing the antis the greatest alarm,—as their president said, "Michigan gave us a great scare." Added to this vigorous activity was the organization of anti-women entreating through literature and the press to be saved from the dirt and degradation of possession of the ballot, and the increasing militancy of the English suffragettes behind which many Michigan men and a few Michigan "interests" cloaked their fear of votes for women. Though the majority against the suffrage amendment at the election, April 7th, was overwhelming, yet an analysis of the figures will show that the defeat was not so much due to a change in public sentiment and increase of adverse vote, but because of the absence of a favoring vote. Twenty-five counties had less "no" votes than were cast in the same counties in the fall of 1912. Seven counties gained less than fifty adverse votes, and nine counties gained between fifty and one hundred, so that forty-one counties showed less "no" votes or gained less than one hundred. We know that much money and labor was expended by the opposition, mainly the liquor and allied interests, so we are morally sure that they have the heaviest vote they can ever poll in Michigan. The opposition gained a little over 16,000 votes over their total vote cast in 1912 and of this gain 13,000 was gained in counties having a wet and dry issue on.

The total vote on the suffrage amendment was within 4,732 of the total vote cast for superintendent of public instruction. Ninety-nine per cent. of the vote out voted on the suffrage amendment. More votes were cast on the suffrage amendment than on any other amendment, the nearest heavy vote was within 47,478 and was on the firemen's pension which was defeated. One amendment had 66,432 less votes cast for it than did suffrage. The total vote of the

State was a normal vote, but by counties it shows an unprecedented light vote in the rural communities and smaller cities. Four counties, in which are situated the four largest cities of the State, had an unusually heavy vote in the cities. Some rural counties had precincts where there was not a vote cast on any question on account of the impassability of the roads. The weather in Michigan just preceding election week was almost unprecedentedly inclement.

Michigan suffragists finishing an unexpected and exhausting campaign of eight months went with high courage into another and were defeated, and to the honor of all suffragists we have proven good losers, for we are ready to do it all over again when opportunity offers.

Michigan was represented in the national suffrage parades of the past year and sent many petitions and letters to the Senate. Michigan's two Senators and Michigan's Governor figure prominently in the speeches made in Congress on July 31st, all three endorsing and approving woman suffrage.

You who have attended these conventions many years will regret to learn that Mrs. Helen P. Jenkins, for a quarter of a century Michigan's most earnest suffrage worker and the co-worker of Miss Anthony, and Mrs. Mary L. Doe, the first president of the State Suffrage Association, died in March last on the same day and in the same house, Mrs. Jenkins' residence in Detroit, the former after a long illness, the latter worn out from her strenuous efforts in the first campaign. The suffragists of Michigan hold their memory in affectionate reverence.

Also there passed away during this year, the Hon. Thomas W. Palmer, honored by all suffragists for championing suffrage in the Senate of the United States in 1884 when to believe in Woman's suffrage and to say so on the floor of the Senate took high courage and a liberal faith. Mr. Palmer consistently maintained his belief in votes for women to the close of his long life. He left by will $5,000 to the National Association.

Since the close of the campaign Michigan has steadily organized by counties and on the 5th to 7th of November held the most enthusiastic convention of many years.

Whatever course of action is determined upon by the National Association, whether it be a campaign of education and organization within each State, or whether it be decided to work solely for Congressional and subsequent legislative action Michigan, fully aroused and strengthened by the many new workers the campaigns have enlisted, Michigan stands ready and anxious to co-operate and to do her part whenever and wherever needed.

CLARA B. ARTHUR, President.

SOUTH DAKOTA

TO THE OFFICERS AND DELEGATES OF THE NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION, IN CONVENTION ASSEMBLED; THE SOUTH DAKOTA UNIVERSAL FRANCHISE LEAGUE SENDS GREETINGS, and asks, though it is unable to have a representative with you, that you will reserve for it a large place in your sympathies and plans.

For the purposes of our organization this State is divided into four districts, each presided over by a capable corps of officers, earnest, self-sacrificing women who have lived long in their respective districts and understand well the peculiar and special needs of each.

Our plans have thus far been seriously hampered by lack of funds, and for that reason worthy plans are still unexecuted. Our campaign has been endorsed by the Republican party of this State in convention, by the State Federation of Women's Clubs, and by the State organization of the Women's Relief Corps. Many of the State officers and the political candidates have also given it their endorsement and have promised their support. Our outlook is very bright, and we are assured by political leaders of the State that our success at the coming election is assured, but we are not resting on the oars, but intend to continue to push the campaign vigorously along every line. Perhaps our most telling and influential agency in this State is the SOUTH DAKOTA MESSENGER, a weekly paper of extensive circulation within the State, which is owned, controlled and edited by our organization, and which is devoted to the Suffrage cause, and to the interests of the women of our State. Large contributions have been received from outside sources, and from residents of the State to subscribe for the paper for those whose interests are not with us as yet strongly enough to cause them to subscribe for themselves, and we hope in that way, by our weekly arguments, to win many votes before the question is voted upon.

Remember that we are in need of all the help available, as South Dakota is one of that group of neighboring States where the question of equal franchise is to be finally determined at the next elections, and which should all come into the ranks in a body. Word has just been received that the South Dakota Educational Association, with a membership of fifteen hundred teachers, has endorsed the Suffrage Campaign in this State.

MRS. JOHN L. PYLE, President.

NEVADA

The life and letters of Abraham Lincoln are a source of strength to any one engaged in work for human liberty, in however humble a capacity. The campaign for equal rights, the freeing of women in Nevada and the task accomplished by Lincoln in saving the Union and

freeing the slave are obviously in no way comparable, save in one respect: the underlying principle of each struggle is the extension of human liberty.

Whether we call him divinely inspired or a simple man of the people who grew with his work, a stronger and abler man to-day because of the way he met and mastered the problem of yesterday, Lincoln could never have accomplished his work if he had not founded it on far-sighted principles, to which he held firmly with invincible logic and resistless moral power. His letter in answer to Horace Greeley, who, as editor of the New York Tribune, showed impatience with the president's abolition policy, is one of the great State papers of history. It is as remarkable for its strength as it is for its brevity. There is not an unnecessary word in it. Every word and thought used is essential to express his meaning, with the wonderful clearness and consummate force attained.

"I would save the Union. I would save it the shortest way under the constitution. The sooner the national authority can be restored, the nearer the Union will be 'the Union as it was.' If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time save slavery, I do not agree with them. If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time destroy slavery, I do not agree with them. My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and is not either to save or to destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that. What I do about slavery and the colored race, I do because I believe it helps to save the Union; and what I forbear, I forbear because I do not believe it would help to save the Union. I shall do less whenever I shall believe what I am doing hurts the cause, and I shall do more whenever I shall believe doing more will help the cause. I shall try to correct errors when shown to be errors, and I shall adopt new views so fast as they shall appear to be true views. I have here stated my purpose according to my view of official duty."

Without presumption, let us apply these words to our work in Nevada:

Our paramount object is to win the freedom of Nevada women, and to win that freedom the shortest way under the constitution. If there be those who would not win it unless they could at the same time avoid antagonizing certain powerful or immoral interests, we do not agree with them. If there be those who would not win it except by antagonizing these powerful or immoral interests, we do not agree with them.

What we do or what we forbear about those interests opposed to suffrage, we do or forbear doing because we believe it will help to win the cause.

"I shall do less whenever I shall believe what I am doing hurts the cause, and I shall do more whenever I shall believe doing more will help the cause. I shall try to correct errors when shown to be errors, and I shall adopt new views so fast as they shall appear to be true views. I have here stated my purpose according to my view of official duty."

We have recently been criticised for two sins, one of omission, and one of commission. A Nevada clergyman recently advised us: "From now on you must begin your campaign of education. Educate, let everything else go, ignore attacks and mis-statements, educate, and you will win."

An educative campaign has been carried on for over two years in the Nevada papers. Over two hundred columns or about 240,000 words (two good sized books), of educational suffrage material have been published in the Reno newspapers alone.

Clippings from these articles have come back to us as republished in California, eastern and foreign journals, so the world outside of Nevada at least has been aware that an educative campaign for suffrage has been in progress within the State. This extensive educative work has not protected us from the attack of our opponents, and such educative work, unaided, will not protect us from future attack or win the campaign.

But, we are told, you will antagonize the men by defending the cause. What men? Those who are already in favor of suffrage? Surely not; they, too, would wish to defend it. Those who are opposed to suffrage? These are already antagonistic.

Who, then, will be antagonized? Those men who are indifferent to suffrage, or those who have not thought about it? What better way is there to make them think about and discuss it, to educate them, than by the public discussion of national or local issues, especially if women have been unjustly treated? How can we educate the voters by keeping quiet? How is any reform won except by a positive educative propaganda, and by defending its justice? If men are just (and we can win only by the votes of just men), surely, this is the way to win votes!

Our sin of commission has been that of defending our cause when assailed by certain influences opposed to suffrage, and that of answering public misrepresentations of the results of equal suffrage made by an anti-suffragist. We declare our policy to be never to attack, but to protect and defend our cause from misrepresentation, continuing at the same time our more than two years' educative work. As equal suffrage is endorsed in the platforms of the Progressive, Socialist and Democratic parties of Nevada, and is supported by many leading Republicans of the State, we further declare that our campaign will be carried out on absolutely non-partisan, non-political lines; it will be advanced as work for human justice and good government appealing

to all men and women for the public good, through methods found successful by suffrage leaders who have won campaigns in California and the neighboring suffrage States by which we are entirely surrounded.

Our educative propaganda will be presented not only through the press wherever possible, but by public speakers as in the past, as time and funds permit. We shall meet unfair attack and false statements, and make every effort to keep the true and just view before the public, even as we deplore the necessity for it.

"We shall do less whenever we shall believe what we are doing hurts the cause, and we shall do more whenever we shall believe doing more will help the cause."

We are aware that there are still living some honest and old-fashioned people who even at this day and age are sincerely opposed to equal suffrage, because they cannot see that women are not now adequately protected. But these unprogressives are few and can be educated. In the main the opposition to votes for women as shown by its character in the victorious States of California, Washington, Oregon, and by the opposition now developing under our eyes and ears in Nevada, is due to certain vested and immoral interests which consistently oppose equal suffrage because they fear its good results.

The just men and women of our State will meet this situation with courage and constancy; there are few among us so craven and poor spirited as to fear to work for justice because of what the powers of wickedness and injustice may attempt against us. If it be decreed that we must use the new constitutional measure of the initiative to win freedom, or if our reform be ungraciously deferred in Nevada, the last black, non-suffrage State of the West, until it is won by the national constitutional amendment, now imminent, we shall have the courage and constancy to meet that situation, also.

Justice for Nevada women is inevitable.

We cannot more clearly express our sense of solemn obligation to the work in hand than by quoting the closing paragraph of our recent annual report:

"To win the enfranchisement of Nevada's women our cause must be first in the hearts of all. Personal misunderstandings, technical disagreements, local differences will all be forgotten in our great common purpose to win human rights, to which this year's work is dedicated. Then we cannot fail. Our work is as much a work for human freedom as was the great emancipator's, when he freed the black slave; our success depends as much on the united support and co-operation of the brave and true women of Nevada, as did his on saving the Union. As women consecrated to the emancipation of women let us recall, and remember, during the coming year, his words:

"'In giving freedom to the slave, we assure freedom to the free —honorable alike in what we give and what we preserve. We shall

nobly save or meanly lose the last, best hope of earth * * * The way is plain, peaceful, generous, just.'"

Respectfully submitted by the executive committee of the Nevada Equal Franchise Society.

GRACE E. BRIDGES, Corresponding Secretary.
ANNE H. MARTIN, President.

November, 1913.

PENNSYLVANIA

The work of the Pennsylvania Woman Suffrage Association during the past year has been much like the customary suffrage activity in other States. Candidates have been interviewed, recognition by all the political parties of the State has been sought and secured, meetings have been held and literature distributed in novel ways. Organizers have gone into every county of the State, a Men's League has been organized, and the modern forms of propaganda have been followed when suitable to Pennsylvania conditions. The underlying, unheralded, unwavering aims of our work are two—women and organization. During the past year the number of enrolled suffragists in the State has increased from 9,374 to 28,602; the annual budget increased from $2,889.96 to $9,708.78. At the annual convention of the State Association held in October, 1913, a $50,000 budget was voted for the coming year's work.

The first important act of the year was the removal of our State Headquarters to the capitol city, Harrisburg. The efficacy of this change has been proven beyond question, and the move was the leading indirect influence in securing the passage of our bill by the Legislature. The State Association has five paid workers, an executive secretary, a field secretary, a publicity manager, and two stenographers. In addition there are splendid local headquarters in the two extreme corners of the State, Philadelphia with two paid workers, and Pittsburg with three, both closely co-operating with the State centre. The State Executive Committee of fifteen members representing all sections of the State meets monthly in Harrisburg, having all-day sessions, sometimes running into the evening, and on one occasion developing into a two-day meeting.

The most important even of the year was the passage by the Legislature of the resolution providing for the submission to the voters of a Constitutional amendment enfranchising the women of the State. It is said that the Pennsylvania Legislature witnessed the bitterest successful fight ever made on the question. Motions on it forced by our opponents resulted twice in tie votes and on both occasions the bill was saved by the Lieutenant-Governor of the State, who broke the tie by voting in our favor. Such a history for a suffrage bill has not been duplicated in the United States, and the bill was finally carried by the bare required Constitutional majority of one. There were no cases of nervous prostration recorded, and the suf-

fragists are still living. After the last vote the Anti-leader dissolved into tears, we are told, which was quite natural and so womanly.

Owing to the heterogeneous population and widely diversified interests and occupations of the people, all forms of suffrage organization are encouraged by the State Association, including clubs and the Woman Suffrage party. The State Association has recorded its belief in the Party as the most effective kind of organization for political purposes, and for three years has had a standing committee on party organization.

A year ago, Pennsylvania's 67 counties were divided into twelve divisions for the purpose of party organization with a leader of each division, a county chairman responsible to the division leader, and the customary legislative, borough, township, and precinct officers. The State Standing Committee to organize the party consists of the State Chairman and these twelve division leaders. This plan has been highly successful in Pennsylvania, and the work accomplished gives us a substantial foundation for the campaign.

The result of having the Party a portion of the State Association's activity is harmonious and closely knit co-operation. In fact, the politicians of the State inform us that we are fortunate in Pennsylvania, in that we have but one State association, and that all the forces are working under the central body. This fact is said by the political leaders to be an essential and our greatest asset in the campaign.

The State Literature Department has been operated on a business basis. During the year it began to do its own printing, and has printed a quarter of a million Pennsylvania flyers, 100,000 leaflets, besides other literature, and is now planning to print all of the cheap literature to be used during the campaign.

In Philadelphia, very successful street meetings were held, and throughout the State suffragists had booths at the county fairs. The Antis also had booths at six of these fairs, which was evidently more than planned for, for when approached by a passer-by, the Anti-refrain was—"We have some buttons, but I am so sorry we are just out of our best arguments."

In the main, we have emphasized indoor meetings because our effort is concentrated on reaching the women first, and on getting strong systematic organization. We are impressed with the obligation of arousing our women to activity by efficient methods, and believe that in the first year of a two and one-half year campaign intensive work among the women pays best and is absolutely necessary. In 1913 we tried to do the work of 1913, and not that of 1915. Again we have harkened to the advice of our many successful political friends to beware of a campaign that becomes an anti-climax and that sustained campaign enthusiasm must be based on thorough, solid organization work.

Realizing that no power is so mighty as the press, and no man so important as the editor, we have had a professional press worker

at State Headquarters, who sends a weekly press letter to the newspapers, and has operated the State Press Department on a State wide plan. In the beginning of the year we circularized the 1,350 papers and publications of the State with the result that over 500 papers are to-day receiving our weekly letter. During the coming year, this service will be augmented by feature stories and special work. I believe that the majority of the editors are friendly. The policy of our publicity work may be of interest. We do not favor nor use wide-open publicity any more than do other organizations aiming to secure a political end. We get all possible publicity for our public meetings, conventions, etc.; we give no publicity to our organization work, tours of field secretaries or officers, our political plans and business. We have learned that publicity for suffrage is quite different from publicity for other kinds of woman's work, and that it must be handled so as to get the political result. The State subcribes for press clipping service and considers constant professional press work an absolute essential to success. In this year's budget, the item for this one department is about $6,000.

We have a campaign button, a speakers' bureau and a study course, though the two latter do not hang on the button. The button bears the keystone with a band marked, "Votes for Women, Pennsylvania, 1915," and is blue and white—blue being the official color of the State government. We attach ourselves to the government in every way possible. Our rule is to sell the buttons, not to give them away—yet. We sell them for a penny up, and we take a dollar for one without quivering.

The speakers' bureau has been formed in an effort to thus early eliminate one of the difficulties of a campaign. Its object is not only to secure the finest speakers at the lowest possible rates for a long term, but to make sure that the best speakers are well distributed over the State and no corner neglected. Pennsylvania men and women have been specially listed on the bureau because we consider it most advantageous to have our cause advocated by our own citizens. However, the bureau has listed outside celebrities, and will secure any one for whom there is a request.

A study course has been outlined for the use of the many women who have asked what they or their clubs or groups should study or read. The course is based on the modern activities of women and is grouped under three divisions—economic, social and political.

In Pennsylvania the suffragists have taken part locally in parades in what seems to us to be the ideal way,—by marching as sections in community events, such as Memorial Day parades, in the Perry Centennial Celebration in Erie, and Labor Day parades. In this way we not only show our power, strength and zeal, but we take our natural place in a community event and are thereby not unwisely associated with the whole body politic. Many of our Pennsylvania women think that there have been too many purely suffrage parades, and

certainly, if we were to answer all the calls to march that come to us, we would have little time and no money left for the work at home. In the words of a college enthusiast, we should be doing nothing but walking the streets. It is probably desirable to have one great national suffrage parade each year, but to attempt to have a number of such parades for which national appeals are made is to detract from the effect of many and to lessen interest in all.

During the year the Pennsylvania suffragists have had the customary testimonials of friendship on the part of fraternal organizations. The Pennsylvania State Grange reaffirmed its endorsement of woman suffrage as did the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor. The International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen which met in Pittsburg, Pa., went on record in favor of votes for women. At the annual convention of the State Federation of Pennsylvania Women, the club women by a large vote adopted a resolution providing for a standing committee on woman suffrage and approving the action of the State Legislature in passing the resolution to submit the question to the voters. A further resolution provides a definite place for definite action by the Federation on the subject next year.

The State Association participated in National work by answering the calls for delegations for the pre-inaugural parade in Washington and the New York parade in May, and the further demonstration in Washington, July 31st. In addition to paying its pledge of $500 for national work, there were many individual contributions from Pennsylvania to the National Association, and also to the National Congressional Committee for its work on the Federal bill. Pennsylvania realizes that the amount given by it within one year has never been its full share, and at the State Convention, the delegates voted to contribute Pennsylvania's full share to the support of the National provided that such proportionment were equable, and that the National should not make independent effort to raise funds within the State. We have also done much work on the federal suffrage bill by way of the Pennsylvania Senators and Congressmen. The State Association protested against some of the proposed methods of the National Committee's plans with regard to Pennsylvania, but continued their activity on the Federal bill, co-operating with the National congressional Committee whenever possible.

In planning Pennsylvania's campaign the State Association will aim to obviate two of the real causes of the defeat of campaigns in other States—1st,—that the women of said States were not active for suffrage, and 2nd,—the lack of systematic and dependable organization. We are honest with ourselves, and realize now that if we lose in 1915 it will not be due to the whiskey trust, nor the vicious interests, nor the big corporations, nor the apathy of the voters; it will be due primarity to the fact that we have failed to reach the women in Pennsylvania; that we suffragists ourselves have failed to do our own job well. To put it the other way, we are convinced that if

we get the women aroused and organized, nothing can defeat us in 1915. We believe that the women of Pennsylvania will rise to their opportunity.

JENNIE BRADLEY ROESSING, President.

IOWA

Iowa is very happy to be in the five-minute list and to report to the national convention that the last General Assembly passed a suffrage bill by a very comfortable majority.

According to the State constitution of Iowa if the next General Assembly which meets in January, 1915, passes an identical bill the question will then go to the voters of the State at the next general election.

The General Assembly in addition to passing a suffrage bill defeated a bill for a vote of the women of the State as to whether or not they wished suffrage; the same sort of a bill which has been presented by our opponents in almost every State where suffrage has been an issue.

Our bill was in charge of Dr. Nina Wilson-Dewey who did effective work in securing its passage. Mr. Homer A. Miller, president of the Iowa Federation of Womens' Clubs, helped very much with the work in the Legislature and a long list of our own women gave valuable and efficient service.

Our paid membership has increased within the year (and in Iowa we have counted as members of the State Association only those who pay dues into the association) from 896 to 1,340, a gain of about 450 members.

The number is yet disappointingly small, but we feel that the next five hundred will be more easily gained than the last 450. The State Fair work was exceedingly successful. The City Council of Suffrage clubs of Des Moines arranged for the Photo-play, "Votes for Women," to be shown in a small river front park near a bandstand where nightly concerts were given during Fair week. Literally thousands of people saw the pictures and there were speeches two evenings to large audiences.

A successful two weeks' auto trip was undertaken by the State Board in September, crossing the State from east to west twice, and holding thirty meetings, most of them out of doors.

To those States which have done more campaign work than we, this does not seem so great an undertaking, but to us it had all the thrill of a new and untried adventure.

The governor of the State, the attorney-general and the editor of one of the leading newspapers of the State spoke at the first meeting on the afternoon of Labor Day. The chairman of the State Railroad Commission, the leading Jewish Rabbi of the State, a representative in the last General Assembly, a leading Unitarian minister and one

of the most prominent lawyers of the State, spent one or more days with the party.

The Mayor of Des Moines wrote to the mayors of the various towns in which meetings were held asking their interest and co-operation in the meetings and almost everywhere the speakers were introduced by the mayor of the town or by some one delegated by him.

Three women made the entire trip, Mrs. Mills of the State Board who had arranged the schedule, Miss Prouty, daughter of our Congressman from Des Moines, and the present State president. The State corresponding secretary, Mrs. Dodson and several other suffrage women were with us for a day or more, and two Des Moines papers sent reporters for a week.

There were fine audiences everywhere, and almost unanimously flattering press notices, altogether we felt it the best piece of advertising and of real propaganda work that Iowa suffragists have done for a long time.

We regret the departure of Miss Mary A. Safford, our former president, from the State. Miss Safford is now doing suffrage work in Florida where she is living for the present.

The State convention in Boone early in October elected a splendid Board of interested and enthusiastic women. The outlook for the year's work is most hopeful, and I am happy to bring greetings from the Iowa Association and to assure you of our continued faith and activity.

FLORA DUNLAP, President.

OHIO

(Woman Suffrage Association)

In 1912, 249,420 Ohio men voted for the woman suffrage amendment, nearly one-fourth of a million of men. In no State where women have been enfranchised has the vote in favor been so large and until the vote was taken in Wisconsin and Michigan the vote on both sides of this question has not been as large as this. Because this is true, Ohio women began with vigor the work of a new campaign.

The Convention of 1912, directly after defeat, decided to put out an initiative petition and to go to vote in 1914. The Convention of 1913 confirmed that action, so 1914 it will be.

Our working members have doubled during the year.

Ohio has the oldest local suffrage society in the world which has held regular meetings, vis. the Toledo Woman Suffrage Association organized in 1869, forty-four years ago.

A woman with national suffrage experience and of such judgment as to have the profound respect of the National Convention and the entire association, who has spoken in many States in the Union and done campaign work and spends her entire time at suffrage work,

says that the Woman Suffrage Party of Cleveland is the most efficient suffrage organization in the United States.

The headquarters of the State are at Warren.

We have for somt time paid a good deal of attention to our Farmers' Institutes, and last year we reached 125 of these meetings, 100 of which passed a woman suffrage resolution. Besides this, thirty-six clubs of farm women have had a woman suffrage program. We had printed a farmer leaflet which went to these clubs, and to the granges, 65 of which have endorsed. The Taylor speech has been sent to every Grange officer in the State.

We have sent literature to every county official in the State, including the members of the election boards and the speech of Senator Jones to every mayor-elect. We are on our second 10,000 of the Grange leaflet.

Our Federation of Labor 250,000 members, Grange 43,000, Christian Endeavor 150,000 members, the Ohio Sunday-school Convention, the Ohio Evangelical Association 11,223, the Rural Letter Carriers Association (500 delegates present) endorsed our principle. The W. C. T. U. with 34,000, W. R. Corps with 12,513, Cleveland and Toledo Councils of Women, 2,000 members each, also the Federation of Colored Women of the State, 1,000 members, have endorsed. At the close of Miss Addams' speech at the State Federation of Women's Clubs a rising vote was taken on the suffrage question and it was almost unanimous. From these figures it is quite safe to say that of the Ohio people who have considered the suffrage question a great majority are in favor.

Our initiative petition is being circulated; we must have in round number 130,000 names and these we will get. Although we have only one paid worker, we have been able during the year to do work in all of the 88 counties. The State President has been in the field much more than usual, particularly at summer schools, institutes, and large meetings. Most of the State officers have been in the field and several young women in business devoted their vacation to field work.

We use our Executive Committee meetings for propaganda work. We hold a two-day session, the daytime being devoted to business, the first evening to street meetings in the towns of the county and the second to a public meeting at the county seat or to a banquet, as the local people think best.

There are 102 suffrage organizations in the State, representing 58 counties. Many local associations have maintained headquarters since the last campaign and many others will have them by spring.

Ohio women believe that it is well for each locality to raise and disburse its own funds. At Cleveland one entertainment cleared nearly $1,200. Columbus cleared over $500 at the Jane Addams meeting. Dayton is making a survey and has added 1,000 members to its list. Cincinnati has headquarters, entertained the Suffrage Conven-

tion and has reorganized the Woman Suffrage Party for campaign work.

Rose Livingstone has been in the State on three occasions and done great good.

The Ohio State President lent a hand in the Michigan campaign speaking several times and raising $500 at Mrs. Catt's great meeting at Detroit. Mrs. Pankhurst held three or four meetings in the State with good results.

We have a department in "Everywoman," a weekly publication which is published at Columbus.

We have lost many friends by death during the past year, but our greatest loss was that of Harry Thomas, the secretary of Ohio Federation of Labor. Scarcely a week goes by that we do not miss his advice. He was a valued friend.

We opened our books last year with $3.000 and we received another $3,000, only $50 came from outside the State. Our State chairman of finance, Miss Mary Graham Rice, has fathered in pledges about $2,000, a large share of which has been paid in. An Ohio friend, through Miss Hauser, contributed $400.

We opened our fiscal year, November 1, 1913, with $560.10 on hand. We received in pledges $2,000 at our late convention. Ohio has never seen the bottom of her money bag, but just at this writing she is dangerously near that sight.

Nearly all of our new organizations are on the non-dues paying basis, one-tenth are dues paying. We have gained about 3,500 members during the year.

Our press department is very effective. Mrs. Brooks of Cleveland is the chairman and the work is done there. We have 140 newspapers taking our material regularly direct from the State chairman and sixty women co-operating on her committee in as many different counties.

We realize that we would not have made the progress we have had it not been for our campaign. That campaign was of only three months' duration. It could not be a quiet, well-regulated affair, our own people inexperienced, so were some who came to us. The State owes a debt of everlasting gratitude to the women who aided us with money and work, such good work and so much money. Ohio never would have been where she is but for this outside help, neither would she have been there but for the loyalty of her own women. I say women, for few indeed, were the men who lent a hand.

Up to this writing Ohio has no internal troubles and it is hoped this may continue to be the case.

At the next National Convention we hope we will be real citizens. We hope this because we believe Ohio stands near the head of the nation in the progress of States and ought to be near the head in the enfranchisement of women. I can think of no joy greater than that of our own enfranchisement, for we would thus help to bring

about the enfranchisement of the women of New York and Pennsylvania. Surely with the women of Illinois, Ohio, Pennsylvania and New York enfranchised our battle will be won.

HARRIET TAYLOR UPTON, President.

OHIO

Equal Franchise Association

The Ohio Equal Franchise Association, ten months ago, opened the first permanent headquarters in southern Ohio. Here, beside transacting the regular business of the Association, we have held weekly suffrage teas, and taken orders for cooking, sewing and anything in the line of woman's work.

Within the year three attractive post-cards have been issued, for the latest of which, we gave a prize of $25.00, gaining not only an artistic piece of work for sale, but the interest and help of a number of artists.

A series of luncheons have been an attractive feature of the present season and have been very profitable.

The usual county fair work was remarkably successful this year and encouraged us by the very evident increase of suffrage sentiment. "The Voiceless Speech" we find invaluable at the noisy county fair.

Our church work is one of our strongest points, and we feel that we have done more in this direction than in any other. Churches and parish houses are now open to us, whose members and official boards would have been shocked at the idea a year or two ago.

From the beginning of our society, we have been much interested in national work, and plan an active co-operation with the Congressional Union as well as work in the southern part of our State.

As soon as it was known that a Federal amendment was proposed, our corresponding secretary wrote a letter to both Senators and each Congressman from Ohio, urging him, not only to vote but to work for the amendment. A number of replies were received, all courteous, most non-committal, a few for it, and but one emphatically against it. One asked for information, and a brief but interesting correspondence ensued.

There is more interest in southern Ohio than ever before, particularly in the women's clubs, where we constantly endeavor to place speakers, and nothing has been more productive of good than the telling of Zona Gale's "Friendship Village Stories" and suffrage stories by other authors.

Our speakers and story narrators have appeared before numerous mothers' clubs of our public schools, and have received appreciative attention.

The Ohio Equal Franchise Association has gained a large and valuable membership this year and goes on with renewed hope and courage, confident of near victory.

FLORA E. WORTHINGTON, President.

NEBRASKA

Nebraska suffragists have in the past year been laying the foundation for an active campaign to enfranchise the women of the State in 1914. Work done by the association, and growth of equal suffrage sentiment can in no way be measured by increase in paid club members, even though these have been more than doubled without special effort. Thousands of men and women are enrolled in non-dues-paying campaign organizations throughout the State, and their numbers are increasing every day.

Modest headquarters have been maintained and thereby interest has been awakened in churches, clubs, schools, institutes, chautauquas and other out of door Summer meetings, and a flattering proportion of the newspapers, both city and country. When it became apparent that the amendment campaign must be by the initiative petition method, steps were at once taken to interest all parts of the State, and one-half of the required petition of 40,000 voters has been secured. Two-thirds of the counties have good workers in the field. So valuable has this method of campaigning been found that it will be continued after the necessary number of signers have been enrolled, as the best means of reaching voters.

Twice during the year have we had Dr. Anna Howard Shaw with us for several addresses to instruct, enthuse, and inspire both old and new workers. Last winter in February she spoke to packed houses of eager listeners in Lincoln and Omaha, and this Fall she again made the trip half way across the continent to speak before the 4,000 Nebraska teachers, who in their association meeting one year ago for the first time endorsed woman suffrage, and who are in the steady march ahead, have this year elected to the presidency of the association, composed so largely of women—a woman, Miss Kate McHugh. Another straw showing the changing trend of the times was the address by Dr. Shaw, upon their own urgent invitation, before the Omaha Commercial Club at their public affairs luncheon; and the royal way in which the Lincoln Commercial Club took care of the State convention of Nebraska suffragists.

The State association and its auxiliaries have raised and dispensed about five thousand dollars during the year, but little more than one-tenth of this being membership dues. The campaign ahead will be financed by a subscription fund to be raised among the counties of the State on a basis of population, $17,000 of which has already been pledged.

The campaign will be pushed with all possible vigor by the same official family from the headquarters established in Lincoln, under a district and county plan of organization that will have for its aim a suffrage meeting in every school house, a new star on the suffrage banner in 1914.

MRS. DRAPER SMITH, President.

NEW JERSEY

Women's Political Union

The Women's Political Union of New Jersey, has increased the number of its organizations more than 1300 per cent during the past year. In explanation of this per cent, I desire to state that we have increased from ten branches to twenty-seven, all but four since last April.

During the past Summer, from its booths and tents at grange picnics and agricultural fairs, it reached two hundred thousand of our rural population with literature, speakers and the voiceless speech.

It sent out a caravan "hike" which traversed sixteen of the twenty-one counties of the State, and held meetings in forty-one New Jersey towns.

It has established and maintained State headquarters at 79 Halsey Street, Newark.

It has published a handsome illustrated campaign year book of forty-two pages, containing much information about the whole suffrage movement in New Jersey, and suggestions for campaign work.

In co-operation with three other State organizations it paid its one-fourth quota of the expenses of our legislative campaign, which took the bill so triumphantly through the New Jersey Legislature last winter.

It co-operated in the annual New Jersey suffrage parade Oct. 25, and held the great mass meeting at Proctor's Theatre, Newark, after the parade.

It conducts Sunday teas, with speaking and refreshments, every Sunday afternoon at its State headquarters.

It is conducting two classes in public speaking, under Dr. T. Alex. Cairns, a man of national reputation on the lecture platform.

It is steadily organizing the City of Newark by election districts. It is keeping in the fields, as its official speaker and organizer, Mrs. M. J. Reynolds, who took a well known part in the successful suffrage campaigns of Colorado and Washington.

Among its various branches during the past year it has given two suffrage bazaars, two suffrage plays, a suffrage dance, several large social functions at private residences, twenty-five large public meetings, and a countless number of street meetings, parlor meetings and hearings before other organizations. Through its official speaker and others, it has presented the cause before granges, trade unions, women's clubs, church societies, improvement associations, and civic, literary and social organizations of many kinds.

It brought the moving picture suffrage play into the State and secured its exhibition in many moving picture shows.

It gave the first teachers' suffrage meeting in the State, with Grace Strachan, of New York, as speaker.

It gave the first suffrage meeting in a Catholic parish hall in the

City of Newark, with the first Catholic woman speaker to speak in Newark, Gertrude O'Reilly of Dublin. It secured the first hearing before the Ladies' Catholic Benevolent Association.

In December 8 it will give a mammoth ball in the largest public ballroom in Newark.

It secured Dr. Anna Shaw and Mrs. Emily Montague Bishop for a week each, of campaigning in the State. Aside from those already mentioned it has brought into the State such speakers as Inez Milholland, Beatrice Forbes Robertson Hale, Rev. J. G. Mythen of Baltimore, Senator Helen Ring Robinson of Denver, Florence Kelley, Leonora O'Reilly, U. S. Senator William E. Borah, and others.

Owing to the fact that twenty-five cents confers membership for life, and to the fact that special efforts have been made in that direction, the Women's Political Union has brought into the suffrage movement of New Jersey thousands of working girls and women who had never before been numbered in its ranks. It carries on its work entirely by voluntary contributions, without dues of any kind aside from the twenty-five cent fee on joining.

Through its president the Women's Political Union secured the insertion of the first suffrage plank in the platform of the Republican Party in New Jersey, in the Summer of 1912. This was the first time suffragists in New Jersey had asked for a political endorsement. This did much to make suffrage a political issue in New Jersey, and undoubtedly ensured the passage of our bill in the Senate last winter at Trenton.

The Union has secured from the State Federation of Labor the promise of a Federated Labor man from each of the twenty-one counties of the State to serve upon its campaign committee.

The methods of the Union have been steadily directed toward taking the suffrage movement of New Jersey out of a woman's club atmosphere and into that of a political issue. Its methods and spirit are dictated by the object which it keeps ever before its eyes. That object is not to build up a large and successful suffrage organization, but to carry the State in 1915.

The moving spirit of the Women's Political Union is its founder and president, Mrs. Mina C. Van Winkle of Newark, who organized the Union three years ago, and has ever since enthused it with her own intense activity, energy, enthusiasm, optimism and devotion.

Respectfully submitted,

LAURA U. NEWTON, Delegate.

CONDENSED MINUTES OF THE CONVENTION DECEMBER, 1913

Session of Monday, December 1

Convention called to order at 2.40 P. M. President Shaw in the chair.

Miss Alice Paul, President of the Congressional Union, welcomed the Convention.

Mrs. Allender, President of the District of Columbia Suffrage Association, extended welcome on behalf of the District of Columbia Organizations. The response, on behalf of the National Association, was made by Mrs. Jacobs, President of the Alabama Association.

The Chair instructed the delegations to appoint their respective members of the Resolutions Committee, and to report said appointments to the Secretary.

The Chair appointed as Committee on Courtesies: Mrs. Kent, of California, and Mrs. Crossett, of New York.

On motion of Mrs. Thompson Seton it was voted that the Chair appoint a Committee to take charge of the arrangements for elections and appointment was made as follows:

Chairman, Miss Ruutz-Rees, of Connecticut; Mrs. Helen Hoy Greeley, of New York; Mrs. Carrie Alexander Bahrenburg, of Illinois; Mrs. Mills, of Iowa; Miss Wester, of Tennessee.

Report of Membership Committee was given by the Chairman, Susan W. Fitzgerald.

It was announced that Associations of South Dakota and North Carolina had applied for membership and fulfilled all the requirements except that their application, through misunderstanding on the part of one State and the demands of the campaign on the other, had been made too late to meet the requirements of the Constitution. It was voted that since they had fulfilled all other requirements they should be admitted, and their delegates seated in the Convention.

The following reports were presented and accepted:

Preliminary Credentials Committee Report, Katharine Dexter McCormick, Treasurer.

Railroad Rates Committee Report, Marie V. Smith.

Auditors' Report, Harriet Burton Laidlaw, First Auditor.

Treasurer's Report, Katharine Dexter McCormick, Treasurer.

Corresponding Secretary's Report, Mary Ware Dennett, Corresponding Secretary.

Press Bureau Report, Elinor Byrns, Chairman.

Literature Committee Report, Frances Maule Björkman, Secretary of Department.

It was announced that Mrs. Björkman would have to sever her connection with the Literature Department, and the Convention ex-

tended to her a vote of thanks for the very fine work done by her in that department.

Meeting adjourned at 5.15.

Morning Session of Tuesday, December 2, 1913

Meeting called to order at 10.10 A. M. President Shaw in the chair.

The minutes of the pre-convention sessions of the Executive Committee on November 30 and December 1, and of the first session of the Convention Monday, December 1, were read and accepted.

The following reports were presented and accepted:

Legal Advisor, Mary Towle.

Church Committee, Mrs. Craigie.

Constitutional Revision Committee, Mrs. Catt.

Since Mrs. Catt stated that she had been unable to give much time to the work of the committee during the latter months, the acting chairman, Miss Ruutz-Rees, and Mrs. Helen Hoy Greeley were asked to discuss and explain various sections of the report.

Mrs. Greeley discussed in detail sections referring to the financial support of the National Association, and Miss Ruutz-Rees presented and discussed those sections referring to representation in the national body.

It was suggested that the proposed new Constitution be referred back to the Committee for further consideration and some changes, said committee to consider the discussion by the Convention as instructions.

It was moved that the instructions to the proposed committee be made special order of business at the afternoon session.

The following reports were then presented and accepted:

Ways and Means Committee, presented by Dean Riley in place of the Chairman, Miss M. Carey Thomas.

Report of the Field Secretary, by Jeannette Rankin, of Montana.

Meeting adjourned at 1 o'clock.

Afternoon Session of Tuesday, December 2, 1913

Meeting called to order at 2.20. Miss Addams in the chair.

To facilitate the discussion of the proposed Constitution budget, the headquarters expenses in detail were placed upon the blackboard and read by the Treasurer. It was moved by Mrs. Breckenridge and seconded, to adopt the plan for the financial support of the National as submitted by the proposed new Constitution. Discussion was limited to three minutes, no one to speak twice until all desiring so to do had spoken; 4.30 was the hour set for taking the vote.

Various substitute motions were moved providing for a report from a committee representing those opposed to the Constitution as submitted, providing for the tabling of the financial scheme till next year, for the tabling of the entire consideration of the Constitution,

etc. After a long discussion, in which motions were withdrawn and defeated, it was moved and seconded that the Constitution be recommitted to the Revision Committee, and that they bring in a new report embodying as far as possible the views of the Convention. Motion carried.

It was moved that every delegation appoint a member to serve on an Advisory Committee to consult with the Constitutional Revision Committee in this matter.

It was moved by Mrs. Hepburn to amend this motion by substituting a motion that the Convention go on record as in favor of the provision that all affiliated members of the National Association shall pay 10 cents for every certified member of their Associations up to and including 5,000. The right to amend by substituting a motion not germaine to the previous motion was raised, the Chair ruled the motion rightly made, appeal was taken from the ruling of the Chair, the ruling of the Chair was sustained. Mrs. Hepburn's motion was put and carried.

The report of the Elections Committee was presented by Miss Ruutz-Rees and accepted, providing that the primary election be held Wednesday, December 3, from 2 to 6 P. M., and the final election be held December 4 from 9 to 2.30 P. M., both elections to be held in booths conveniently located.

Attention was called to the fact that these hours did not meet the requirements of the Constitution, but the Chair asked unanimous consent for waiving of said conditions because the Convention program had necessarily been seriously modified by the many changes in connection with the hearing before the Rules Committee. Unanimous consent for this arrangement was granted.

It was moved by Mrs. Hepburn and seconded that the Convention go on record as in favor of exempting the Congressional Union from the payment of dues.

It was moved to adjourn. The motion was carried. Meeting adjourned at 6.15.

Session of Wednesday Afternoon, December 3, 1913

Meeting called to order at 2.15. President Shaw in the chair.

The minutes of the two sessions of Tuesday, December 3, were read and accepted.

It was voted that the Convention proceed to the consideration of the incorporation of the literature department as the first order of business.

Pending the report of Mrs. Raymond Brown, the following reports were presented and accepted:

Presidential Suffrage, by Elizabeth Upham Yates.

Report of the Delegates to the International Alliance, by Mrs. Weeks.

Report on Distribution of Public Documents, by Helen H. Gardener.

Mrs. Medill McCormick moved, and it was seconded, that "Since the President omitted all mention of Woman Suffrage in his Message yesterday, and since he has announced that he will send several other messages to Congress, outlining the measures which the administration will support, I move that this Convention wait upon the President, in order to lay before him the importance of the Suffrage question and urge upon him to make it an administration measure and to send immediately to Congress the recommendation that it proceed with this measure before any other.

"I also move that a committee of two be appointed to make the arrangements with the President." After discussion the motion was carried.

The Chair appointed as the committee to make these arrangements Mrs. McCormick, of Illinois, and Mrs. Desha Breckenridge, of Kentucky.

Mrs. Raymond Brown then reported the plan for the incorporation of the literature department and she moved, and it was seconded, that a committee be appointed to consider the business details and to bring a definite plan of incorporation before the Convention. Motion carried.

The Committee was appointed as follows: Mrs. Raymond Brown, Chairman; Mrs. Drier, of Brooklyn; Mrs. Hepburn, of Connecticut; Mrs. McCormick, of Massachusetts; Miss Towle, legal advisor.

The reports from State Presidents were then called for and presented as follows:

Alabama, Patty Jacobs, President.

California, Mrs. Kent, representing Mrs. Keith, President.

Connecticut, Katherine Houghton Hepburn, President.

Delaware, Martha S. Cranston, President.

District of Columbia, Nina E. Allender, President.

Georgia, Mary McLendon.

Conference on Methods, which had been scheduled for December 2, was asked for and put in charge of Mrs. Livermore, of New York.

It was moved and seconded that the time for voting for officers be extended one hour. Motion carried.

It was moved by Miss Hay, and seconded, that special order of business for Thursday, December 4, at 10 o'clock, immediately after the reading of the minutes, be the report of the Constitutional Committee and consideration of the Constitution and the Budget. Motion carried.

Mrs. Belmont gave notice that at the session of December 4 she would present a motion to move the National Headquarters to Washington.

Moved to adjourn. Motion carried. Meeting adjourned at 5.40.

Morning Session of Thursday, December 4, 1913

Meeting called to order at 10.10. President Shaw in the chair.

The minutes of the afternoon session of December 3 were read and accepted. It was moved and carried that the President read the result of the primary election, which was as follows:

Candidates for President:
- Dr. Shaw 326
- Mrs. Upton 4

First Vice-President:
- Miss Addams 349
- Scattering 5

Second Vice-President:
- Miss Ruutz-Rees 141
- Mrs. Desha Breckenridge 116

Recording Secretary:
- Mrs. FitzGerald 210
- Mrs. Hooker 66

Corresponding Secretary:
- Mrs. Dennett 208
- Mrs. Boyer 64

Treasurer:
- Mrs. Stanley McCormick 339
- Mrs. Medill McCormick 3

First Auditor:
- Mrs. Laidlaw 166
- Mrs. Jacobs 117

Second Auditor:
- Mrs. Bowen 283
- Mrs. Jacobs 26

On motion of Miss Hay, duly seconded, it was voted that the Credentials Committee present its final report. The report was presented and showed a total of voting members present, 468. By vote the report was accepted.

Mrs. Catt then presented the report on Constitutional Revision, stating that the committee wished to present two alternative propositions, as given below; but as a preliminary to take a vote as to the willingness of the Convention to accept Paragraphs D and E of Article III, Section 2, providing for payment of 10 cents per member on all members of affiliated organizations, and in case this payment did not aggregate 5 per cent of the Budget of said affiliated organi-

zations, to pay an additional amount to bring the total up to 5 per cent of said Budget.

If the Convention, by the preliminary vote, shows it is willing to accept these two provisions, then the committee recommends the adoption of the entire new Constitution as submitted with the following changes:

(1) That Article III, Section 2, Paragraph F, providing for a second assessment to meet a possible deficit be stricken out.

(2) That Article IX, concerning elections, be stricken out.

(3) That the new Constitution be then referred back to the Committee or to a new committee to be changed into Constitution and By-Laws and for such alteration of the wording as may be necessary to secure greater clearness and brevity without changing the meaning.

In case the Convention, by its preliminary vote, shows itself unwilling to accept Paragraphs D and E of Article III, Section 2, then the Committee would recommend that the old Constitution be substituted for the new and accepted with the change suggested by Mrs. Hepburn's motion of December 3, namely, that all affiliated organizations should pay to the National 10 cents on every certified member up to and including 5,000; and also that the old Constitution be amended by the addition of a Third Vice-President.

Mrs. Thompson Seton moved, and it was seconded, that the Convention go on record as in favor of accepting Paragraphs D and E of Article III, Section 2, and that the campaign States be exempted from the 5 per cent tax on their Budget, without further discussion.

At the suggestion of Mrs. Ellicott, Mrs. Thompson Seton accepted an amendment to the effect that further exceptions be made to the 5 per cent tax, these exceptions to be determined later. After discussion the motion was carried.

The Convention having thus gone on record as in favor of the provisions of Paragraphs D and E, Mrs. Catt then recommended, in the name of the committee, that the Convention accept the Constitution with changes before mentioned, and with the addition of Mrs. Thompson Seton's provision concerning campaign States.

It was moved by Miss Clay and seconded that in the proposed Constitution, in Article IV, Section 2, concerning representation and dues throughout, "$20" be changed to "$10," and "200 members" to "100 members." Motion carried.

It was then moved by Miss Shaw, Miss Addams having taken the chair, that Article IV, Section 3, be further amended so that it should read: "That the auxiliary members be entitled to representation at the Annual Convention by ten delegates." Motion carried.

The Chair asked permission to introduce Senator Clapp, of Minnesota, who extended a cordial invitation to the Association to hold its next Convention in St. Paul.

Miss Shaw then further moved that Article VII, Section 1, be

amended so as to provide that upon the Executive Council should be found "the President of all affiliated and auxiliary Suffrage organizations, and one member from each affiliated organization." Motion carried.

On motion of Miss Hay, duly seconded, it was voted to substitute Article II of the old Constitution, concerning the object, for Article II of the new Constitution.

The chair asked unanimous consent to hear the report of the Committee on Arrangements for the President's Reception of the Convention. On account of the President's illness, it was necessary to postpone this hearing. On motion of Miss Addams, duly seconded, it was voted to express the appreciation of the Convention of the President's effort to grant a hearing, and of regret for his illness.

It was then moved by Mrs. Hepburn, and seconded, that Article VIII, Section 2, of the Constitution, be amended to provide that in voting on the election of officers and the Budget, each delegation shall be entitled to cast the full vote to which its organization is entitled. After discussion the motion was lost.

Mrs. Hepburn then moved to amend by providing that each delegation cast the entire vote of its Association on all questions concerning the amount of the Budget. Motion lost.

It was moved by Mrs. Patterson, of Pennsylvania, and seconded, to amend Article III, Section 2, to read: "The affiliated members shall be the State Associations, and only one such Association shall be admitted from each State; provided that this section shall not apply to organizations already holding membership in the National Association. An Association, to become affiliated, must have at least 200 certified members." Motion lost.

It was moved by Mrs. Hepburn, and seconded, that Article III, Section 2, Paragraph E, of the proposed new Constitution, be amended by adding, "provided in no case any such Association shall be assessed more than $1,000."

It was moved by Miss Ruutz-Rees to amend by changing "$1,000" to "$1,500." The motion to amend was lost. The original motion was lost.

It was moved by Miss Hay, and seconded, that the special order of business at 2 o'clock be the report of Committee on Incorporating the Literature Department. Motion carried.

It was moved and seconded to extend the time of voting to 4 o'clock. Motion carried.

It was moved by Mrs. Laddey, and seconded, that the Convention adopt the new proposed Constitution as amended by the votes of the present session. It was ruled by the Chair that the motion was out of order until Mrs. Lewis should have been given an opportunity for which she had previously asked, to present an entirely new alternative

Constitution. Mrs. Lewis presented her proposed new Constitution as follows:

I.—Name, same as before.
II.—Object, same as before.
III.—Any person believing in the object of the Association may become a member.
IV.—The Association shall be supported by voluntary contributions.
V.—There shall be seven officers, as follows: President, First Vice-President, Second Vice-President, Corresponding Secretary, Recording Secretary, Treasurer and Auditor.
VI.—There shall be an annual conference of the members of the Association on Suffrage work.
VII.—The officers shall be elected by those members present at the annual conference, according to parliamentary rules.

Mrs. Lewis moved, and it was seconded, to adopt this alternative Constitution as a substitute for the proposed new Constitution. Motion lost.

It was moved by Mrs. Catt, and seconded, that the proposed new Constitution as amended by the votes of this session be accepted, with the provision that the Convention be able to amend further in connection with the assessment of campaign States.

Upon suggestion of Miss Addams, Mrs. Catt accepted the following amendment to her motion: That the Convention adopt the proposed new Constitution as recommended by the committee, with such further amendments as have been made in this session, and that the whole be recommitted to the committee for division into Constitution and By-Laws, for change of wording to secure clearness and brevity and for the making of some special arrangement with regard to the 5 per cent levy on Campaign States and on funds directly contributed to campaigns in their States. Motion carried.

It was moved to adjourn. Meeting adjourned at 1.20.

Session of Thursday Afternoon, December 4, 1913

Meeting called to order at 2.30. President Shaw in the Chair.

Special order of business, namely, report of the Committee on Incorporation of the Literature Department, was called for and presented by Mrs. Brown. On motion made and duly seconded it was voted that the report be accepted.

On motion of Mrs. Weeks, duly seconded, it was voted that the Publication Company be incorporated as outlined by the report of the committee.

The report reads as follows:

1. The President and Official Board shall appoint five members of the Association as incorporators, who will also be directors for

one year, until stockholders can vote for directors as in other corporations.

2. Stock should be paid for in full and non-assessible.

3. That, until February 1st, stock be open to subscription from members of National Association only. After February 1st, any amount outstanding, if any, be open to general subscription.

4. Association shall vote that after Company is incorporated, it shall give its good will and stock in trade in return for fifty-two per cent of the capital stock, which will be $26,000.

5. This $26,000 stock shall be put in hands of three trustees, to be appointed by the Official Board, and who shall hold the stock in perpetuity for the National Association.

6. Trustees shall enter into an agreement to transfer their stock to anyone designated by the Association.

Moved and seconded that the report be accepted. Motion carried.

Since the incorporation of the Literature Department must depend upon the sale of $10,000 worth of stock before the business can be undertaken, and since this question must be determined before the Budget of the Association is voted on, on motion of Mrs. Ellicott, duly seconded, it was voted that five minutes be taken for securing the pledges of stock at $10 a share. At the close of five minutes the time was further extended two minutes by common consent. At the close of this time it was announced that stock to the extent of $11,000 had been taken.

On motion of Mrs. Catt, duly seconded, it was voted that after the discussion of the Budget, the report of the Congressional work be heard and discussed.

The Budget was then taken up for discussion, and, on motion of Miss Addams, duly seconded, it was voted that the Treasurer read the report of the expenditures of the past year, omitting the expenses of the Literature Department, these figures to serve as a basis for the discussion of the Budget presented for the coming year.

This was done, and, after discussion and explanation by the Treasurer and the Corresponding Secretary, on motion of Mrs. Roessing, duly seconded, it was voted that the Convention add an item of $1,000 for free literature to be used for campaigns and propaganda purposes. Motion carried.

On motion of Mrs. Harvey, duly seconded, it was voted that the Budget be amended by adding the sum of $2,000 for an emergency fund.

On motion duly made and seconded, it was voted to accept the proposed Budget of $20,626 with the addition of the above two items aggregating $3,000, making a total Budget for the coming year of $23,626. Motion carried.

Mrs. Belmont moved, and it was seconded, that the National headquarters be moved from New York to Washington.

On motion of Mrs. Greeley, duly seconded, it was voted to lay the motion on the table. Motion carried.

The Chair presented Mrs. Champ Clark, who spoke briefly to the Convention.

Mrs. Catt withdrew her motion for the consideration of the Congressional work, that the Convention might proceed and take pledges for the Budget for the coming year. The Secretary and Treasurer estimated that from dues and assessments the Association might expect to realize $11,000, leaving a balance of $12,000 to be raised. The President then asked for pledges, and generous response was made, resulting in the promise of $12,571.

On motion by Miss Hay, duly seconded, it was voted that the special order of business for the morning session of Friday, the 5th, be the report of the Congressional Committee.

The reports from campaign States were called for and were given as follows:

Nevada—Anne Martin, President.

Montana—Jeannette Rankin, President.

Miss Blackwell, having returned from the "anti"-hearing at the Capitol, reported briefly upon it.

It was moved to adjourn. The meeting adjourned at 5.50 P. M.

Session of Friday Morning, December 5, 1913

Meeting called to order at 10.10. President Shaw in the chair.

Minutes of the two sessions of December 4 were read and accepted.

The report from Ohio was presented by the President, Mrs. Upton, as a matter of personal privilege, since she was obliged to leave the Convention on National business. Report accepted.

By unanimous consent Mrs. Medill McCormick reported on the plans for being received by the President, and upon her motion it was voted to appoint a committee of not less than 55, representing the various auxiliary organizations, to await the President's pleasure and call upon him to lay before him the importance of the Suffrage issue.

The report of the National Congressional Committee and of the Congressional Union were then presented together by Miss Alice Paul, Chairman of the Congressional Committee, who stated that it was impossible for her to separate the two reports. It was moved by Mrs. Catt and seconded that that part of the report which constituted the report of the Congressional Committee be accepted, and she asked the following questions for information:

(1) What is the relation of the National Congressional Committee to the National Association, and if it is that of a regular committee of the Association, she asked why there is no appropriation for its work for the coming year, and why there was apparently no statement of its expenditure in the Treasurer's report for the past year.

(2) She further asked what is the relation between the National Congressional Committee and the Congressional Union, and why, as the National Congressional Committee is to work for and under the control of the National Association, it should not be the policy of the Board to appoint one of its members possessed of special political acumen to devote her whole time to the work of the furtherance of the Constitutional Amendment and to the direction of the Congressional Committee.

It was moved by Mrs. Jenks and seconded that the National Board reaffirm the appointment of the Congressional Committee and appoint Miss Paul to take charge of this work. Motion ruled out of order, as a motion was already before the house.

The motion to accept the report of the Congressional Committee was then carried.

By unanimous consent opportunity was given to Congressman McKeller, of Tennessee, to address the National Association and extend to it an invitation to hold its next Annual Convention at Chattanooga. Vote of thanks to Mr. McKeller was carried.

On motion of Mrs. Catt, duly seconded, it was voted that when the Convention adjourn, all unfinished business be left to the Executive Committee.

On motion of Mrs. Medill McCormick, duly seconded, it was voted that in order that the Convention may give its support to the Constitutional Amendment before Congress, the Convention instruct its affiliated organizations to carry on as active a campaign as possible in their respective States, and to see that all candidates for the United States Congress be pledged to Woman's Suffrage before the next election.

The Committee on Constitutional Revision, to which the question of the definition of campaign States had been referred, then reported as follows: That it would recommend that States in campaign be exempted from the 5 per cent payment of dues, and, further, that funds directly contributed for campaigns outside of the State be exempt from the 5 per cent tax. That it further recommended that a campaign State be defined as a State in which the Suffrage Amendment had received final legislative action or had been successfully presented by initiative petition so that the next legal step was submission to the voters. It was moved and seconded to accept the report of the Committee.

It was moved by Miss Hay, and seconded, to amend the report by defining campaign States as those States in which the Suffrage Amendment had passed one Legislature. Motion lost. Original motion was then put and carried.

It was moved by Mrs. Catt, and seconded, that it be the request of the Convention to the Executive Committee that the Congressional Committee be continued another year, and that the Official Board and

Congressional Committee co-operate so as to adjust matters that all causes of embarrassment to the members of the Convention be removed. Mrs. Catt accepted as an amendment to her motion the following addition: That the Official Board, at its post-convention meeting, shall estimate what money is available over and above the needs of the Budget, and shall appropriate such money as seems possible to the work of the Congressional Committee. Motion carried.

It was moved and seconded that the report of the Congressional Union be accepted. Motion carried.

President Shaw rose to a question of personal privilege to answer a statement incorrectly made in the press report of her address on Monday evening, accusing her of stating that militancy was now the only available weapon. She explained that her statement had been a quotation from Miss Anthony giving quite a different impression from that stated, and she closed with the statement that the National Association would never use other than Constitutional methods, inasmuch as they would win by the employment of such methods.

Miss Addams rose to a question of personal privilege to deny a reported rumor to the effect that the entire Official Board would resign if the National headquarters was moved to Washington.

The report of the Resolutions Committee was called for and presented. On motion duly made and seconded it was accepted with several additions.

On motion of Mrs. Catt, the Chairman of the Constitutional Revision Committee, duly seconded, it was voted to omit from the new Constitution that clause fixing the date of the Convention and to insert a clause providing that the date be left to the discussion of the Official Board.

The delegates from the Woman's Party of Cook County, Ill., announced an additional pledge of $1,000 to the National Association through Illinois in honor of the famous lobby that won freedom for women in that State, namely, Grace Wilbur Trout, Mrs. Sherman M. Booth, Mrs. Antoinette Funk, and Mrs. Medill McCormick.

Moved to adjourn. The meeting and the Convention adjourned at 12.40.

CONDENSED MINUTES OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING

Pre-Convention Meeting, Saturday, November 29, 1913

Meeting called to order at 8.30.

President Shaw in the chair.

The roll was called.

On motion duly made and seconded it was voted that the program as printed be adopted as the order of business of the Convention.

On motion duly made and seconded it was voted that the Chair

appoint a committee of two to draw lots for the seating of the delegates in the Convention.

The recommendations made by the Official Board to the Executive Committee and the Convention were then read.

The first recommendation was that the incorporation of the Literature Department, according to the recommendation of the special committee appointed for that purpose, be approved, provided that stock to the amount of $10,000 (ten thousand dollars) be pledged.

On motion duly made and seconded it was voted that the recommendation for the incorporation of the Literature Department be endorsed by the Executive Committee.

The second recommendation made by the Official Board to the Executive Committee was the adoption of the proposed budget for 1914. On motion duly made and seconded it was voted that the consideration of the budget be postponed until after action upon the proposed Constitution.

The third recommendation from the Official Board was an endorsement of the Suffrage School as a method of work and an offer on the part of the National Association to organize and send out a traveling suffrage school when requested by six or more States, provided said States shall agree to share the expense thereof.

On motion of Miss Blackwell, duly seconded, it was voted to approve of this recommendation concerning the suffrage school.

The fourth recommendation of the Official Board was the adoption of the proposed new Constitution, with certain verbal changes. By previous motion, the consideration of this recommendation had been made the first order of business for the meeting of Monday forenoon.

A telegram from Governor Eberhardt, of Minnesota, was read, inviting the National Association to hold its next Annual Convention at St. Paul, and on motion duly made and seconded, it was voted to send him a telegram of appreciation for the extended courtesy.

The meeting then adjourned at 10 P. M.

December 1, 1913

Meeting called to order at 10.30.

Miss Addams in the chair.

On motion duly made and seconded it was voted to consider the proposed new Constitution section by section.

On motion duly made and seconded it was voted to recommend to the Convention to adopt Article I as proposed.

On motion duly made and seconded it was voted that the Executive Committee recommend the adoption of Article II, as proposed.

On motion duly made and seconded, it was voted to recommend the adoption of Article III, Section 1.

On motion duly made and seconded it was voted to recommend Article III, Section 2, heading paragraph.

On motion of Miss Blackwell, duly seconded, it was voted to amend this paragraph by adding "societies now auxiliary to our State Association shall not be eligible to direct membership in the National, unless they have been refused auxiliaryship in their States." Motion carried by vote of 32—26.

Moved and seconded to recommend that Article III, Section 2, heading paragraph as amended.

On motion duly made and seconded it was voted to recommend the adoption of Article III, Section 2, paragraph a.

On motion duly made and seconded, it was voted to recommend the adoption of Article III, Section 2, paragraph b.

On motion duly made and seconded it was voted to recommend to the Convention for adoption Article III, Section 2, from paragraph c to close.

On motion of Mrs. Dennett, duly seconded, it was voted that the minutes of the Convention be read only once a day at the beginning of the morning session.

Meeting adjourned at 12.45.

Post-Convention Meeting, Friday, December 5, 1913

Meeting called to order at 2.10.

President Shaw in the chair.

It was moved and seconded to exclude the press from this meeting. Motion carried.

The President then raised for discussion the question of establishing some definite connection between the enfranchised women of the United States and the National Association, and, after discussion, on motion duly made and seconded, it was voted that the Official Board appoint a committee to devise such a scheme and when approved by the Board, such scheme become effective.

On motion duly made and seconded it was voted to accept the minutes with necessary verbal corrections.

On motion by Mrs. Dennett, duly seconded, it was voted that the reports of Associations, except those from campaign States, be filed with the Secretary long enough in advance of the Convention for them to be printed and in the hands of the delegates at the Convention.

Mrs. Roessing, of Pennsylvania, asked for instructions of the Executive Committee as to statements in press letters circulated in the various States and stating the policies of the National Association.

After discussion, on motion by Miss Hay, duly seconded, it was voted that it be the sense of the Executive Board that any press notice issued by a committee of the National Association outlining the

policy of the National Association must have the O. K. of the Official Board, or of someone authorized by the Official Board.

Miss Hay asked that the Official Board have the new Constitution printed and sent out at once without waiting for the printing of the minutes.

On motion of Mrs. Dennett, duly seconded, it was voted that the Executive Committee co-operate to secure requests from members of various affiliated Associations that their dues might be considered as subscriptions to the Monthly Bulletin of the National.

On motion by Mrs. Leonard, duly seconded, it was voted that the plans of the Election Committee for the method of elections be sent out to the various affiliated and auxiliary organizations not less than three months previous to the next Convention.

On motion by Mrs. Dennett, duly seconded, it was voted that it be the sense of this body that if the reports of the affiliated and auxiliary organizations be not in the hands of the Secretary by the 20th of December, the printing of the minutes shall not be delayed.

Mrs. Breckenridge asked for discussion of what the National could do for those weaker States not yet campaign States.

On motion by Mrs. Park, duly seconded, it was voted that arrangements be made for work conferences covering one or two days preceding the Convention, and if possible, during the sessions of the next Convention.

On motion duly made and seconded it was voted that, at the next Convention there be an official timekeeper, selected by the Board.

The Chair asked for the appointment of the Membership Committee, and it was voted, on motion duly made and seconded, that those members of the Membership Committee who are eligible shall be re-appointed for the coming year.

On motion duly made and seconded, it was voted that Mrs. Jacobs, of Alabama, and Mrs. Trout, of Chicago, be appointed to the remaining vacancies on the Membership Committee.

Meeting adjourned at 3.45.

SUSAN W. FITZGERALD, Recording Secretary.

CONSTITUTION OF THE NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

Adopted by the Convention at Washington, December, 1913

NOTE—All new matter is set in italics. References in brackets are to the old Constitution.

Article I

Name

The name of this body shall be the NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION. (Art I.)

Article II

Object

The object of this Association shall be to secure protection, in their right to vote, to the women citizens of the United States, by appropriate National and State legislation. (Art. II.)

Classes of Membership, Dues and Obligations

Section 1. There shall be five classes of members, viz.: Affiliated, Auxiliary, *Associate,* Co-operating and Life Members. (See Art. III.)

Sec. 2. *Any suffrage organization of 200 or more certified members may become an Affiliated member.*

a. An Affiliated member shall, eight weeks prior to the National Convention, certify to the Treasurer, in a writing signed by three officers, the membership recognized by it at that date.

b. An Affiliated member shall pay annual dues of ten cents for every certified member up to and including 5,000 members, and may pay similar dues on certified members in excess of that number.

c. An Affiliated member shall, eight weeks prior to the National Convention, submit to the National Treasurer a budgetary estimate of its total expenditures for its current fiscal year, based upon its actual expenditures during the first ten months of that year. No gift from an Affiliated member to a campaign State shall be included in such estimate.

d. Whenever its total membership dues payable shall amount to less than 5 per cent of its year's expenditures so computed, an

Affiliated member shall make additional payment of the difference between such 5 per cent and its said total dues, such payment to be made within the second quarter of the National Association's fiscal year, upon notice and requisition by the Treasurer; except that no Affiliated member in any campaign State shall be required to make any such additional payment.

e. For the purposes of this article a campaign State shall be any State in which a woman suffrage referendum shall be pending in consequence of final action by the State Legislature or the due filing of an initiative petition.

Sec. 3. *Any non-affiliated suffrage organization* may become an Auxiliary member upon approval by two-thirds of the Executive Council and upon payment of annual dues of *$100.00.* (Art. III, Sec. 2.)

Sec. 4. *Any* organization *which officially endorses woman suffrage* may become an *Associate* member upon approval by two-thirds of the Executive Council and upon payment of annual dues of *$25.00.* (Art. III, Sec. 6.)

Sec. 5. Any individual may become a Co-operating member upon payment of annual dues of *$10.00.* (Art. III, Sec. 5.)

Sec. 6. Any individual may become a Life member upon payment of *$100.00.* (Art. III, Sec. 3.)

Article IV

The Annual Convention, Privileges and Representation

Section 1. The Annual Convention shall be composed of the Directors and ex-Presidents of the Association, Chairmen of Standing Committees, Presidents of Affiliated and Auxiliary Organizations and members thereof elected to the Executive Council, and all delegates regularly chosen by Affiliated, Auxiliary and Associate organizations and duly accredited to the Convention, each of whom shall be entitled to vote thereat. (Art. III, Sec. 4.)

Sec. 2. An Affiliated member shall be entitled to representation at the Annual Convention as follows:

a. By its president and one delegate for every 100 *certified* members, or major fraction thereof, for whom it pays annual dues of ten cents per member. (Art. III, Secs. 1 and 4.)

b. By one delegate for every $10 of any assessment paid by it under Article III, Section 2, e., provided, however, that for every $10 so paid a membership of 100 shall be certified to as existing in addition to that membership upon which dues shall already have been paid.

Sec. 3. An Auxiliary member shall be entitled to representation at the Annual Convention by ten delegates. (See Art. III, Secs. 1 and 4.)

Sec. 4. An Associate member shall be entitled to representation at the Annual Convention by one delegate. (See Art. III, Sec. 6.)

Sec. 5. A Co-operative *member shall be entitled to receive reports published by the Association and to attend all of its public meetings, but shall not be entitled to vote.* (See Art. III, Sec. 3.)

Sec. 6. A Life member shall be entitled to receive all reports published by the Association, to attend all of its public meetings and to participate in all of its discussions, but shall not be entitled to vote. (Art. III, Sec. 3.)

Sec. 7. *No representaton shall be allowed to any member that has failed to pay annual dues or meet obligations imposed by Article III.*

Article V

Directors

Section 1. *The Board of Directors of the Association shall consist of the Officers thereof as elected at the Annual Convention, in the manner hereinafter provided.*

Sec. 2. Vacancies in the Board of Directors shall be filled for the unexpired term by a majority vote of the remaining directors at any special meeting called for that purpose, at any regular meeting, or by correspondence. (New in form. See Art. VII, Sec. 3.)

Sec. 3. *In case the entire Board of Directors shall die or resign, the Secretary of the Executive Council shall call a special meeting of the Executive Council by which body directors shall then be elected for the unexpired term in the manner provided for their election at annual meetings.*

Sec. 4. *A person chosen to fill a vacancy in the Board shall serve until the close of the next annual convention.*

Sec. 5. *The Board of Directors may adopt such rules and regulations for their meetings, the conduct thereof, and the management of the affairs of the Association as they may deem proper, not inconsistent with the laws of the District of Columbia, the Constitution of the United States or this Constitution. But in their management of the affairs of the Association, the Board of Directors shall incur no financial obligations for which the Annual Convention shall not have voted the necessary funds unless they shall themselves have, or through their own efforts provide, means to meet such obligations.*

Article VI

Officers—Duties and Liabilities

Section 1. The Officers shall be a President, a First Vice-President, a Second Vice-President, *a Third Vice-President,* a Recording Secretary, a Corresponding Secretary, a Treasurer, a First Auditor and a Second Auditor. (Art. IV, Sec. 1.)

Each of such officers shall serve for the term of one year beginning immediately upon the close of the Annual Convention. (Art. VII, Sec. 2.)

Sec. 2. The President shall perform all the duties incident to her office. (Art. V, Sec. 2.)

Sec. 3. The First, the Second, or the Third Vice-President in said order shall, in the absence or incapacity of the President, perform the duties of the President. (Art. V, Sec. 3.)

Sec. 4. The Recording Secretary shall keep the minutes of the Association, and a record of all its proceedings, and shall perform all the duties incident to her office. (Art. V, Sec. 4.)

Sec. 5. The Corresponding Secretary shall *act as the Executive Secretary of the organization and make a detailed report to the Convention.* (See Art. V, Sec. 5.)

Sec. 6. *The Treasurer shall have the custody of all funds and securities of the Association, shall pay the bills of the Association, and sign all checks and orders for the disbursement of the Association's moneys, which shall be countersigned by another director, preferably the President.*

The Treasurer shall keep an accurate account of receipts and disbursements and shall send a monthly summary to the directors. (Art. V, Sec. 6.)

The Treasurer shall compute the sums due from members under Article III, Section 2, e., shall make requisition upon the respective members therefor, and shall, to the best of her ability, collect all pledges and moneys payable to the Association.

The Treasurer by and with the advice and assistance of the Board of Directors shall prepare a tentative budgetary estimate of the disbursements of the Association for the ensuing year and four weeks before the Annual Convention shall present such tentative budget to the members of the Executive Council and to all Affiliated and Auxiliary Associations.

The Treasurer shall be ex-officio chairman of the Committee on Credentials. (Art V, Sec. 6.)

Sec. 7. The Auditors shall examine and verify the books of the Treasurer and shall give a report thereof *at the first business meeting of the Convention.* (Art. V, Sec. 7.)

Article VII

Executive Council—Duties and Powers

Section 1. The Executive Council shall consist of the Directors of the Association, the Chairmen of Standing and Special Committees, the Presidents of Affiliated and Auxiliary Suffrage Organizations, and one member from each Affiliated organization, of whom fifteen shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business. (Art. VII, Sec. 1.)

The President of the Association shall act as President of the Council. A Secretary other than a Director shall be nominated and elected by acclamation at the post-convention meeting of the Council.

Sec. 2. Regular meetings of the Executive Council shall be held immediately preceding and immediately following the Annual Convention

of the Association. (Art. VI, Sec. 2.) *Special meetings may be called at any time by a majority of the Directors, or by the President upon the written request of fifteen members of the Executive Council.*

Notice of a special meeting shall be mailed to each member at least two weeks before the date of such meeting.

Sec. 3. *The Executive Council shall deliberate concerning the plans and policies of the Association and the opportunities and means for their advancement in the several sections of the United States as well as in the nation as a whole,* and shall make recommendations and suggestions to the Association in regard thereto at the business sessions of the Convention *and to the Directors from time to time as occasion or prudence may urge.* (See Art. VI, Sec. 3.)

Sec. 4. The members of the Executive Council shall act also by correspondence, a majority vote determining, upon all matters referred to the Council by the Directors (Art. VI, Sec. 4) and, *whenever requested or empowered by the Directors, they or any of them shall advise or co-operate with the Board or advise, act or co-operate with or upon any of its committees for the transaction of Association business.*

Sec. 5. *The Executive Council shall at its pre-convention session give special consideration to the budget for the following year and shall make written recommendations to the Convention in regard thereto.*

Sec. 6. The Executive Council shall, *at its regular post-convention session,* elect from its own number a Committee on Membership, consisting of five members, which shall pass upon the qualifications of organizations applying for affiliated or associate membership in the Association. (By-Law III, Sec. 3.)

Article VIII

Amendment

This Constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote of any annual meeting, after one day's notice in the Convention, provided that notice of the proposed amendment shall have been given to the Board and said Board shall have made publication thereof *in at least three of the leading suffrage periodicals, not less than six weeks before the opening of the Convention.* (Art. VIII.)

[NOTE: The proposed Article on Elections was omitted by vote of the Convention.]

By-Law I

Annual Meeting

Section 1. There shall be an Annual Convention of the Association for the election of Directors, *the adoption of a budget* and the transaction of such other business as may properly come before it. (By-Law I, Sec. 1.)

The Convention shall be held upon days and in a city to be designated by the Directors, and shall be in session for at least four business days.

Notice of the Convention shall be mailed to all Affiliated, Auxiliary and Associate members and shall be published in three of the leading suffrage periodicals at least six weeks before the opening of the Convention.

Sec. 2. The number of delegates' credentials issued to any member shall be determined six weeks in advanc of the National Convention by the member's standing in the Association at that date and the Treasurer shall thereupon provide *Affiliated* and Auxiliary members with blank credentials for delegates *and alternates.* (Art. V, Sec. 6.)

Sec. 3. *Affiliated and Auxiliary organizations shall have communicated the names and addresses of their respective delegates and alternates in writing to the Credentials Committee at least twenty-four hours before the opening of the Convention.*

Sec. 4. *No credentials shall be issued after the close of the first business day of the Convention.*

Sec. 5. *Delegates holding certificates signed by the President and the Recording Secretary of their respective organizations and presenting the same to the Credentials Committee before the close of the first business day of the Convention shall be deemed prima facie entitled to their seats and pending the final report of the Credentials Committee shall have the right to vote upon all questions except that of their right to their own seats.* (See By-Law I, Sec. 5.)

Sec. 6. *Accredited delegates to the Convention shall sit together by delegations in the section of the Convention hall reserved for them. Alternates shall be seated together elsewhere and shall not be admitted to seats in the delegates' section except when duly recognized as acting delegates.*

Sec. 7. The Committee on Resolutions shall consist of representatives from the several States and the District of Columbia, one person to be elected from each State and one from the District of Columbia by the delegations therefrom, *at a joint meeting during the Convention called by the President of the senior organization thereof.* This committee shall choose its own chairman. (By-Law II and By-Law III, Sec. 2.)

Sec. 8. In case an Affiliated or an Auxiliary organization shall be unrepresented at the sessions of the Executive Council by its President or duly chosen member, the delegation from such organization shall have power to elect from its own number a representative to the Council. (By-Law I, Sec. 2.)

Sec. 9. *The morning session of the second business day, or as much thereof as may be necessary, shall be given to discusion of the tentative budget.*

Sec. 10. *Beginning with the morning session of the fourth business day, no further business shall be considered until a budget for the ensuing year shall have been adopted.*

By-Law II

Standing Committees

Section 1. The Board, immediately after the Annual Convention, shall appoint a legal advisor and Standing Committees as follows: Congressional Work, Elections, Finance, Literature, Local Arrangements and Railroad Rates, Presidential Suffrage, Press Work, Program. (By-Law III, Sec. 1.)

Sec. 2. The President of the Association shall be the Chairman of the Program Committee. (By-Law III, Sec. 1.)

By-Law III

Honorary Vice-Presidents

The Executive Council may elect as Honorary Vice-Presidents of the Association distinguished adherents of the cause of Woman Suffrage who cannot do active work in the National Association. (Art. VI, Sec. 5.)

By-Law IV

Payment of Dues and Pledges

Section 1. *Annual dues shall be paid within three months after the National Convention and in amount shall be determined upon the membership certified to the Treasurer in the manner provided for in this Article; except that an Affiliated body joining the Association more than 90 days after the Annual Convention shall pay its dues immediately upon joining, the amount thereof being determined upon its membership certified at the date of joining.*

Sec. 2. *Dues of other than Affiliated members shall be paid by such members immediately upon their joining the Association and thereafter annually within 30 days following the close of the National Convention.*

Sec. 3. Pledges made at the Convention shall be payable not later than April 1st of the following year. (By-Law I, Sec. 6.)

By-Law V

Treasurer's Bond and Report—Audit of Books

Section 1. The Treasurer shall give bond for *the faithful performance of her duties* in such sum as *the Board may determine.* (See By-Law V.)

Sec. 2. The books of the Treasurer shall close four weeks before the Annual Convention and the report of the Treasurer shall be *made* at the *first* business session of the Annual Convention. (Art. V, Sec. 6.)

Sec. 3. *The books of the Association shall be audited by a certified public accountant every six months.*

By-Law VI

Amendment

Section 1. These By-Laws may be amended by a two-thirds vote of any annual meeting, after one day's notice in the Convention, provided that notice of the proposed amendment shall have been given to the Board and said Board shall have made publication thereof in at least three of the leading suffrage periodicals, not less than six weeks before the opening of the Convention. (Art. VIII.)

[NOTE: The Articles submitted to and adopted by the Convention were not separated into Constitution and By-Laws until after the Convention. In the absence of action by the Convention on the method of amendment of By-Laws, the Revision Committee had no power to incorporate into the By-Laws a method of amendment different from that adopted by the Convention regarding the same sections when they were denominated "Constitution." Accordingly, the provision for the amendment of the By-Laws is the same as that for the amendment of the Constitution.]

LIFE MEMBERS

Arabia

Hamilton, Susan V. V.

Arizona

Munds, Frances W.

Alabama

Hundley, Mrs. Oscar
Logan, Adella Hunt

California

Bidwell, Annie K.
Bodwell, Beda S. Sperry
Brown, Emily A.
Ballard, Adelaide
Braly, J. H.
*Braly, Mrs. J. H.
Cachot, Catherine
Corbert,Annie L.
Deering, Frank P.
Deering, Mabel Craft
Dwight, Florence E.
Elliott, Albert H.
Faulkner, Anne R.
Goodridge, Mrs. Benjamin
Gould, Mary E. F.
Hollingsworth, Alice L.
Howard, Emma Shafter
*Howard, Karl
Howard, Maud Shafter
Janvier, Louisa S.
Jewett, Fidelia
Jordan, David Starr
Kaufman, Viola
*Keith, William
Keith, Mary McHenry
Keen, Mary S.
Krebbs, Abbie E.
Martin, Miss L. J.
McHenry, Ellen J.
Moore, Mrs. A. A.
Rosebrook, Frances H.
Ringrose, Mrs. Rhoderic
Schlingheyde, Clara
Sperry, Mary Simpson
*Sargent, Ellen Clark
Sperry, Dr. Mary A.
Spencer, Philenda
Stambach, Helen W. K.
Stambach, Dr. Ida V.
Swift, Mary Wood
*Taylor, Lucretia Watson
Waters, Margaret E.
Way, Amanda
Whelan, Carrie A.
*Wright, Emily G.
Wills, Madeline Francis

Canada

Hughes, Laura C.

Colorado

Ashley, Susan Riley
Bradford, Mary C. C.
Cornwall, Amy K.
Laughlin, Gail
Meredith, Emily R.
Meredith, Ellis
*Patterson, Katherine A. G.

Connecticut

*Hooker, Isabella Beecher
*Lewis, H. J.

Delaware

Cranston, Martha S.

District of Columbia

Barber, Julia L. Langdon
Blount, Lucia E.
Crocker, Charlotte

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* Deceased

Ezekiel, Rachel Brice
Gillett, Emma M.
*Hemstreet, Elizabeth
Henderson, Mary Foote
Henry, Margaret J.
Jenkins, Alice J.
Kent, Carrie E.
McClary, Lizzie
Mills, Hannah Cassell
*McPherson, Mary A.
*McWhirter, Martha
Monroe, Emma F.
*Nason, Mary C.
Noyes, Ruth Astor
Owen, Robert L. (Senator)
*Parnell, Rosena M.
Richards, Janet E.
*Snow, Sophronia C.
Talbot, Mary L.
Terrell, Mary Church
*Thompson, Ellen Powell
Tindall, Helen Rand
Terry, Mary E.
Wright, Jessie Waite
White, Nettie Lovisa
White, Mrs. John Jay

Georgia

*Thomas, Gertrude C.

Florida

Jewett, Mary B.

Idaho

Boyce, Eleanor B.

Illinois

Addams, Jane
Bradford, Emily
*Butlin, Mrs. Minerva
*Campbell, Margaret W.
Dennett, Climenia K.
Fifield, Ellen E. B.
Fifield, Elizabeth M.
Gross, Maud Emily
Harwood, Bertha
Kendall, Anna N.
McCormick, Katharine Louise
McCulloch, Catharine Waugh
McCulloch, Catharine Waugh, 2d
Noyes, Ida S.
Schneppe, Angie Rand
Smith, Dr. Julia Holmes
Shanklin, Gertrude A.
Springer, Elmina E.
Ward, Mrs. Coonley

Indiana

Bybee, Mary Isabella
Pierce, Alice Wheeler
Sewall, May Wright

Iowa

Adams, Mary Emsley
Barnes, Josephine A.
*Bemis, George W.
*Bemis, Birdie May
Burghardt, Caroline V.
*Callahan, Martha C.
*Coggeshall, Mary J.
Gale, A. H.
Hinkle, Dr. George W.
*Logan, Nancy
McCarron, Sarah T.
*Romans, Metie Laub

Kansas

Diggs, Mabel La Porte
Gregg, Laura A.
Hoffman, C. A.
Johnston, Lucy B.
Morrow, Sarah E.
Stivers, Mrs. H.
Stubbs, Mrs. W. R.

Kentucky

Bennett, Sarah Clay
Clay, Laura
Clay, Mary B.
Davies, Sarah Coonley
Giltner, Mary E.
Robinson, Helen Avery
Trimble, Mary R.
White, Laura R.

Louisiana

Coleman, Dudley H.
Gordon, Jean M.
Gordon, Kate M.
Gordon, Fannie R.
*Merrick, Caroline E.
O'Brien, Kate Mushet
Ordway, Evelyn Walch
Otis, Susannah N.
*Romain, Jesica Coleman
Stevens, Jess

Maine

Baker, Harriet U. Fuller
Bates, Helen N.
Day, Lucy Hobart
*Donnell, Lilla Floyd
Fernald, Mrs. Fannie J.
Fuller, Dr. Jennie
*Fulton, Dr. Abby M.
*Hamilton, Sara Fairfield
Osgood, Etta H.
*Spofford, C. W.
*Spofford, Jane H.

Maryland

*Barton, Clara
*Bates, Mrs. Octavia Williams
Garrett, Miss Mary
Grove, Margaret J.
*Miller, Caroline Hallowell
Overton, Constance Mills
Rogers, Mrs. Julia R.
Wright, Mrs. Jessie Waite

Massachusetts

*Anders, Carrie
Atkins, Martha N.
Blackwell, Alice Stone
*Blackwell, Henry B.
Bourne, Elizabeth
*Fowler, Anna G.
Garrison, Ellen Wright
Hill, Nellie S. Smith
*Howe, Julia Ward
Ireson, Katherine Choate
Nichols, Mae
Paul, Anne
Powers, Ellen F.
Shaw, Pauline A.
*Simpson, Eunice J.
Smith, Judith W.
Smith, Myrtle
Stolle, Antoine

Michigan

*Blodgett, Delos A.
Blodgett, Daisy Peck
Curtis, Katharine Shaw
*Hall, Olivia B.
*Hollister, Lillian N.
Jenkins, Helen P.
Perry, Belle N.

Minnesota

Anderson, Mrs. A. T.
Cash, Alice Scott
Farmer, Mrs. Eugenia B.
McClary, Clyde
McClary, Lizzie
Koch, Dr. Margaret
Nelson, Julia B.
Russell, Elizabeth A.
Stockwell, Maud C.
Thompson, Sarah Vail
Wheeler, Mary Powell

Montana

Dann, Mrs. P. A.

Missouri

Turner, Sarah E.

New York

Avery, Susan Look
Anderson, Sarah E.
*Anthony, Susan B.
*Anthony, Mary S.
Alleman, Zobedia
Bahl, Carrie
Brannan, Mrs. John Winters
Babcock, Maude R.

Belmont, Mrs. Oliver H. P.
Babcock, Elnora N.
*Bradley, Victoria
Brooks, Laura Sprague
Baker, Jennie V.
Benedict, Mrs. Crystal Eastman
Cuinet, Dr. L. Adele
Cameron, Amelia
*Carey, Cornelia H.
*Catt, George W.
Catt, Mrs. Carrie Chapman
*Chapman, Marianna W.
Craigie, Mrs. Mary E.
Carpenter, Mrs. Herbert S.
Cooley, Winifred Harper
Crossett, Mrs. Ella Hawley
*Davis, Amelia Stowell
*Dewey, Emogene L.
*Dormitzer, Anna
Eastman, Max
Ely, Sophia Fuller
Emery, Dr. Mary W.
Flanders, Gertrude A.
Fraser, Mrs. Nicholas Shaw
French, Blanche Culbertson
Fraser, Rachel Shaw
Friedlander, Rebecca
Gaffney, Fannie Humphreys
*Gage, Matilda Joslyn
Gannett, Mary T. L.
Gannett, Charlotte Katherine
Greenleaf, Jean Brooks
Gilman, Charlotte Perkins
Gleason, Dr. Kate
*Hackstaff, Priscilla Dudley
*Hallock, Sarah V.
Hallowell, Mary H.
Harper, Mrs. Ida Husted
Hay, Marg G.
Howland, Miss Emily
Howland, Miss Isabel
*Howland, Hannah L.
Hull, Dorcas
Ivins, Mrs. Emma G.
Ivins, Mr. Wm. H.
*Jacobi, Dr. Mary Putnam
Kenyon, Rhody J.
Lauterbach, Amanda F.
Leslie, Mrs. Frank
Lewis, Edna B.
Lewis, Katherine, 2d
Loines, Mary Hilliard
Loines, Hilda
Loines, Sylvia
Lapham, Mary Elizabeth
Lapham, Samantha Vail
Laidlaw, James Lees
Laidlaw, Harriet Burton
Mackay, Mrs. Clarence
May, Miss Marion
*Miller, Anne Fitzhugh
*Miller, Elizabeth Smith
Mills, Harriet A.
Mills, Harriet May
Mortimor, Mignonette S.
Murtrugh, Sarah A. C.
Otis, Elizabeth G.
Ostranda, Sarah E.
Parsons, Sarah Ely
Peck, Mary Gray
Prather, A. S.
Prather, Martha Fuller
Purton, Euphemia C.
Raynesford, Georgia F.
Reilly, Caroline I.
Ricker, Dr. Marcena Sherman
Ripley, Julia T.
Sanford, Mary Thayer
*Sargent, James F.
*Sargent, Angelina M.
*Stanton, Elizabeth Cady
Sweet, Mrs. Emma B.
Sisson, Mrs. Roby S.
*Slocum Fanny T.
Taber, Susan J., M.D.
*Townsend, Marcia Allen
Villard, Mrs. Fanny Garrison
Weeks, Mrs. Anna Ross
*Willard, Elizabeth A.
Williams, Juliet Willets
Wilbour, Charlotte B.
Willis, Sarah L.

New Jersey

Blackwell, Rev. Antoinette Brown
Hall, Florence Howe
Hartshorn, Joanna
Houlings, Laura Lloyd
*Hussey, Cornelia C.
Hussey, Dr. Mary D.
*Krom, Mrs. S. R.
Laddey, Mrs. Clara S.
Lippincott, Anna W. Houlings
*Lippincott, Susan W.
Mayhew, Calista S.
Paul, Alice
Sexton, Minola Graham
Spotteswoode, Dr. Sarah C.
Squier, Ellen Hoxie
Vail, Elizabeth M.

New Hampshire

*Ives, Susan A. Whiting
Ricker, Marilla M.
White, Armenia S.

Nebraska

Albertson, Anjennette
Brayton, Alice Isabel
Carriker, Ollie K.
Daily, Annie
Dewey, Rev. Louis
Harn, Ellen D.
Hayward, Mary Smith
*Marble, Amanda J.
Norris, Fannie C.
Nelson, Nettie N.
Philbrick, Mrs. M. B.
Philbrick, Dr. Inez C.
Ward, Mary G.
Wells, Anna A.
Whitesell, Mrs. Susan
Williams, Mary H.
*Young, Clara A.

Ohio

Bacon, Anna Anthony
Bissell, Sarah A.
*Casement, John S.
Casement, Frances M.
Doty, Audrey I.
*Elwell, Martha H.
*Evergard, Caroline McCullough
Hall, Anne S.
Hauser, Elizabeth J.
Hauser, Mary B.
*McCall, Sallie J.
*Mott, Anna C.
Peters, Alice E.
*Segur, Rosa L.
*Southworth, Louisa
Siewers, Dr. Sarah W.
Sturgis, Susan M.
*Taylor, Ezra B.
Tucker, Anna Ruth
Upton, Harriet Taylor

Oregon

Buchman, Jane Y.
Coe, Viola M.
Colby, Clara Bewick
Duniway, Abigail Scott
Duniway, Dorothy Edith
Mallory, Lucy A.
Therkelson, Mary
Thompson, Dr. Mary A.

Pennsylvania

Anthony, Lucy E.
Avery, Rachel Foster
*Bartol, Emma J.
Blankenburg, Lucretia L.
Brasier, Ellen K.
Brasier, Emma J.
Boyer, Ida Porter
Campbell, Katherine J.
Costelloe, Rachel
Dewald, Kate W.
*Foster, Julia T.
Garrett, Elizabeth N.
Goudis, Alberta Morehouse
Green, Grace G.
Green, Lola M. B.
Hadley, Alice P.
Hoffman, Caroline C.
Hovenden, Martha M.

James, Alvin T.
*James, Helen N.
*James, Edith C.
Jenkins, Mary S. A.
*Kemp, Dr. Agnes
Koethen, Lidie W.
Lippincott, Caroline
Lippincott, Emily L.
Lippincott, Mary W.
*Longshore, Hannah E.
Medley, Dr. Jennie E.
Osgood, Etta H.
Pierce, Charlotte L.
Price, Ellen H. E.
Rees, Jacob
Rendell Elinor
Robinson, Caroline Hadley
Sellers, Sarah Pennock
Shaw, Anna Howard
Stecker, M. J.
Smith, Virginia Shaw
Smith, Eleanor Shaw
Smith, Eudora Shaw
Smith, Lincoln Shaw
*Thompson, M. Adeline
Thomas, M. Carey

Oklahoma

Biggers, Kate H.
*Griffiths, Rachel Rees
Stephens, Adelia C.
Rees, Rachael

Rhode Island

Dewing, Ardelia Cook
Eddy, Sarah J.
Wilbour, Sarah S.

South Carolina

*Neblett, A. Violet
Schofield, Martha

South Dakota

Johnson, Philema Everett
Woods, Dr. Frances

Tennessee

Brown, Frances Fort
Stephens, Dr. Madge P.

Texas

Finnegan, Annette

Utah

Richard, Emily S.
Wells, Emmeline

Virginia

Johnston, Mary
Johnston, Elizabeth
Johnston, Eloise
*Minor, Virginia L.

Vermont

Chandler, Mrs. A. D.
*Scott, Caroline

Washington

Brown, Annie M.
DeVoe, Emma Smith
Eaton, Dr. Cora Smith
Hutton, May Arkwright
Richardson, Ora Brown
Smith, Mrs. George A.

West Virginia

Cummins, Elizabeth
Cummins, Anna M.
Elliott, Albert H
Kendall, Virginia H.
Parsons, Mrs. N. C.

Wisconsin

Brown, Rev. Olympia
Holden, Belle S.
James, Laura

DELEGATES PRESENT AT CONVENTION

Alabama

Pattie R. Jacobs, President
Mrs. Felix Baldridge
Mrs. Oscar Hundley
Mrs. Milton Humes
Grace Francis
Lulu Francis
Grace Walker
Amelia Worthington

California

Mrs. Wm. Kent, President, proxy.
Jessie Anthony
Helen Todd
Frances Wills
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NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Pres.....Miss Martha Kimball, Portsmouth.
Mem. Ex. Coun...Mrs. Winston Churchill, Windsor, Vt.

NEW JERSEY—Woman Suffrage Association.

Pres.....Mrs. E. F. Feickert, Colonial Farm, Dunellen.
Mem. Ex. Coun...Mrs. Clara S. Laddey, 52 New Lawn Ave., Arlington.

NEW JERSEY—Woman's Political Union.

Pres.....Mrs. Mina Van Winkle, 55 Lincoln Park, Newark.
Mem. Ex. Coun...

NEW YORK—State Woman Suffrage Association.

Pres.....Mrs. Raymond Brown, 303 Fifth Ave., New York City.
Mem. Ex. Coun...Miss Harriet May Mills, Syracuse.

NEW YORK CITY—Woman Suffrage Party.

Pres.....Miss Mary Garret Hay, 48 East 34th St.
Mem. Ex. Coun...

NORTH CAROLINA—Equal Franchise League.

Pres.....Mrs. A. Henderson, Chapel Hill.
Mem. Ex. Coun...

NORTH DAKOTA—Votes for Women League.

Pres.....Mrs. Clarence M. Darrow, Fargo.
Mem. Ex. Coun...Mrs. Beulah Amidon, Fargo.

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Pres.....Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, Warren.
Mem. Ex. Coun...Mrs. O. F. Davisson, 307 Central Ave., Dayton.

OHIO—Equal Franchise League.

Pres.....Miss Flora Worthington, 623 Lincoln Ave., Cincinnati.
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Pres.....Mrs. Cora B. Gotchy, Oklahoma City.
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Mem. Ex. Coun...

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RHODE ISLAND.

Pres.....Miss Elizabeth Upham Yates, 209 Butler Ave., Providence.
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Pres.....Miss Annette Finnegan, 1116 Travis St., Houston.
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Pres.....Miss Margaret McKinney, Fairmount.
Mem. Ex. Coun...Mrs. Beulah Boyd Ritchie, Fairmount.

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Pres.....Mrs. Desha Breckenridge, 726 McClelland Ave., Lexington.

LOUISIANA—Woman Suffrage Association.

Pres.....Miss Jean Gordon, 1800 Prytania St., New Orleans.

NEW YORK CITY—Woman's Political Union.

Pres.....Mrs. Harriet Stanton Blatch, 25 West 45th St.

VIRGINIA.

Pres.....Mrs. Lila Mead Valentine, 2338 Monument Ave., Richmond.

NEW YORK CITY—Equal Franchise Society.

Pres.....Mrs. Howard Mansfield, 535 Park Ave., N. Y. City.

OFFICERS—1912-1913.

National American Woman Suffrage Association

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3rd Vice-President—CAROLINE RUUTZ-REES, Greenwich, Conn.

Corresponding Secretary—MARY WARE DENNETT, 505 Fifth Avenue, New York.

Recording Secretary—SUSAN WALKER FITZGERALD, 7 Greenough Avenue, Jamaica Plain, Massachusetts.

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2nd Auditor—LOUISE DE KOVEN BOWEN, 1430 Astor Street, Chicago, Ills.

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Kansas—Jane Slocum, Anna C. Wait.

Kentucky—Mrs. W. W. Trimble.

Maine—Hannah J. Bailey, Mrs. George S. Hunt, Margaret T. W. Merrill, Henry Blanchard, D. D.

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Massachusetts—Hon. John D. Long, Adeline Howland.

Minnesota—Priscilla M. Miles, Dr. Martha A. Ripley, Julia B. Nelson, Mrs. A. T. Anderson.

Michigan—Dean M. Jenkins, Hon. Thomas W. Palmer.

Missouri—Mrs. Beverly Allen, Rebecca N. Hazzard, Mrs. John Orrick, Mrs. Louisa G. Werth, Mrs. F. J. Edwards.

Montana—Mrs. P. A. Dann.

New Hampshire—Henry W. Blair, Armenia S. White.

Nebraska—Mary Rogers Kimball, Caroline M. Nye, Vanessa M. Goff, Mrs. Malah Brackett Philbrick, Ellen D. Harn, Ada M. Bittenbender.

Nevada—Mrs. John Williamson, Mrs. Elda Orr, Mrs. William Webster, Mrs. D. B. Boyd.

New Jersey—Rev. Antoinette Brown Blackwell, Phebe C. Wright.

New York—Anna C. Field, Jean B. Greenleaf, Mary H. Hallowell, Emily Howland, Lewia C. Smith, Matilda F. Wendt, Sylvina Green, Martha J. H. Stebbins, Sarah L. Willis.

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Ohio—Frances M. Casement, Harriet B. Stanton.

Pennsylvania—Charlotte L. Pierce, Dr. Jane V. Myers, Dr. Harriet J. Sartain, Rudolph Blankenburg, Elizabeth B. Passmore, Pres. Joseph Swain.

South Carolina—Marion Morgan Buckner, Gen. Robert H. Hemphill, S. Oddie Sirrine.

Tennessee—Lide P. Merriweather, Elizabeth Lyle Saxon.

Utah—Jane S. Richards, Emmeline B. Wells, Bathsheba W. Smith.

Vermont—Mrs. A. D. Chandler, Hon. Jas. Hutchinson.

Virginia—Ellen H. Smith.

Washington—Hon. Roger S. Greene, Elizabeth Palmer Spinning

West Virginia—Anna C. Boyd, Mrs. M. J. Grove, Hon. A. J. Mitchell, Jennie Wilson, Mrs. M. L. Ott.

Wisconsin—Harriet P. Dingee.

Wyoming—Hon. Wm. Bright, Hon. John W. Hoyt.

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Congressional Work—Mrs. Medill McCormick, Munsey Building, Washington, D. C.; Mrs. Antoinette Funk, Munsey Building, Washington, D. C.; Mrs. Sherman Booth, Munsey Building, Washington, D. C.; Mrs. Desha Breckinridge, Lexington, Ky.; Mrs. Helen H. Gardener, 1838 Lamont Street, Washington, D. C.; Mrs. H. Edward Dreier, 35 Remsen Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Mrs. James Tucker, 2030 Broadway, San Francisco, Cal.

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Presidential Suffrage—Miss E. U. Yates, 209 Butler Avenue, Providence, R. I.

Press Work—Miss Elinor Byrns, 505 Fifth Avenue, New York City. (With power to add other members.)

Program—Anna Howard Shaw (ex-officio), 505 Fifth Avenue, New York City; Susan W. FitzGerald, 7 Greenough Avenue, Jamaica Plain, Mass.; Louise de Koven Bowen, 1340 Astor Street, Chicago, Ill.; Mary Ware Dennett, 505 Fifth Avenue, New York City; Sophonisba P. Breckinridge, Chicago University, Chicago, Ill.; Jean Gordon, 1800 Prytania Street, New Orleans, La.

SPECIAL COMMITTEES

Church Work—Mrs. Mary E. Craigie, 1012 Thirteenth Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

Previous conventions have been held at the following places:

Washington, D. C., March 4 to 7, 1884.
Washington, D. C., January 16 to 19, 1893.
Washington, D. C., February 15 to 20, 1894.
Atlanta, Ga., January 31 to February 5, 1895.
Washington, D. C., January 23 to 28, 1896.
Des Moines, Ia., January 26 to 29, 1897.
Washington, D. C., February 13 to 19, 1898.
Grand Rapids, Mich., April 27 to May 3, 1899.
Washington, D. C., February 8 to 14, 1900.
Minneapolis, Minn., June 1 to 5, 1901.
Washington, D. C., February 14 to 18, 1902.
New Orleans, La., March 15 to 25, 1903.
Washington, D. C., February 11 to 17, 1904.
Portland, Ore., June 28 to July 5, 1905.
Baltimore, Md., February 7 to 13, 1906.
Chicago, Ill., February 14 to 19, 1907.
Buffalo, N. Y., October 15 to 21, 1908.
Seattle, Washington, July 1 to 6, 1909.
Washington, D. C., April 14 to 19, 1910.
Louisville, Ky., October 19 to 25, 1911.
Philadelphia, Pa., November 21 to 26, 1912.

THE HAND BOOK

OF THE

NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

AND

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

FORTY-SIXTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

HELD AT NASHVILLE, TENN.
NOVEMBER 12-17
(INCLUSIVE)
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NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION
505 FIFTH AVENUE NEW YORK CITY
PRINTED BY N. W. S. PUBLISHING CO., INC.

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Association
MAR 16 1916

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18 Jul 16

DIRECTORY OF OFFICERS AND COMMITTEE CHAIRMEN

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Press Agent—MISS CLARA SAVAGE, 505 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING CO., Inc.

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Manager—MISS ANNA DeBAUN, 505 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

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Chairman at Large—Dr. Anna Howard Shaw

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Publicity Department Finance
Chairman—Mrs. Thompson Seton

Campaign Finance Committee
(See Campaign Committee)
Chairman—Mrs. Henry Wade Rogers

Photo Play Finance Committee
Chairman—Mrs. Medill McCormick

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Chairman

Mrs. Medill McCormick ..... 500 Diversey Parkway, Chicago, Ill.

Executive Vice-chairman

Mrs. Antoinette Funk ..... Munsey Bldg., Washington, D. C.

CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE

Chairman

Dr. Anna Howard Shaw ..... 505 Fifth Ave., New York City

Sub-Committees

Campaign Finance
(See Finance Committee)
Chairman—Mrs. Henry Wade Rogers

Survey

Mrs. Antoinette Funk ..... Munsey Bldg., Washington, D. C.

Voters' Co-operative Committee

Miss Mary E. O'Neil ..... Butte, Montana

Elections

Mrs. Sherman M. Booth ..... Glencoe, Ill.

Literature

Miss Caroline Ruutz-Rees ..... Greenwich, Conn.

Membership

Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw ..... 48 East 34th St., New York City

Local Arrangements

Mrs. Charles Forster Camp ..... 505 Fifth Ave., New York City

Presidential Suffrage

Miss Elizabeth Upham Yates ..... 209 Butler Ave,. Providence, R. I.

Program

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CHURCH WORK

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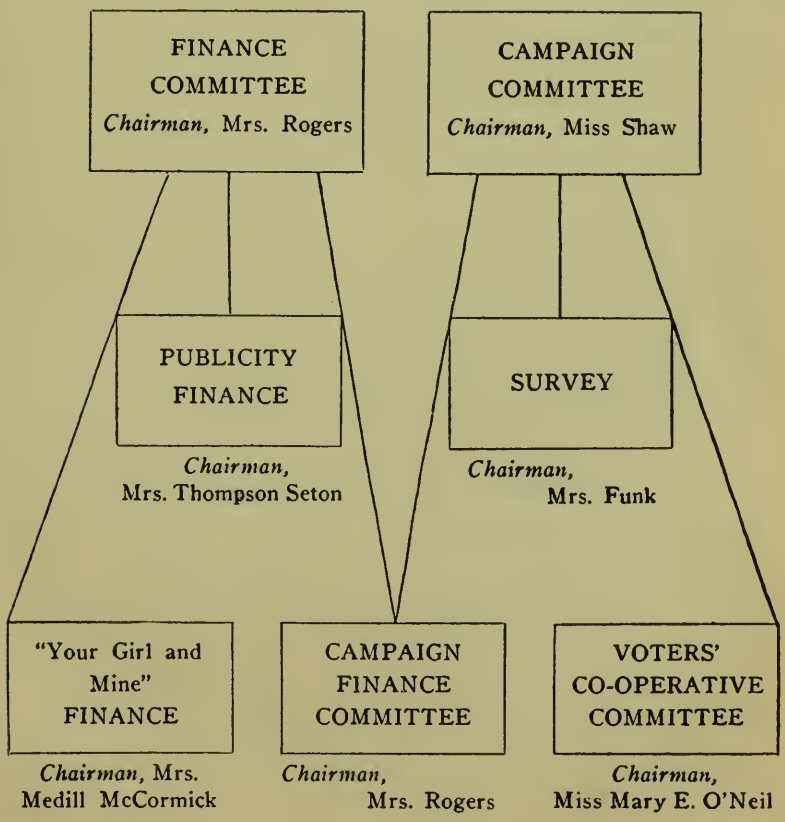
Dr. Anna Howard Shaw ..... 505 Fifth Ave., New York City

Secretary

Miss Gratia Erickson ..... Evanston, Ill.

NOTE: Because of the number of special Sub-Committees of the Finance and Campaign Committees, established by votes of the Nashville Convention, we are printing the following diagram to make clear their interrelation.



Since the National American Woman Suffrage Association was incorporated in 1890, the Conventions have been held as follows:

1891—Washington, D. C., February 22-26.
1892—Washington, D. C., February 19-21.
1893—Washington, D. C., January 16-19.
1894—Washington, D. C., February 15-20.
1895—Atlanta, Ga., January 31 to February 5.
1896—Washington, D. C., January 23-28.
1897—Des Moines, Ia., January 26-29.
1898—Washington, D. C., February 13-19.
1899—Grand Rapids, Mich., April 27 to May 3.
1900—Washington, D. C., February 8-14.
1901—Minneapolis, Minn., June 1-5.
1902—Washington, D. C., February 14-18.
1903—New Orleans, La., March 15-25.
1904—Washington, D. C., February 11-17.
1905—Portland, Ore., June 28 to July 5.
1906—Baltimore, Md., February 7-13.
1907—Chicago, Ill., February 14-19.
1908—Buffalo, N. Y., October 15-21.
1909—Seattle, Washington, July 1-6.
1910—Washington, D. C., April 14-19.
1911—Louisville, Ky., October 19-25.
1912—Philadelphia, Pa., November 21-26.
1913—Washington, D. C., November 29 to December 5.
1914—Nashville, Tenn., November 12-17.

PRESIDENTS OF THE ASSOCIATION

1890-1892 Elizabeth Cady Stanton.
1892-1900 Susan B. Anthony.
1900-1904 Carrie Chapman Catt.
1904- Anna Howard Shaw.

CALL TO THE FORTY-SIXTH CONVENTION OF THE NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

The National American Woman Suffrage Association issues this year the Call for its forty-sixth Annual Convention. It summons the delegates of its sixty member-associations to meet together for inspiration and for counsel.

Being met, they are to hear from each other of victories won, of progress rapid and ever more rapid towards our mighty goal, of the nation's constantly widening sympathy with our high aim. Our task will be to formulate judgment on those great issues of the day which nearly concern women; to choose the leaders who, during the coming year, are to guide the fortunes of our cause; and finally, to deliberate how the whole National body may, on the one hand, best give aid and succor to the states working for their own enfranchisement, and, on the other, press for federal action in behalf of the women of the nation at large. May our resolutions and conclusions be born of wisdom and power, be inspired by the deep sense of kinship and sympathy, potent to warm the heart and fire the will to further effort, which springs from intercourse with fellow-workers gathered together from far and wide.

Since the last Convention met, all the horror of a great war has fallen upon the civilized world. The hearts of thousands of women have been torn for the death and wounds of those they bore, of those they love. Yet never has their will and power to help been greater, never man's need of such help been more clearly seen. We, who are spared the anguish of war, well understand that, as weight is given in the world's affairs to the voice of women, moved as men are not, by all the tragic waste of battles, the chances of such slaughter must perpetually diminish. Now is the time, when all things point to the violence that rules the world, now

is the very time to press our claim to a share in the guidance of our country's fortunes, to urge that woman's vision must second and rectify that of man.

Let us, then, in Convention assembled, kindle with the thought that, as we consider methods for the political enfranchisement of our sex, our wider purpose is to free women and to enable woman's conception of life in all its aspects to find expression. Then woman's horror of war and of all needless misery, woman's indignation at the exploitation of her sister-woman, woman's care for and wise stress upon the needs of the child will become operative. Let us set a fresh seal upon the great new loyalty of woman to woman; let our response be felt in the deep tide of fellowship and understanding between all women which to-day is rising round the world.

ANNA HOWARD SHAW,
JANE ADDAMS,
MADELINE BRECKINRIDGE,
CAROLINE RUUTZ-REES,
SUSAN WALKER FITZGERALD,
KATHARINE DEXTER MCCORMICK,
HARRIET BURTON LAIDLAW,
LOUISE DEKOVEN BOWEN,
General officers of the
National American Woman
Suffrage Association.

Headquarters,
505 Fifth Avenue,
New York City.

REQUIREMENTS OF THE CONSTITUTION

Concerning the Program and Business

Of the Annual Convention

No credentials shall be issued after the close of the first business day.

The General Officers shall be elected by ballot on the last day but one of the Convention.

Nominations shall be made to the Association at least twenty-four hours before the Election.

The morning session of the second business day, or as much thereof as may be necessary, shall be given to discussion of the tentative budget.

Beginning with the morning session of the fourth business day, no further business shall be considered until a budget for the ensuing year shall have been adopted.

The Executive Council

The Council shall, at its pre-convention session, give special consideration to the budget for the coming year and make recommendations in regard thereto to the Convention.

A Secretary other than a Director shall be nominated and elected by acclamation at the post-convention meeting of the Council.

The Council shall, at its post-convention session, elect from its own number a Committee on Membership.

Amendments

THE CONSTITUTION can be amended by a two-thirds vote of any annual convention after one day's notice, provided said amendment has been given to the Board and published by it in at least three leading Suffrage periodicals not less than six weeks before the convention.

THE BY-LAWS may be amended by a two-thirds vote of any annual convention after one day's notice in the convention.

POLICIES AND GENERAL PLATFORM AS DEFINED AT THE NASHVILLE CONVENTION

Non-Partisanship

I. That the National American Woman Suffrage Association re-affirm its policy of the past as being non-partisan.

II. That the N. A. W. S. A. is absolutely opposed to holding any political party responsible for the opinions and acts of its individual members, or holding any individual public official or candidate responsible for the action of his party majority—on the question of Woman Suffrage.

Congressional Legislation

That the policy of the N. A. W. S. A. shall be to support, by every means within its power, in the future as in the past, the amendment known as the Susan B. Anthony Amendment—and further, to support such other legislation as the National Board may authorize and initiate to the end that the Susan B. Anthony Resolution may become law.

NOTE: Two specific pieces of Congressional Legislation were discussed by the Convention with evident favor—

I. The Shafroth-Palmer Amendment.

II. A measure to secure to women through Congressional action their right to vote for all federal officers.

Organization of Congressional Work in the States

That the machinery for Congressional work be established for carrying out suggestions made by the Congressional Committee—when approved by the majority of the State Associations in the state concerned—and that the Congressional Committee shall give out information and suggestions for Congressional work in any state *only* through the machinery established for Congressional work, as above provided for, but that the State Associations shall determine *how* this material shall be used.

That when the majority of the various State Associations in a state cannot agree upon some plan of co-operation for establishing such machinery, the Congressional Committee shall not work in said state.

BASIS OF MEMBERSHIP

As established at the Nashville Convention

1. AFFILIATED—Any Suffrage organization of 200 or more members. Total membership to be certified to—Payment of ten cents per member on all members up to 1,500 or more if desired. Representation in Convention by one delegate for every 100 paid-up members, up to 5,000—no representation beyond that number.

2. ASSOCIATE—Any organization officially endorsing suffrage, upon approval of two-thirds of the Executive Council and upon payment of $50.00 annual dues.

3. CO-OPERATIVE—Any individual paying annual dues of $10.00.

4. LIFE—Any individual paying $100.00.

Organizations that have joined the N. A. W. S. A. since the Convention of December, 1913:

National Men's League.
Ladies of the Modern Maccabees.
South Carolina Equal Suffrage League.
Louisiana Equal Suffrage League.
The Equal Suffrage League of Baltimore.
The Washington Woman Suffrage Council.
The Georgia Woman Suffrage League.
Tennessee (a second state organization).

NATIONAL SUFFRAGE DAY

At the Convention in Nashville, Tenn., November, 1914, it was unanimously

VOTED, To set apart the first Saturday in May annually, to be known as National Suffrage Day.

1914-CAMPAIGN STATES

(States where the suffrage amendment was submitted to the voters, November, 1914.)

MONTANA	won
MISSOURI	lost
NEBRASKA	lost
NEVADA	won
NORTH DAKOTA	lost
OHIO	lost
SOUTH DAKOTA	lost

PRESENT CAMPAIGN STATES

Iowa	1916
Massachusetts	1915

New Jersey	1915
New York	1915
Pennsylvania	1915
South Dakota	1916
West Virginia	1916
Tennessee (not before)	1918

HELP FROM THE NATIONAL

In sending workers to help in campaign states the policy of the Board is that the National shall be responsible for the salary and all railroad expenses to and from the state and within the state but that the organization to whom the worker is sent shall be responsible for entertainment and for all local and incidental expenses.

PROGRAM OF CONVENTION

WEDNESDAY, November 11:

Credentials Committee on duty all day—Hermitage Hotel.

Meeting of the Board of Directors—Hermitage Hotel

Informal Conference of the Executive Council—Parlors of Hermitage Hotel, 10 a. m., 2.30 p. m. and 8 p. m.

Delegates are invited to attend, but the meeting will not be open to the public or the press.

THURSDAY, November 12:

Morning, 9 o'clock

Regular Executive Council meeting—Representatives' Hall, State Capitol.

11 o'clock

Convention called to order by the President.

Greetings: Mayor Hillary Howse of Nashville.
Mrs. Crozier-French.
Mrs. Guilford Dudley.

Response on behalf of the N. A. W. S. A.:
Mrs. Maud Howe Elliott.

Reports:
Program Committee.....Dr. Anna Howard Shaw
Membership Committee.....Mrs. Lillian Feickert

Election Committee..... Miss Gratia Erickson
Credentials Committee (preliminary),
Mrs. Stanley McCormick
Auditors.....Mrs. Harriet Burton Laidlaw
Treasurer and Finance Committee..Mrs. Stanley McCormick
Congressional Committee.....Mrs. Medill McCormick

Afternoon, 2.30 o'clock

Reports:
Congressional Committee, followed by Discussion.

Evening, 8 o'clock

CAMPAIGN STATES:

President presiding.
Greetings from Governor B. W. Hooper of Tennessee.
Celebration of Campaign States:
Nevada, Miss Anne Martin.
Montana, Miss Mary Stewart.
North Dakota, Mrs. Clara L. Darrow.
Nebraska, Mrs. Draper Smith,
Missouri, Mrs. Walter McNab Miller,
Ohio, Miss Flora E. Worthington.
President's Annual Address.

FRIDAY, November 13:

Morning, 10 o'clock

Report of Executive Secretary .....
Presentation of Budget.....Mrs. Stanley McCormick

Afternoon, 2.30 o'clock

Reports:
Press Bureau..... Miss Elinor Byrns
National Woman Suffrage Publishing Co., Inc.
Mrs. Cyrus W. Field

Evening, 8 o'clock

VOTERS' EVENING, under the auspices of the National Men's League for Woman Suffrage—Mr. James Lees Laidlaw presiding.

Addresses:
Gov.-Elect Rye.
United States Senator Luke Lea,
Miss Helen Eacker, of Kansas.
Miss S. Grace Nicholes, of Illinois.
Hon. Leon Locke, of Louisiana.
Pres. H. S. Barker, University of Kentucky.
Mr. Charles T. Hallinan, of Chicago, Vice-President of the National Men's League for Woman Suffrage.
Mr. R. A. McDowell, of Kentucky.

SATURDAY, November 14:

Morning, 10 o'clock

Nomination of Officers:
Greetings from Southern States Woman Suffrage Conference:
Miss Kate M. Gordon.
Reports:
Legal Adviser .....Mary Towle
Field Secretary.....Jane Thompson
Credentials Committee (final).....Mrs. Stanley McCormick
Adoption of Amendments to Constitution.
Reports:
Committee on Presidential Suffrage...Miss Elizabeth U. Yates
Committee on Church Work.....Mrs. Mary Craigie

Afternoon, 2.30 o'clock

Reports:
Affiliated and Auxiliary Organizations.
Conference on Methods of Work.

Evening, 8 o'clock

The State and National Campaigns:
Addresses:
Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, President of the Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association.
Mrs. Antoinette Funk, Member of National Congressional Committee.
Mrs. Raymond Brown, President of New York Woman Suffrage Association.
Miss Hannah Patterson, Chairman of Pennsylvania Woman Suffrage Party.
Mrs. Maud Wood Park, Secretary of Boston Equal Suffrage Association.
Mrs. Edward F. Feickert, President of the New Jersey Woman Suffrage Association.

SUNDAY, November 15:

Afternoon, 3 o'clock

Mass Meeting..... Ryman Auditorium (Fifth Avenue)
Presiding ..... Jane Addams
Addresses:
"The South Needs Her Women".....Mrs. Desha Breckinridge
"Women and War" .....Mme. Rosika Schwimmer
"The Attitude of the International Council of Women on Suffrage".....Mrs. Kate Waller Barrett
"The Industrial Woman's Need of the Vote,"
Miss Rose Schneiderman

Evening, 8 o'clock

The officers of the National Association, delegates and visitors to the Convention will be entertained by Mrs. Benjamin F. Wilson, at her home, Wilmor Manor.

MONDAY, November 16:

Morning, 10 o'clock

Adoption of the Budget.
Election of Officers.
Raising the year's funds.

Afternoon, 2.30 o'clock

Report of Resolutions Committee.
New Business.

Evening, 8 o'clock

An unpublished "Friendship Village" Story.....Miss Zona Gale
Singing by the Fiske Jubilee Singers.
"Your Girl and Mine," a moving picture play, presented to the National Association by Mrs. Medill McCormick.

TUESDAY, November 17:

Morning, 10 o'clock

Meeting of the Executive Council, Hotel Hermitage.

Afternoon, 2.30 o'clock

Meeting of Board of Directors, Hotel Hermitage.

PRESIDENT'S RESPONSE TO ADDRESS OF WELCOME.

I regret that Mrs. Maud Howe Elliot who was expected to respond to your cordial addresses of welcome, on behalf of the National Suffrage Association is unable, because of her wifely duty to a sick husband, to be here. We learned of it at the last moment, and the National Board asked me to express our appreciation of all that has been done to insure a successful session. May I explain that Mrs. Maud Howe Elliot is the daughter of Julia Ward Howe and like her distinguished mother is devoting herself to the reform movements of her time.

Mr. Mayor, Madam President and friends: In behalf of the National Suffrage Association it gives me great pleasure to extend our sincere thanks for your cordial greetings and welcome to your city—a city about which memories cling which make it dear to the whole history of our country, and to come to this city brings us for a moment back to the beginning of a struggle which will not be ended until the women, as well as the men of this country are free citizens.

We are also glad to come to your city because some of us have been here before and knew what generosity would be lavished upon us, and you have not disappointed our anticipations. You began in such a way that we thought you could do no more, but present indications point that there are other pleasures in store for us, although it seemed to us that you began at the climax of hospitality, for there is not a Northern woman who has not longed all her life—whose heart hasn't longed for a barbecue; and this form of welcome extended at the home of that great Democrat—Andrew Jackson, who never allowed any obstacle to impede the progress of his service to his country, should inspire us with like zeal.

When His Honor the Mayor spoke of the hope that if women entered into the political life of our country, conditions would be made better, I forgot the North and turned back in memory to the great South, and if I had but one argument in favor of our cause, aside from the fundamental arguments of the right of the human being to freedom and justice, I should point to the women of the South. No stronger argument can be found in the South than the women themselves. When we recall the history of the South; when we think of what women have meant to it, I wonder how even a woman, in all the breadth of her generosity, can say it is the men of this country who have made us what we are.

It is not the men of this country who have made this nation what it is—it is the men and the women who have made the nation what it is, and in no part of it have women contributed more than in the South.

When we look back over the past history; when we see the land barren; and desolation everywhere; when we see the homes left destitute and the women prostrate by the graves of their dead and many who are bereft even of the knowledge of where their dead lie; when we realize that the men of the South were nearly all swept away we know that

the power that held the South steadfast, that held the homes of the South together, that kept the traditions of the South that made the South the power it is to-day was the loyalty, the patriotism, unconquerable courage and the devotion of Southern women in that hour of darkness and despair. Had it not been for this new spirit of action born of the necessity of the times in the character of Southern women to inspire Southern men with hope and courage, desolation would still be over the South; but because women were there, though stripped of all their former pride and glory, they evolved from within themselves a power which no one knows that women possess until some hour of extreme trial calls it forth, and then we learn that never has there been in any period of history a test of human endurance and wisdom when women have not responded and become the inspiration, the hope, the strength and the courage of manhood. If any women of this nation have ever bought their freedom and paid a dear price for it, it is the women of the Southland.

I can not see how any man who calls himself a democrat can fail to recognize that the fundamental principle of democracy is the right of the citizens to a voice in the government under which that citizen lives: much less can I understand how any Southern man can look in the face of a Southern woman knowing that they are branded as no other body of intelligent people in this country are—by the brand of disfranchisement—that they are deprived of that one symbol of power which elevates the citizens of a democracy out of the class of the disfranchised with all the defective and unfit peoples in the nation. No other country has subjected its women to the humiliating position to which the women of this nation have been subjected by men. No other nation has ever reduced women to the position politically which the unenfranchised women of this nation hold. In Germany, German women are governed by German men; in France, French women are governed by Frenchmen; and in Great Britain, British women are governed by British men; but in this country American women are governed by every kind of a man under the light of the sun. There is no race, there is no color, there is no nationality of men who are not the sovereign rulers of American women. And while I am a democrat—not a partisan democrat, because being women we cannot be partisans of any Party—it takes a man, any kind of a man or no kind of a man to be a member of a political party; women in a disfranchised state cannot be a partisan democrat—but she can be something better than that—she can be a DEMOCRAT. While I am democrat enough to believe it is right for all men who put into the life of this nation their strength, their energy, their brawn and brain; who rear and educate their children, to have a voice in their government, yet I believe it is a crime that these men of all nations and all races have the power to say that American women may not have a voice in their own government.

The only way men can redeem themselves, the only way they can be

honest American citizens and democrats is to stand by the fundamental principle of democracy—that "Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed," "governed" women as well as "governed" men, and when Nashville and Tennessee and the South and the North and the East and the West shall stand on this basic principle of just government, and have this ideal correspond with the fact, then we shall have a Republic, and have a government of the people, by the people and for the people. Then sporadic chivalry will give place to permanent and equal justice, for where justice rules there is no need of chivalry.

PRESENTED BY IDA E. CAMPBELL.

Greetings to the National American Woman Suffrage Associations from the National Union of Woman Suffrage Societies in Canada.

We in Canada feel modest about our work when we think of the achievements of our American sisters—of four million voting women, of the new States which are being added yearly to the suffrage roll, and send our warmest congratulations to the newly enfranchised states, as well as to the suffragists all over the Union whose enthusiasm and self-sacrifice has helped to bring about the victory.

Our Canadian National Union is barely eight months old but it represents many affiliated societies in all sections of the Dominion. There are flourishing suffrage societies in all of our provinces, with provincial organizations in three. We have a limited municipal vote for women in most of the provinces, but so far there is no parliamentary vote for women in Canada. It has been almost in sight once or twice in our Western Provinces and it may well be that, as with you, the West will lead the East, although the longest and hardest suffrage work in both countries has been done in the East.

At present the cloud of a devastating war is over us all. As with our sisters in England, although to a lesser extent, it overshadows all our work, and suffrage activities have suffered a partial eclipse. Our Canadian women have responded to the call of their country as nobly as the men and work for the soldiers, with relief work for those who are suffering directly and indirectly from the war in Canada, England and Belgium, is the order of the day. Our National President, Mrs. L. A. Hamilton of Toronto is at the head of the relief work in that City, under the Women's Patriotic League, and the feeling is still general that the patriotic activities of the suffragists are doing much to enhance the cause of woman suffrage in the eyes of the Canadian Public. It is indeed our hope that when the war is over, a new era may dawn for womanhood throughout the world, an era of enlarged opportunities, and widened activities, which will hasten the time when she is freely

and universally admitted to the councils of the Nations. And then there will be no more war.

May we now express the hope that when the war is over, we may welcome very many of our American sisters to what we have long been looking forward to—our first Canadian National Suffrage Convention. Canada salutes you.

CONDENSED MINUTES OF THE CONVENTION

November 12-17, 1914.

REPRESENTATIVES' HALL, STATE CAPITOL, NASHVILLE, TENN.

PRE-CONVENTION MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

Thursday, November 12, 1914.

Meeting called to order at 9:40, President Shaw in the chair. The roll was called by the Recording Secretary. The minutes of the informal conference of the preceding day were read by Mrs. Graham of Louisiana, who had served as Secretary.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, That the minutes be accepted without ratification.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, That the seating of delegates be settled by lot.

On motion of the chairman of the Elections Committee, duly seconded, it was

Voted, To recommend to the Convention the adoption of an amendment to By-Law 1, section 1 to consist of the following paragraph: "The general officers of this Association shall be elected by ballot on the last day but one of the annual meeting. Nominations shall be made to the Association at least twenty-four hours before the election."

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, That the Council recommend to the Convention the adoption of the following resolution: That the National American Woman Suffrage Association reaffirm its policy of the past as being non-partisan.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, That the Council recommend to the Convention the adoption of the following resolution:

That it is the sense of this Council that the non-partisan policy of the National American Woman Suffrage Association requires that its attitude toward the individual members of Congress, or candidates therefor, shall be determined by the individual attitude or record of such members of Congress, or candidates, on Woman Suffrage, but not by the attitude or record of the party to which they belong. Motion carried by 42 to 15.

On motion duly made and seconded, it was

Voted, That this body adjourn as the Executive Council and reconvene immediately as the Convention.

The Council adjourned at 11:15.

THE CONVENTION.

Morning Session, Thursday, December 12, 1914.

Miss Lindsley of Nashville, representing the Women's Auxiliary of the Southern Commercial Congress, headquarters, Washington, D. C., was given the privilege of the floor, and with appropriate remarks presented to the Association, as represented by its President, Dr. Shaw, a gavel made from a hickory tree planted by Andrew Jackson at the grave of his wife.

With this gavel the Convention was called to order at 11:25, President Shaw in the chair.

His Honor Mayor Hillary Howse was presented and extended to the Convention a hearty welcome in the name of the city.

Mrs. Crozier-French, President of the Tennessee Equal Suffrage Association, extended a welcome to the Convention in the name of the State Association.

Mrs. Guilford Dudley, President of the Nashville Equal Suffrage League, extended a hearty welcome in the name of the Nashville League.

Dr. Shaw responded in the name of the Association and expressed its thanks for the splendid welcome extended to the Convention by the city and the state, both through the public officials and the organized suffragists, and made a brief opening address.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, To adopt the following resolution:

That the N. A. W. S. A., in Convention assembled, does hereby express heartfelt thanks and deep appreciation to our President, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, for her devoted and unremitting work for woman suffrage and this Association during the past year, and especially for her splendid services in the Campaign States which did so much to gain the victory for Montana and Nevada; and further for her willingness to stand for re-election and be our leader and win more victories for the coming year.

Dr. Shaw as chairman of the Program Committee reported the programs in the hands of the delegates.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, To adopt the program as presented as the order of the day. The Convention then proceeded to take up the program, and the following reports were presented:

The report of the Membership Committee was presented by Mrs. Feickert of New Jersey, chairman, and accepted, showing the admission of five affiliated Associations since the last Convention.

The report of the Elections Committee, was presented by the Chairman, Miss Erickson. Various amendments having been proposed and adopted, on motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, To accept the report as amended, and as appended to these minutes.

The report of the Auditors was then presented by Mrs. Laidlaw, first auditor, and accepted.

The Secretary read a letter of greeting from the Colorado Federation of Women's Clubs. On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, That the Secretary send a letter of appreciation for the services rendered the suffrage cause by the Colorado club women.

The preliminary report of the Credentials Committee was then presented by the Chairman, Mrs. Stanley McCormick, and its acceptance was moved and seconded.

On motion duly made and seconded, it was

Voted, As an amendment to the above motion, that a Committee of five be appointed to consider the case of the two Tennessee delegations claiming the right to sit in the Convention, and that the President be empowered to appoint this Committee.

The motion to accept the preliminary report of the Credentials Committee and its amendment was then carried.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, To adjourn.

The meeting then adjourned.

Afternoon Session, Thursday, December 12, 1914.

The meeting was called to order at 2:55, President Shaw in the chair. The report of the Treasurer was presented by Mrs. Stanley McCormick, it being a part of the printed "Facts for Delegates" in the hands of delegates. The Treasurer commented on the figures there shown, and on motion duly made and seconded, it was

Voted, To adopt the report.

The report of the Congressional Committee was then presented. Mrs. Medill McCormick, Chairman, reported upon the preliminary canvass in the Senate, and the work leading up to the introduction of the Shafroth amendment. Mrs. Funk, of the Committee, explained the meaning and value of the Shafroth amendment. Mrs. Booth of the Committee gave a digest of her work on the card catalogue of the members of Congress, and Mr. Hallinan reported upon the publicity work of the Congressional Committee. Mrs. McCormick then closed the report with a discussion of her plan of Congressional organization.

On motion duly made and seconded, it was

Voted, That the discussion of this report be made a special order of business, for the Friday morning session at 10:30.

The Chair appointed the following Committee to consider the Tennessee contest: Miss Kate M. Gordon of Louisiana, Chairman; Mrs. Pattie Jacobs of Alabama; Mrs. Helen Hoy Greeley of New York; Mrs. Teresa Crowley of Massachusetts and Mrs. Youmans of Wisconsin.

On motion, duly made and seconded, it was

Voted, To adjourn.

The meeting adjourned at 6. P. M.

Morning Session, Friday, November 13, 1914.

The meeting was called to order at 10:20, President Shaw in the Chair.

The minutes of the preceding day were read and accepted with corrections.

The Chair was then taken by the Vice-President, Miss Addams.

The discussion of the Congressional Committee report being the special order of business, on motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, To open the discussion by reading the recommendations of the Chairman of the Committee. The speakers were limited to three minutes each, and Mrs. Medill McCormick, Chairman, presented her recommendations as follows:

1. The establishment of a speaker's bureau by the Congressional Committee.

On motion duly made and seconded, it was

Voted, to adopt this recommendation.

2. The standardization of co-operation between the Campaign States and the National Congressional Committee.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, That this recommendation be taken up later, in connection with the report of the campaign committee.

3. That there be a more complete organization of the congressional districts in the states for the carrying on of the congressional work.

After various amendments to the proposed motion, on motion duly made and seconded, it was finally

Voted, That the machinery for the congressional work be established for carrying out suggestions made by the Congressional Committee, when approved by the majority of the State Associations in the State concerned;

That the Congressional Committee shall give out information and suggestions for Congressional work in any state only through the machinery established for this work by the State Association or the majority of the State Associations of that State, but that such Association or the majority of such associations in the State shall determine how this material shall be used:

That when the majority of the various State Associations in a State cannot agree upon some plan of co-operation for establishing such machinery for Congressional work, the Congressional Committee shall not enter into the State for such work.

The Budget was then presented by the Treasurer, who reported on three possibilities for the coming year, as follows:

By cutting down the Press and Secretarial work below the amount carried during the past year it would be possible to carry the work, though inadequately, upon a budget of.....$18,000.00

To maintain the work on approximately the basis of the past year as shown in the "Facts for Delegates" would require a budget of.....$24,000.00
To include the addition of $2,000.00 for a data department would require a budget of.....$26,000.00

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, That the Association accept the report of the Treasurer with deep appreciation of the work required and performed in order to bring to the Convention such a financial statement, and also with thanks to Mrs. Medill McCormick for her generous gift to the Association.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, That the discussion of the policy of the Association in regard to the Bristow-Mondell and Shafroth-Palmer Amendments be the special order of business at three o'clock.

Miss Shaw requested that the various State delegations nominate at once in writing their members of the Resolutions Committee, and place such nominations in the hands of the Recording Secretary.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, To adjourn.

The meeting adjourned at 1 P. M.

Afternoon Session, Friday, November 13, 1914.

Meeting called to order at 2:45, Miss Addams, First Vice-President, in the Chair.

The recommendation of the Congressional Committee for the appointment of a special Finance Committee by the Official Board for the Financing of the Congressional Committee and the Publicity Department, was discussed and on motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, That such a Committee be appointed.

By request the Chairman of the Elections Committee was permitted to present to the Convention, an amendment to By-Law 1, which was necessary in order to enable the Elections Committee to conduct the elections.

On motion duly made and seconded, it was therefore

Voted, To amend By-Law 1, by adding a fourth paragraph to section 1, to read:

"The general officers of this Association shall be elected by ballot on the last day but one of the annual meeting. Nominations shall be made to the Association at least twenty-four hours before the election."

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, That no person shall be put in nomination as a general officer of the National American Woman Suffrage Association who has not consented to serve.

A request having been made for permission to circulate a printed statement concerning the Bristow-Mondell and Shafroth-Palmer Amendments, on motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, That these papers be distributed in an interim of business.

The Chairman of the Elections Committee then presented a motion to provide for certain changes in arrangements for elections, resulting from the conditions under which they were to be held, and these changes were adopted and included in the report as appended to these minutes.

The special order of business being the discussion of the Federal amendments, it was

Moved and duly seconded that the Shafroth amendment be not proceeded with in the next session of Congress.

A substitute motion was made and duly seconded that it be the sense of this Convention that the policy of the National American Woman Suffrage Association shall be to support by every means within its power, in the future as in the past, the amendment known as the Susan B. Anthony Amendment, and further

To support such other legislation as the National Board may authorize and initiate, to the end that the Susan B. Anthony Resolution may become law.

It was moved and duly seconded, that this substitute motion be amended by the striking out of the words "and further" and all that follows.

The long discussion was closed by the maker of the motion, and by Mrs. McCormick, Chairman of the Congressional Committee.

The amendment to omit the second clause of the proposed substitute motion was lost.

It was moved and duly seconded, that it be the sense of this Convention that the National Board be empowered to endorse and support an amendment to the Federal Constitution for a national initiative and referendum.

Motion lost.

The motion to substitute was put and carried by a vote of 194 to 100, and on motion duly made and seconded, it was

Voted, To adopt the substitute motion.

The report of the Credentials Committee was presented by the Chairman, showing the number of delegates entitled to sit in the Convention to be 819; those present and duly accredited, without the delegation from Tennessee, and with seven National Officers and three Chairmen of Standing Committees, 285.

The Committee on the Tennessee contest reported through their Chairman, Miss Kate M. Gordon: "That after careful consideration of personal testimony and documentary evidence offered by both contestants, the committee recommends that both delegations be seated with one-half vote to each individual. This finding is not entirely satisfactory to all the members of the Committee, but is reached as a compromise."

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, To accept the report of the committee.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, To adopt the report of the Credential Committee as completed by the report on the Tennessee Delegation, showing 307 delegates duly accredited.

The Resolutions Committee having been announced, President Shaw named Mrs. Burns of Michigan as Chairman, to take charge of the Committee.

On motion duly made and seconded the meeting was adjourned at 6:30 P. M.

Morning Session, Saturday, November 14, 1914.

The meeting was called to order at ten o'clock, President Shaw in the Chair.

The minutes of the sessions of the previous day were read and accepted with corrections.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, To rescind the action of the previous day, that the Credentials Committee should close its report that evening and to permit credentials to be presented until 11 A. M., in order to permit the seating of the Tennessee delegations and of a few late arrivals.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, To give the privilege of the floor to Mrs. French, to make a statement concerning the report of the Committee on the Tennessee contest she asked whether the acceptance of this or any other action on the contest would in any way affect or restrict the action of the two parties after the close of the Convention, and was informed that it would not.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, To rescind the acceptance of the report of the Committee on the Tennessee contest, and on further motion, duly made and seconded, it was

Voted, That the Credentials Committee be authorized to receive such additional dues as would enable the two Tennessee delegations to cast eleven votes each.

The Convention then resumed the regular order of business, and on motion made and seconded it was

Voted, That in the absence of the Executive Secretary, her report be not read, but printed in the minutes.

Miss Gordon, President of the Southern States Woman Suffrage Conference, presented greetings to the Convention from the Conference, and Mrs. Somerville, of Mississippi, added a statement concerning its value.

The Press Chairman, Miss Elinor Byrns, then presented her report, which was duly accepted.

The report of the Publishing Company was presented by the President, Mrs. Cyrus W. Field, and duly accepted.

The report of the Legal Adviser was read by the Recording Secretary, and duly accepted.

The Field Secretary, Miss Jane Thomson, presented her report, together with a memorial of good will to President Shaw, submitted by

representatives present at this Convention from the Campaign States, and appended to these minutes.*

On motion duly made and seconded, it was

Voted, That the Convention accept this report and concur in the expression of confidence in Miss Shaw expressed by the representatives of the Campaign States.

Upon request Miss Shaw spoke briefly to the Convention, expressing the pleasure and satisfaction she had had in working with the splendid women in the Campaign States.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, That the reports of the Committees on Church Work and Presidential Suffrage, whose Chairmen were not present, be printed in the annual report, but not read.

The Credentials Committee then presented its report on the names added since the last report, which included the eleven delegates from the Tennessee Equal Suffrage Association, and eleven from another Association in Tennessee, and several other delegates, making a total of 316, duly accredited to date in this convention.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, To adopt this as the final report of the Credentials Committee.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, That telegrams be sent to the two absent Presidents of Campaign States, Ohio and South Dakota, extending greetings and good cheer from the convention.

Mrs. Ellicott, of Maryland, asked the privilege of the floor to present to the Convention an invitation from a committee representing the various Maryland Associations, inviting the National Association to hold its next Convention in Baltimore.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, That the Association appoint a suffrage day for a nation wide celebration and that the date be announced before the close of the Convention.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, That the report of the Congressional Committee be accepted as a whole.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, That the consideration of the amendments of the Constitution be made a special order of business at three o'clock.

The Credentials Committee announced the failure of one delegate to arrive, thus reducing the number of accredited delegates to 315.

The Chair then introduced Mme. Rosika Schwimmer, of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, who spoke a few words of greeting to the Convention.

On motion duly made and seconded the meeting adjourned at 12.50 P. M.

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*See page 211.

Afternoon Session, Saturday, November 14, 1914.

Meeting called to order at 2:50, President Shaw in the Chair.

On motion of Miss Clay, duly seconded, it was

Voted, That the Convention instruct the Congressional Committee of the Association to investigate and promote the right of women to vote for United States Congressmen and Senators and Presidential Electors, by Congressional action.

This motion was presented as the sense of an informal meeting held earlier and was signed by a long list of petitioners, headed by Miss Clay, including President Shaw and the members of the National Congressional Committee, and many others.

The report of the Kentucky Association was presented by the President Mrs. Desha Breckinridge.

At three o'clock, the special order of business being the consideration of the changes of the Constitution,

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, That the matter of the amendments to Articles III and IV be referred to a Committee, which after receiving instructions from the House, should report them back in definite form. The House then instructed the Convention as follows:

That from Article III, Section II, paragraphs C, D and E be omitted, and that Article III, Section IV, be amended by increasing the dues of Associate Members to $50.00;

And, That Article IV, Section III, be amended by providing that an auxiliary member be represented by its President and ten delegates.

The instructions concerning Articles III and IV having been concluded, it was then moved and duly seconded that the proposed amendment to Article V, Section I, providing that persons holding salaried positions in any suffrage organization be not eligible for election as officers, be adopted.

Motion lost.

The Elections Committee having completed its work, and the time for the announcements of the elections having arrived, the Committee was called upon to present its report, as follows:

For President:

Dr. Shaw	194
Mrs. Breckinridge	1

For First Vice-President:

Mrs. Stanley McCormick	177
Jean Gordon	108

For Second Vice-President:

Mrs. Desha Breckinridge	271
Mrs. Stanley McCormick	1
Jean Gordon	1

For Third Vice-President:

Katharine B. Davis	248
Mrs. Medill McCormick	44
Mrs. Hooker	1
Mrs. Somerville	1

For Corresponding Secretary:

Mrs. O. H. Clark	272
Scattering	8

For Recording Secretary:

Susan W. FitzGerald	197
Anne H. Martin	93

For Treasurer:

Mrs. Henry Wade Rogers	280
Mrs. Stanley McCormick	2
Mrs. Medill McCormick	1

For First Auditor:

Mrs. Walter McNab Miller	271
Mrs. Medill McCormick	3
Mrs. Dennett	1
Mrs. Carney	1
Anne H. Martin	1
Mrs. Jacobs	1

For Second Auditor:

Mrs. Medill McCormick	126
Zona Gale	121
Mrs. Somerville	29
Mrs. Jacobs	9
Mrs. Hundley	1
Mrs. Kelley	1
Anne H. Martin	1

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, That in case a candidate's name is withdrawn from nomination, the candidate having the next greatest number of votes shall by this act be put in nomination.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, That no officer or member of the Board of Directors shall receive a salary from the Association as such an officer.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, To reconsider the motion.

On motion duly made and seconded it was then

Voted, To table the question.

It was moved and duly seconded to accept the proposed amendment to

Article VI, Section 2, providing that:

"Any President having served for two consecutive years shall not be eligible for re-election."

On motion duly made and seconded, it was

Voted, To table the motion.

The two conflicting amendments proposed to Article VI, Section 5, were then taken under consideration, and considered in the order proposed:

The first amendment further defining the duties of the Corresponding Secretary and providing that she serve as the Executive Secretary.

The second providing that the Corresponding Secretary shall not be eligible for appointment as the Executive Secretary of the organization.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, That action upon the first of these amendments be indefinitely postponed and that the second be adopted.

On motion duly made and seconded the meeting adjourned at 6:00 P. M.

Morning Session, Monday, November 16, 1914

Meeting called to order at ten o'clock, President Shaw in the Chair. Minutes of the sessions of the preceding day were read and accepted.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, To set apart the first Saturday of May, annually, to be known as the National Suffrage Day.

The Special Committee on changes in Articles III and IV of the Constitution was asked to report before the consideration of the budget, and brought in recommendations—which after discussion and amendment were adopted as follows:

Art. III. Sec. 2. Any suffrage organization of two hundred or more certified members may become an affiliated member.

(a) An affiliated member shall, eight weeks prior to the National Convention, certify to the Treasurer in a writing signed by three officers the *total* membership recognized by it at that date.

(b) An affiliated member shall pay annual dues of 10 cents for every certified member up to and including 1,500 members, and may pay dues at the same rate on additional members.

Representation at the Annual Convention will be on the basis of one delegate for every one hundred certified members or major fraction thereof, up to and including five thousand, for whom annual dues of 10 cents per member, have been paid.

Art. IV. Sec. 3. Omit.

Art. VII. Sec. 1. The Executive Council shall consist of the Directors of the Association, the Chairmen of Standing and Special Committees, the Presidents of affiliated organizations, and one duly elected member from each affiliated organization [which pays dues on a membership of

1,500 or more],* of whom fifteen shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

The Convention then proceeded to the consideration of the budget, this being the regular business of the program.

The Treasurer repeated the statement presented at the previous session that the Convention might adopt:

a.—Cutting down the Secretarial and Press Work, a possible but inadequate budget of $18,000.00.

b.—On the basis of the present organization of headquarters an adequate budget of $24,000.00.

Or c.—Adding $2,000.00 for a data department, a desirable budget of $26,000.00.

She then called for pledges for the year, which were made to the amount of $7,500.00. A collection was then taken of $54.32.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, To send a message of appreciation to Miss Brackenridge of Texas, for the great effort made by her to come to the Convention, whose sessions she had however been unable to attend on account of illness.

The Elections Committee then presented its report of the final ballot which showed 315 delegates entitled to vote, and of the 283 votes cast 282 valid.

The report of the Election ballot was as follows:

For President:
Dr. Shaw 192

For First Vice-President:
Mrs. Stanley McCormick 173
Miss Jean Gordon 107

For Second Vice-President:
Mrs. Desha Breckinridge 264

For Third Vice-President:
Miss Davis 271

For Recording Secretary:
Mrs. Susan W. FitzGerald 166
Miss Anne H. Martin 115

For Corresponding Secretary:
Mrs. O. H. Clark 265

For Treasurer:
Mrs. Henry Wade Rogers 272

For First Auditor:
Mrs. Miller 261

For Second Auditor:
Mrs. Medill McCormick 177
Miss Gale 103

* See Minutes of Afternoon Session.

The Chair then declared the following officers elected:

First Vice-President, Mrs. Stanley McCormick.
Second Vice-President, Mrs. Breckinridge.
Third Vice-President, Miss Davis.
Recording Secretary, Mrs. FitzGerald.
Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. Clark.
Treasurer, Mrs. Rogers.
First Auditor, Mrs. Miller.
Second Auditor, Mrs. Medill McCormick.
President, Anna Howard Shaw.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, That letters of thanks be sent to the gentlemen who had loaned their offices for polling places.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, To adjourn.

The meeting adjourned at 1:05.

Afternoon Session, Monday, November 16, 1914.

Meeting was called to order at 3:00 o'clock, President Shaw in the Chair.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, That the report of the Campaign Committee be the special order of business at 3:30.

Mrs. Field, President of the Publishing Committee, announced she still had 1,543 shares of stock for sale and asked for subscriptions.

Mrs. Breckinridge asked the privilege of the floor for Dr. Lillian Johnson, who talked two minutes and explained the Smith-Lever bill providing for Congressional appropriations for agriculture development.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, That the Convention suggest to the State Suffrage Associations that they interest themselves in this effort to benefit the women of the agricultural districts.

Mrs. Jacobs of Alabama asked the privilege of the floor to announce that at a meeting of the delegates of the Southern States it had been decided that these states would for the present concentrate on the work in Alabama and help it in its effort to put a Suffrage amendment through the Legislature of 1915.

The business of further amendments to the Constitution was then taken up.

And on motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, To amend Article VII by inserting before the words "of whom 15 shall constitute a quorum" the words "which pay dues on a membership of 1,500 or more."

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, That the proposed addition to By-law 1, providing for the opening of the Convention with silent prayer, be tabled with the understanding that such suggestion should not be incorporated in the Constitution, but should be a matter of custom.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, To amend By-law II, Sec. 1 by adding a Campaign Committee to the Standing Committees.

Announcement was made that at the next Convention an amendment would be presented to By-law I, Sec. 1 to be paragraph 4 of the same and to read "the general officers of this association shall be elected by ballot on the last day but one of every alternate annual meeting."

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, That a Committee of Three be appointed to bring to the next Convention recommendations for a constitutional amendment in regard to the conduct of elections embodying the primary system and the Australian ballot.

It being the hour set for the report of the Campaign Committee, Mrs. Medill McCormick made her report and urged the need of the expansion of the publicity work. And her motion having been duly seconded it was

Voted, That the Official Board expand its present press bureau, and to this end appoint a Committee which shall be empowered to raise the money for the promotion and maintenance of this work to such an extent and in such a manner as will adequately support such extension.

The report of the Campaign Committee, as a whole, was duly accepted.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, To receive and consider the recommendations from the Executive Council concerning the policy of the Association toward partisanship.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, That the first resolution be accepted as follows:

1. That the Natonal American Woman Suffrage Association re-affirm its policy of the past as being non-partisan.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, To substitute for the second recommendation the following:

"Whereas, the rapidly increasing number of states granting suffrage to women, and the consequent crystallizing of women either along party lines, or into non-partisan political activities, makes a definite declaration of our policy as a National Suffrage Association necessary and expedient. Be it therefore resolved

THAT the National American Woman Suffrage Association is absolutely opposed to holding any political party responsible for the opinions and acts of its individual members, or holding any individual public official or candidate responsible for the action of his party majority, *on the question of Woman Suffrage.*"

The acceptance of the budget being the next business,

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, To leave the budget to the discretion of the Official Board.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, That in printing the Constitution such verbal changes as are required for uniformity and correctness by the amendments already adopted shall be made by the Secretary.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, That the Official Board shall appoint a Committee, to be known as the Survey Committee, of not less than five persons, to study the possibilities for campaigns, the conditions in Campaign States and to make return report.

The Resolutions Committee having been called upon to report, presented its report through the Chairman, Mrs. Burns of Michigan. This Report as adopted is printed at the close of these minutes.

At the request of the Chair, on motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, That the Board be authorized to appoint members of the Resolutions Committee in advance of the next Convention.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, To send the thanks of the Convention to Miss Bain of Kenosha, Wisconsin, who had suggested the self-sacrifice day, which had secured so much help for the campaign states.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, That all unfinished business be referred to the Executive Council.

Notice was then given that at the next Convention an amendment would be presented providing that every second Convention be held in Washington in order that each new Congress should be reached directly by the influence of the Convention.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, To adjourn.

The meeting and the regular Convention Sessions of the 46th Annual Convention adjourned at 6:00 P. M.

Post-Convention Meeting of the Executive Council.

Tuesday, November 17, 1914.

Meeting called to order at 10:15, President Shaw in the Chair.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, That Miss Erickson be elected Secretary.

The report of the Committee charged with rewording the peace resolutions was presented and after some further verbal changes was accepted and the report of the Resolutions Committee was adopted as printed in these proceedings.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, That only motions and recommendations be recorded in the minutes of the Informal Conference.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, That the Secretary send a letter of thanks to Mme. Schwimmer for her attendance and assistance at the Convention.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, That the question of publishing a bulletin be referred to the Official Board with the urgent request that such a bulletin be published.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, That Jane Addams be elected as First Honorary Vice-President. As the question was raised as to how Miss Addams' name would be used, a letter from her was read, making certain conditions, and

On motion duly made and seconded it was further

Voted, That the Secretary inform Miss Addams of her election as First Honorary Vice-President, and say that the conditions under which she stated she would accept the office would be rigidly adhered to.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, That the receipt of campaign help from the National Association be dependent on the Association's securing a statement, from the state concerned, of amounts received for campaign purposes from all sources.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, That a standing committee be established, to be called the National Campaign Committee, with three sub-committees, 1—Finance; 2—Survey; and 3*—Voters' Educational Committee; and further that all money contributed to the campaign states, through this Committee or any one of its sub-committees be passed through the National Treasury.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, To extend a vote of thanks to Mrs. Medill McCormick for her contribution of the picture film, "Your Girl and Mine," to the Association.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, That a Suffrage map be exhibited and printed in the papers wherever the annual Convention is held.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, That all unfinished business be referred to the Official Board.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, To adjourn.

Convention adjourned at 1:15 P. M.

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* Name afterwards changed to "Voters' Co-operative Committee."

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

The Corresponding Secretary acts as the Executive Secretary, and the two reports are therefore joined. For the last four years the two offices have actually been one, but it was only last year that they were made so officially, by the constitution. This report does not cover the full convention year, but only up to September 6th, when the resignation of the Executive Secretary went into effect.

Trying to make an adequate report for the Executive Secretary is about like making one for the mother of a large family, who knows she is busy every moment of the time, but is at a loss to define her work any more than to simply say that she tries to meet the need of each hour, and that whatever is no one's else work, is hers.

First, since a general survey of the suffrage situation does not naturally come in the reports of any of the various departments and committees, it seems that it should come here in order that it may be included somewhere in the printed annual report of the Association.

This year has completely broken all records in the number of campaign states—seven in all. In four of them—Nevada, Montana, North and South Dakota, the amendment was submitted by legislative act; in three of them—Nebraska, Missouri and Ohio, it was submitted by initiative petition. It is noteworthy that in all of the latter states, the suffragists consider the work of securing the requisite number of signers, although it was exceedingly arduous, an invaluable asset to the campaign, each signer being practically guaranteed to vote right on the amendment itself. In Ohio, Nevada, Montana and South Dakota, only a simple majority vote on the amendment is necessary to pass it, but in Nebraska 35 per cent. of all the votes cast at the election is required, and in North Dakota and Missouri a majority of all the votes cast.

Nineteen Fourteen has been what suffragists call an "off year," since most of the state legislatures meet biennially on the odd years. Nevertheless, what legislative acts there have been, have been of the greatest significance. Massachusetts and New Jersey have both passed the suffrage amendment, by overwhelming votes, as follows: in Massachusetts the

Senate vote was 34 to 2, the House vote 168 to 39; in New Jersey the Senate vote was 14 to 4, the House vote 49 to 4. In both states the suffragists are entirely confident of the additional approval of the 1915 legislatures, which is necessary before final submission to the voters.

The amendment was introduced into the legislatures of eight other states. In Rhode Island there was a hearing, but no action. In Georgia the House Committee voted 5 to 4 against a favorable report. In Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, Mississippi and Louisiana, the amendment was voted upon by the House but not the Senate, and was lost in each case, the votes being as follows: Maryland 60 to 34; Virginia 74 to 13; Kentucky 51 to 29; Mississippi 80 to 42, and Louisiana 40 to 61 in favor, but a two-thirds vote is necessary for submission.

The National Suffrage Legislative record is unprecedented. It will be fully reported by the Congressional Committee, and it is very necessary to say here that the regular amendment which the Association has kept before Congress for over forty years, again received a favorable report from the Senate Woman Suffrage Committee, and was reported out of the House Judiciary Committee, but without recommendation. The new Shafroth Amendment was introduced in both Houses and also received a favorable report from the Senate Woman Suffrage Committee. The regular amendment was voted upon in the Senate, 35 in favor to 34 against, eleven more votes being required to reach the two-thirds which is necessary to pass it. Never before has the Congressional atmosphere been so thoroughly permeated with Woman Suffrage. The anxiety of some members of Congress to show that they stood right with their constituents on the question, and the agility of others in side-stepping every single possible necessity for meeting the issue, have unerringly indicated that they all recognize the fact that the time has come when national politics must reckon with woman suffrage—whether or no.

All through the year, there has been the most hearty cooperation between Headquarters and the Washington and Chicago offices of the Congressional Committee, and consid-

ering the great distances and the fact that suffrage work often has to be undertaken in an eleventh-hour, hand-to-mouth sort of way, this co-operation has been markedly successful, and if in the future the work at both ends could be more systematized, the results would surely be all that could be desired.

It is impossible to mention the Congressional Committee without expressing on behalf of the officers of the Association a most thoroughgoing appreciation of the service of its chairman, Mrs. Medill McCormick, who has not only given money generously to the work, but has added what is more valuable still—steady, hard, personal labor, coupled with an indefatigable good humor frequently under most trying circumstances. Her frank comradely way of undertaking a well-nigh thankless task has been a joy to behold, and her initiative and enthusiasm have been an inspiration to thousands of suffrage workers.

The membership of the National Association has made an increase which serves more or less as a barometer of the growth of the suffrage movement. The payment of dues is a very rough and misleading way to compute membership, as there are thousands and thousands of members who do not pay dues, but even so, the number of delegates (which is based upon dues) entitled to vote at this year's Convention will be about 803 as opposed to 603 last year.

Since the last Convention nine Affiliated Organizations have taken technical advantage of the clause in the Constitution which provides for Auxiliary membership, and have resigned their Affiliated membership and applied for admission as Auxiliary Societies, in order to be relieved of paying their regular proportion of the National dues. The organizations taking this action are as follows: The Women's Political Union of New York, The Kentucky Equal Rights Association, The Equal Franchise Society of New York, The Louisiana Woman Suffrage Association, The Just Government League of Maryland, The Georgia Woman Suffrage Association, The Virginia Woman Suffrage Association, The Ohio Woman Suffrage Association, and the New York Woman Suffrage Party.*

*NOTE: At Nashville the Constitution was changed by the elimination of *Auxiliary* members.

The result has been an approximate loss to the National budget of $1,525.00, since the Auxiliary Societies pay a flat rate and the Affiliated Societies a proportionate rate of dues.

It is a pleasure to record the fact that Nebraska and Missouri also proposed to take this action, when it seemed to become almost epidemic among the states, but after receiving letters from Headquarters reminding them that the framers of the constitution, when they included the provision for Auxiliaries, had in mind organizations such as the Men's League, and had no idea of offering a way of eluding financial responsibility, they promptly reconsidered and decided to remain regular members of the Association, and bear their share of the National burden, in spite of the fact that they were both Campaign States, with every excuse for yielding to the temptation.

Three new Associations have been organized and admitted during the year—the South Carolina Equal Suffrage League, the Macon Georgia Equal Suffrage League and the Georgia Equal Suffrage Party. There is now not a single state in the Union, outside the already victorious states, which is not organized for suffrage, and in all but two (Arkansas and New Mexico) the organizations are members of the National Association, and even in those two states, membership in the National seems imminent.

Apart from the Congressional work, the most striking feature of the year to record is the direct assistance given to the seven Campaign States. The Treasurer's report will show the actual money sent, but beside that, the following aid has been given: A series of campaign state rallies was held by the Board in the early spring in New York, Philadelphia, Boston and Paterson, New Jersey. Tentative plans for rallies were made in several other states, but for various local reasons were given up. The speakers were members of the Board and well known local suffragists. Slides were presented showing suffrage leaders and work and conditions in the various campaign states. Since all of the states in which rallies were finally held were semi-campaign states, the National agreed that half of the funds raised in each state

should be left in that state for its own campaign. The net gain was approximately $2,000.

The Campaign States have received a goodly supply of literature from National Headquarters. Doctor Shaw usually celebrated the launching of a campaign state by sending $100 worth of literature from her special fund entrusted to her care by an anonymous donor. Up to July 1st each of the Campaign States (it was five then) also received approximately another hundred dollars' worth of literature from the National budget. The amounts varied somewhat according to the population of the several states. They also each received from Headquarters a large supply of the report of the Hearing before the Rules Committee last December.

The workers contributed to the Campaign States have been many and efficient. In April the Board decided to alter the program by which it had been arranged for the field secretary, Jane Thompson, to make a tour of the suffrage states to secure political and financial support, and instead, to divide her time between the then five Campaign States, giving six weeks to each one. The states were enthusiastic in their acceptance of the offer, and the plan has been substantially carried out as made, with an adjustment to allow for some time in Missouri, after it too became a Campaign State by the filing of its initiative petition. The details of this work will be reported by Miss Thompson herself. Miss Harriet Grim, of Wisconsin, was sent by request to North Dakota to cover the series of Great Chautauqua meetings in June and July. Miss Katharine Devereux Blake, of New York, offered her services, for the expenses only, for a month of campaign work in July. Hurried arrangements were made by telegram and, as the promptest, most urgent pleas came from Montana, Montana won her, although later she did some work in North Dakota also. Miss Shaw's special fund was the backing which provided for both Miss Grim and Miss Blake. Miss Blake made the wonderful record of securing from the collections at her meetings enough to cover all her traveling and living expenses, and something like $30.00 beside, which she turned into the local suffrage treasury. Miss

Shaw's fund, which has often seemed like the miraculous pitcher, also provided part of the expense of sending Mrs. Jennie Wells Wentworth to Ohio, and Mrs. Laura Gregg Cannon to Nevada.

Miss Addams has contributed several weeks of campaigning, and Doctor Shaw herself, has made an itinerary giving ten days to each of the Campaign States, starting August 27th, and ending with Election Day.

The last of June, two special committees were appointed to help the Campaign States; one a Finance Committee, of which the National Treasurer was Chairman and Miss Addams, Treasurer. This Committee was to raise funds; and all money not needed for work already undertaken and which was not covered by the Budget, was to be used for the campaigns. The other committee was a Campaign State Committee, with Mrs. Medill McCormick as Chairman. This Committee was to do publicity work, organize a speakers' bureau, send speakers to the Campaign States, and give any other possible aid, all the work to be carried out with the approval and co-operation of the Presidents of the Campaign States to be aided. Mrs. McCormick conducted the work from her Chicago office, and will herself give a report of it. At Headquarters we co-operated actively with one of its chief features—"The Melting Pot," which was the inspiration of Mrs. Funk, and was started on August 15th, with the double aim of honoring Lucy Stone's birthday in a practical way, and raising funds which otherwise would not have been forthcoming on account of the war.

Another noteworthy feature of the year's work was the establishment of Woman's Independence Day, on the first Saturday of May. This plan was initiated by Mrs. Medill McCormick and was phenomenally successful.

There was a most wonderful response to the ringing Call sent out by the National Board, to all the suffragists of the country to meet together in every city and town at a given time and sing a suffrage hymn, declare their suffrage faith, pass a resolution and have a suffrage speech. A woman's version of the Declaration of Independence was prepared for

the occasion, and President Wilson was asked by Doctor Shaw to proclaim the day a legal holiday to be celebrated in recognition of the right and necessity that the women of the United States should become citizens in fact as well as in name. The President did not heed Doctor Shaw's request, but the women of the country did, and the map sent out from the Chicago office showing a dot for every city and town where a meeting was held made the United States look as if it had been bountifully showered with pepper. Not a state in the Union was silent, not even the suffrage states, and many added parades and other events to the regular program, and everywhere one heard the comment "Woman's Independence Day has come to stay."

An unusual event of the year was the holding of one of the Board meetings on successive days in Birmingham, (Alabama), and Atlanta (Georgia), by invitation of the suffragists of those two cities, who seized the opportunity to press the members of the Board into very active service as speakers, at a remarkable series of meetings, luncheons, etc. It was one of the many visible evidences of the recent unparalleled growth of suffrage sentiment in the South.

We have an entirely new type of suffrage organization to report, namely, the National Junior Suffrage Corps. The idea was suggested by Miss Ruutz-Rees, and thanks to her quick work, it soon took shape, with the result that a special fund was raised to issue announcements which were sent to all of the city and town suffrage organizations which are listed at Headquarters. The plan is to interest the many thousands of children who have either debated on suffrage at school or have noticed its discussion by their elders or in the newspapers, and have them form a Junior Corps organization of their own, on lines which naturally appeal to young folks. Each founder of a local Council gets ten members, and each one of this ten gets ten more, and when each of the first ten has secured his or her ten, the founder receives the impressive title of Centurion, with a special badge from Headquarters. Each founder receives an autographed congratulation from Miss Shaw and Miss Addams. The gay little

button was designed by the artist, Elmer McRae. The first Council was organized in Columbia, South Carolina, and existed in fact as a children's club before the Junior Corps was devised, but, upon the invitation of the Board, the young members joyfully accepted the suggestion that they make their association the first Junior Council. Since then, eight other Councils have been formed in various states.

Under the general heading of Propaganda may be mentioned several things which are generally representative of the work of Headquarters. Large quantities of Congressional Documents were distributed, not only to the Campaign States, as already mentioned, but also to the semi-Campaign States. We were indebted to Senator Ashurst for a gift of 1,000 copies of his Senate speech on the National Amendment. These, with copies of the Rules Committee Hearing and Congressman Taylor's speech, which is always in demand, were sent in bulk to New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts and Iowa, all in franked envelopes, ready for mailing.

Every year among the many demands for information we have to record some one particularly significant request from Government officials. This time it was from Congressman Raker of California, who wanted the exact text of every suffrage law which had ever enfranchised any women anywhere. We readily gave him those of the United States, but had to send abroad for the foreign ones. However, he finally received them. It must give a suffragist occasion to smile to think that our Headquarters should be sought as authority on governmental action, when the Congressional library is so remarkably accessible to Congressmen! We gladly render the service in recognition of the implied tribute.

We have given advice, suggestions and co-operation to the various Chautauqua Circuits over the country, in regard to suffrage speakers and publicity, as well as to countless organizations and individuals.

There has been the usual deluge of requests for debate material, and by being a bit niggardly, we have been able to make the Budget appropriation for providing it extend fairly well through the year. One of the most interesting debates

in which we gave assistance was that between Princeton and Harvard. Harvard consulted us by mail, Princeton in person, but not until the plan of the debate was fully worked out and on the expediency basis. We emphatically urged the substitution of the justice argument, but the young debaters felt it was too late to dare change. But after they had been chastened by defeat, they again appeared at Headquarters, and very handsomely admitted that they saw why, and wished they had taken the advice, and we tenderly refrained from saying: "I told you so!"

The plan for a traveling suffrage school which was approved by the last Convention and which it was voted should be organized by the National, provided six states should request it, was duly organized, with a staff of four instructors, but one by one, the various states requesting this service withdrew, most of them because they feared it might be too big an undertaking financially, and after many weeks of vigorous correspondence, the plan was abandoned.

So also was a large and very ambitious plan for an exclusively controlled suffrage moving picture play, for which the Association had gone so far as to sign an agreement with the producer. But, in the meantime, Mrs. Medill McCormick had gone ahead with her moving picture play in Chicago, not knowing of the arrangements made in New York by Headquarters. The outcome proved to be advantageous, however, since Mrs. McCormick's play was nearly finished, and the New York one was only planned. An amicable arrangement was made with the New York producer to postpone his arrangement until another year.

Quite the most important single bit of propaganda to report, outside the regular routine work, is the almost constant lecturing done by Doctor Shaw. She has spoken in Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, Washington, D. C., Connecticut, Illinois, North and South Dakota, Montana, Nevada, Nebraska and Missouri, making in all one hundred and sixty-seven addresses.

Her Southern engagements were unfortunately cancelled by her fall last March, which kept her housed for many weeks.

However, a very interesting by-product of her accident was the story of her life, which is being published by the Metropolitan Magazine.

I have so frequently been asked by distant members just what my work was at Headquarters, and have found it so difficult to reply readily, that once I asked my assistant to keep a sort of diary of a week's doings, as a sample. The following is an account of what might be called a representative day, just as she jotted it down:

> "Asked Miss Murphy to hunt up Report of Woman Suffrage Committee, in the House in 1883, and find out if it was a majority favorable report or unanimous, in preparation for program of Campaign Rallies. Telephoned Beatrice Forbes-Robertson Hale to see if she could speak at Campaign Rally. Telegraphed Mrs. Funk about speaking at Springfield. Telegraphed Miss Peyton, Minnesota, about Governor's decree making May 2nd a legal holiday. Telephoned Mrs. Osborne, Chicago, to notify Miss Peyton. Consulted with Lou Rogers, the cartoonist, on character of special cartoons for the Campaign States. Conference with workers on Campaign Rallies. Another conference on cartoons, as to making slides for moving picture theatres in the Campaign States. Telephoned to the printer about printing the Constitution. Conference with Committee on Arrangements for the New York rally. Additional plans for special literature for the Junior Corps. Efforts to secure speakers for the Springfield meeting. Changing the time of the next Board meeting. Plans for the money raising campaign. Tried to find statistics on the publishing department for 1910 for the new Publishing Company. Conference on campaign rally about selling tickets. Luncheon, during which discussed problems of Publishing Company. Planned publicity work for Carnegie Hall rally. Worked on program. Telegraphed to Tennessee about place for next Annual Convention. Discussed items for weekly Press Bulletin. Discussed wording of advertisement for campaign rally. Sent for photographs of southern suffragists for magazine article. Telephoned Mrs. Catt about speaking at Springfield rally. Conference on Campaign Rally. Conference on Publishing Company's business problems. Received and looked at photographs for the slides which are to be made for the Campaign Rallies. Worked on copy of program for printer. Long distance telephone conference with Congressional Committee at Washington as to the presence of the two members who are in Washington at the Campaign Rallies. At intervals between the above-mentioned activities, letters were dictated to be sent to the four points of the compass on almost every subject mentioned within the lids of Webster's unabridged."

The National Association was very effectively represented at the great meeting of the International Council of Women in Rome last May, when Doctor Shaw's speech on suffrage fired the huge audience of women of all nations to a wonderful pitch of enthusiasm, resulting in the passage of a suffrage resolution without a single dissenting vote. Doctor Shaw was well supported by a fine delegation of American women.

We did all we could at Headquarters to co-operate in the impressive Women's Peace Parade the last of August. The war had very noticeably affected our funds, our mail, and the volume of our work, and it was therefore with double distress that the suffragists took part in that unique parade.

The Executive Council has received more letters from Headquarters this year than last. Many of them were occasioned by the vote on the admission as auxiliaries, of those organizations which had resigned as affiliated societies. But two letters were sent out in regard to the Congressional Policy of the National Association as differentiated from that of the Congressional Union.

There have been eight meetings of the Board to date (Sept. 6th), six of them being regular meetings and two of them interim meetings of the near-by members only, the number of members present being as follows: five members at three meetings, six members at two meetings, seven members at two meetings, and eight members at one meeting. At no meeting was the full Board present.

The Budget voted by the last Convention was followed by the Board, with the following exceptions. There was no Field Secretary until April 1st, when Miss Jane Thompson was appointed to succeed Miss Rankin, who had resigned on account of the exigencies of the campaign in Montana, her own state. At the meeting of April 7th, when the Board released the Publishing Company from its joint agreement in regard to salaries, the latter voted to use less space and therefore pay less rent; the Data Department was discontinued; three of the office staff of eleven were dismissed—the press chairman, the clerk who had charge of the main office, and

the office boy. Miss Byrns who had been the head of the Data Department was asked again to take charge of the press work, and the remainder of the office work was to be divided as might be, between the other members of the staff. The publication of the Bulletin was unavoidably postponed until April, because of the great volume of other work, which prevented the Executive Secretary from preparing the list of about 12,000 active members who were to be the first recipients of the Bulletin. The shifting and condensation of the offices with the carpentry, painting, packing, etc., again postponed the Bulletin till May, when the subscription list was made ready and the copy prepared for the printer. The Secretary was then instructed to delay further and hold the copy till the June Board meeting, at which time the Board voted to put off the publication till September and October. Later it was decided by the Board, to give up the Bulletin altogether.

My resignation was announced to the Board on August 6th, with the request that it take effect in one month. This report, therefore, covers the work up to September 6th.

Respectfully submitted,

Mary Ware Dennett.

REPORT OF THE AUDITORS

We herewith beg to state that we have examined the Report of the certified accountants, Barrow, Wade, Guthrie & Co., employed by us to examine and audit the books kept by the Treasurer of the National American Woman Suffrage Association and have found them to be correct.

Respectfully,

Harriet Burton Laidlaw,
Louise DeKoven Bowen,
Auditors.

November 10, 1914.

November 2, 1914.

Mrs. Stanley McCormick, Treasurer,
National American Woman Suffrage Association,
505 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

Dear Madam:

In compliance with your request, we have examined the books and accounts of the National American Woman Suffrage Association at the above address for the period from November 1, 1913, to October 15, 1914, and submit herewith Balance Sheet and subsidiary statements.

The closing of the books before the end of October was made necessary on account of the date of the annual convention which is to be held from November 12 to 17, and in accordance with the articles of the Association the books of the Treasurer shall close four weeks prior to the annual convention.

The statements submitted are as follows:

I. Statement of Receipts and Disbursements for the 11½ months ended October 15, 1914.

II. Statement of Income and Expenditure for the same period.

III. Balance Sheet as at October 15, 1914.

In the course of our examination we counted the cash on hand which was found in agreement with the balance as called for by the Petty Cash Book. The Bank balance was also reconciled with the balance as disclosed by the Cash Book, and we obtained a certificate verifying the amount on deposit in the Fifth Avenue Branch of the Guaranty Trust Company of New York as of October 15, 1914.

All cash receipts were regularly deposited, and we examined the cash disbursements and received paid checks for all of these.

The gold and silver coins on hand were also counted and amounted to $36.

We have had exhibited to us a letter from the Washington Branch acknowledging the cash fund received from you and that their cash on hand and disbursements amounted to $500 as at October 15, 1914. The amount of their disbursements ($100.17), has been included in the Vouchers Payable of the Association at October 15, 1914.

We have pleasure in stating that we found the books and records of the Association in good order.

Submitting the foregoing, we are,

Yours truly,
Barrow, Wade, Guthrie & Co.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

NOVEMBER 1, 1913, TO OCTOBER 15, 1914

KATHARINE DEXTER MCCORMICK, *Treasurer*, in account with the National American Woman Suffrage Association

Balance Sheet for year ended October 15, 1914

ASSETS

Cash:		
In Bank	$8,029.65	
Petty Cash Fund (New York Office)	50.00	
Gold and Silver Coins	36.00	
Congressional Committee Cash Fund	500.00	
		$8,615.65
Investments:		
National Woman Suffrage Publishing Co., Inc.		
2,000 Shares, Common, par $10.00	$20,000.00	
600 Shares, Preferred, par $10.00	6,000.00	
	$26,000.00	
Less Reserve	20,411.35	
	$5,588.65	
Cincinnati Street Railway Co.		
100 Shares Capital Stock, par value $50.00.	$5,000.00	
13 Bales Cotton at $50.00	650.00	
		11,238.65
Furniture and Fixtures:		
New York Office	$454.43	
Congressional Committee, Washington	135.50	
		589.93
Total Assets		$20,444.23

LIABILITIES

Loan:		
Trustees S. B. Anthony Memorial Fund	$1,000.00	
Vouchers Payable	232.77	
Total Liabilities		1,232.77
Net Worth		$19,211.46

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS FOR YEAR ENDED OCTOBER 15, 1914

RECEIPTS

Members' Dues	$6,928.15		
Members' Dues, 1912-1913	25.65		
General Donations	12,472.15		
Restricted Donations	20,561.01		
Annual Pledges, Washington	13,830.00		
Annual Pledges, Philadelphia	273.60		
Literature Sales Nov. 1st to Jan. 23rd	3,954.41		
Carnegie Hall Meeting	1,465.19		
Ways and Means Committee, 1912-1913	252.00		
Miscellaneous	1,044.63		
Paterson Pledges	78.00		
Boston Rally	1,323.75		
Philadelphia Rally	1,068.42		
Dividend McCall Stock	779.95		
Total Receipts		$64,056.91	
Temporary Loan		200.00	
Balance at Beginning of Year		3,055.12	
			$67,312.03

DISBURSEMENTS

Loans Repaid:			
Dr. Anna H. Shaw	$3,431.72		
Laura Clay	1,000.00		
Estate of M. S. and S. B. Anthony	1,000.00		
Temporary Loan	200.00		
		$5,631.72	
Cash Transferred to National Woman Suffrage Publishing Co.		1,309.65	
Cotton Investment		650.00	
Vouchers Payable		51,141.01	
Congressional Committee Cash Fund		500.00	
Total Disbursements			$59,232.38
Balance October 15, 1914			$8,079.65

STATEMENT OF INCOME AND EXPENDITURE FOR YEAR ENDED OCTOBER 15, 1914

INCOME

Members' Dues, 1914	$6,928.15	
Members' Dues, 1913	25.65	
General Donations	12,472.15	
Restricted Donations	20,561.01	
Annual Pledges (Washington)	13,830.00	
Annual Pledges (Philadelphia	273.60	
Literature Sales	3,954.41	
Carnegie Hall Meeting	1,465.19	
Miscellaneous	1,044.63	
Ways and Means Committee	252.00	
Boston Rally	1,323.75	
Philadelphia Rally	1,068.42	
Paterson Rally	78.00	
Dividend on McCall Stocks	779.95	
Total		$64,056.91

EXPENDITURES

Headquarters	$11,599.14	
Campaigns	24,549.49	
Literature	3,934.19	
Official Board	411.90	
Press Bureau	4,173.12	
Field Secretary	1,818.80	
Congressional Committee	5,529.93	
Junior League	231.86	
Total		52,248.43
Excess of Income over Expenditure		$11,808.48

KATHARINE DEXTER MCCORMICK,
Treasurer.

NATIONAL CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE

JANUARY 1 TO OCTOBER 15, 1914

EXPENSES

Rent	$427.50	
Salaries	874.83	
Expenses, Mrs. Booth and Mrs. Funk	1,907.47	
Sundries, Mrs. Booth and Mrs. Funk	391.86	
Office Equipment	144.50	
Office Supplies (including Telephones, Telegrams)	736.22	
Postage	238.73	
Clippings	105.35	
Printing and Stationery	188.62	
Three Mass Meetings	530.28	
Miscellaneous	344.15	
		$5,889.51

RECEIPTS

Donations	$1,465.00	
Greenwich, Connecticut, Garden Party	452.50	
Appeal Letters	2,872.36	
Mass Meetings, etc.	224.08	
		5,013.94
Deficit		$875.57

Statement of amounts advanced and disbursed by Mrs. Medill McCormick for the benefit of the National Congressional Committee in the publicity department.

February 1, 1914, to October 15, 1914

ADVANCED BY MRS. MEDILL McCORMICK

Publicity Department, Washington, D. C., Office	$3,546.00
Publicity Department, Chicago Office	2,681.55

DISBURSEMENTS

Washington Office Publicity Department:

Salaries	$2,888.33	
Rent	153.50	
Office Supplies	222.75	
Half Tones	68.32	
Office Equipment	44.00	
Postage	119.00	
Miscellaneous	50.10	
Carried forward		$3,546.00

Brought forward		$3,546.00	
Chicago Office Publicity Department:			
Rent	$127.50		
Salaries	1,772.00		
Office Supplies and Expense	81.19		
Miscellaneous	255.15		
Postage	89.60		
Printing	27.75		
Telegrams	102.23		
Clippings	109.95		
Photos	116.18		
		2,681.55	
		$6,227.55	$6,227.55

SPECIAL CAMPAIGN FUND

JANE ADDAMS, *Treasurer*

RECEIPTS

Self-Sacrifice Fund	$9,854.11	
Melting Pot Fund	2,732.33	
Total		$12,586.44

DISBURSEMENTS

Montana	$1,900.00	
North Dakota	1,825.00	
South Dakota	1,000.00	
Nebraska	2,064.46	
Missouri	1,070.46	
Nevada	1,000.00	
Ohio	2,160.57	
		11,020.49
Balance (reserved for emergency traveling expenses)		$1,665.95

N. A. W. S. A. FINANCE COMMITTEE REPORT

YEAR 1913 AND 1914

KATHARINE D. MCCORMICK

RECEIPTS

Contributions received from the McCormick, Laidlaw and Shaw Appeals	$3,672.68	
Total		$3,672.68

EXPENSES

Multigraphing and Stationery	$97.03	
Postage	222.16	
Clerical Work	481.13	
Total		800.32
Balance		$2,872.36

In the Autumn of 1914 the matter of Headquarters organization and finance was referred to an "efficiency expert" who reported a plan of organization and salaries on which the Budget for 1915 has been based.

Members may be interested to learn that the efficiency expert's plan differed but little from that already in effect and called for almost identical expenditure.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

State	Dues	Entitled to	Present
Alabama	$115.60	14	14
California	60.00	8	4
Colorado	8.60	3	0
Connecticut	750.00	77	6
Delaware	22.50	4	1
Dist. of Columbia—Woman Suffrage Council	25.30	5	4
Dist. of Columbia—Equal Suffrage Association	39.70	6	1
Florida—Equal Franchise Association	7.50	3	0
Florida—Equal Suffrage Association.	21.70	4	4
Georgia—Equal Suffrage Party	20.00	4	2
Georgia—Woman Suffrage League..	20.00	4	0
Georgia—Woman Suffrage Assoc.	100.00	11	7
Illinois	500.00	52	51
Indiana—Equal Suffrage Association.	15.00	3	3
Indiana—Woman's Franchise League	200.90	22	8
Iowa—Equal Suffrage Association ..	140.00	16	1
Kansas	20.00	4	1
Kentucky	100.00	11	11
Louisiana—State Suffrage Association	100.00	11	5

State	Dues	Entitled to	Present
Louisiana—Woman Suffrage Party..	$51.00	7	4
Louisiana—Equal Suffrage League ..	20.00	4	1
Maine	20.00	4	0
Maryland—Just Government League	100.00	11	4
Maryland—Woman Suffrage Assoc...	32.50	5	0
Maryland—Equal Suffrage League of Baltimore	32.80	5	2
Massachusetts — Political Equality Union	150.00	17	7
Massachusetts — Woman Suffrage Association	500.00	52	19
Michigan	100.00	12	6
Minnesota	152.30	17	1
Mississippi	16.00	4	3
Missouri	130.00	15	9
Montana	135.00	15	5
Nebraska	100.00	12	4
Nevada	100.00	12	1
New Hampshire	65.00	8	1
New Jersey—Woman Suffrage Association	337.00	36	2
New Jersey — Woman's Political Union	100.00	11	0
New York — Women's Political Union	100.00	11	4
New York—Equal Franchise Society	100.00	11	0
New York—Woman Suffrage Party.	100.00	11	3
New York—State Woman Suffrage Association	500.00	52	11
North Carolina — Equal Suffrage League	20.00	4	3
North Dakota — Votes for Women League	100.85	12	2
Ohio—Woman Suffrage Association.	100.00	11	5
Ohio—Equal Franchise League	40.00	6	4
Oklahoma—Woman Suffrage Association	10.00	3	2

State	Dues	Entitled to	Present
Oregon	$10.00	3	0
Pennsylvania	500.00	52	18
Rhode Island	18.50	4	1
South Carolina	30.00	5	0
South Dakota	50.00	7	0
Tennessee—E. S. A. (Chattanooga)	85.85	11	11
Tennessee—E. S. A. (Nashville)	85.85	11	11
Texas	177.00	20	2
Vermont	6.00	3	0
Virginia	100.00	11	11
West Virginia	17.20	4	1
Wisconsin — Equal Suffrage Association	100.00	11	8
National College Equal Suffrage League	350.00	37	15
Friends Equal Rights Association	14.40	3	0
Officers		8	7
Chairmen of Standing Committees		9	3
Ex-President of N. A. W. S. A.		1	0
	$7,024.00	830	315

REPORT OF THE PRESS BUREAU

The National Press Bureau is the news source of the suffrage movement. Our function is first to stimulate public interest in votes for women, and, second, to see that the demand for news thus created is satisfied by us or by our branch organizations.

We have assumed that our chief duty is securing publicity on Equal Suffrage. Our work as press agent for the National Association has been entirely a secondary consideration.

To National Headquarters there come from all parts of the United States and from Europe, visitors, telegrams, letters and press clippings, bringing us scraps of information. These scraps we put together and again send out over the country. In other words, we serve as a clearing house of information concerning votes for women.

Of course there is not enough live news of nation-wide importance to give us all the publicity we need. Therefore, we have had to develop the ability to make news. One way is to take facts which are not in themselves news and give them a news value. This can be most successfully done in an interview. We constantly urge Dr. Shaw to be interviewed because we know that her opinion and comment will carry information which would otherwise be uninteresting to the general public, though valuable to us as propaganda.

Another way in which we make news is to give a suffrage slant to topics of the moment which are not obviously related to our movement. A court decision on working hours for women, a revelation of child labor conditions, the effect of war upon women, are examples of this. Another instance is the recent agreement of the republican party to base representation in the National Convention on republican votes instead of on population. A year ago we realized that this change would help us but we waited until the plan was ratified to give publicity to the fact that non-suffrage states will lose in importance because they will have to count out their women hereafter, while the Equal Suffrage states can include their Republican women.

Suggesting ideas for so-called feature stories, special stories, syndicate articles and fiction is a line of activity forced upon us by the newspaper and magazine writers who ask us for subjects and for help in working up their articles. We say, perhaps, that everyone is interested in the mother-teacher controversy and there would be a new story in showing how prospective mothers who are not teachers are obliged to work. Or, we get out our material on women in public office and the results of woman suffrage and find we have enough facts for a magazine article. I could go on indefinitely with examples. As you see, our aim is to get the suffrage view-point into everything even though suffrage is not mentioned. Furnishing ideas for cartoons is another interesting side-line. It forces us to regard ourselves with detachment and humor—both necessary qualities for suffrage press work, it would seem.

The greater part of the publicity which results from our work cannot be traced to us. We, ourselves, may be able to trace an editorial in an Oklahoma paper, only because it copies a peculiar phrase from an article sent out by us. The Sunday story we give to one of the press associations or a syndicate writer is published throughout the country without reference to the National Association. Photographs of suffragists—our most successful kind of publicity—may be given to the press either by the National or by one of the state headquarters.

A few months ago a writer for one of the New York newspapers—the worst Anti paper we have—telephoned me, saying, "I have been told to write an editorial on the menace of Woman Suffrage. Can you help me?" I said, "Yes, I can prove to you that the majority of the Presidential electors in 1916 may represent Equal Suffrage states, and that in all probability every political party will have to endorse women suffrage before that time. What could be worse than that?" He agreed with me and his editorial based on the facts Miss Shaw and I gave him has been a most successful campaign document in Ohio. Needless to say the editorial did not quote the National Association.

Very little press material except the weekly bulletin, photographs, biographies and articles for special editions of newspapers goes directly from our New York office to the headquarters of our branches.

Our news stories are generally given directly to the press associations and to the newspapers of New York, Washington and Chicago, which are daily in touch through their reporters with our main office and the offices of our congressional committee. It is not usually possible for us to save a news story until we can write to our branch associations about it. If there is time to mail it at all, it must be sent direct to the papers in order that it may be released everywhere on the same day.

Were we working under ideal conditions, we should never send news from National headquarters without notifying our branch associations of the facts so that they might explain

or amplify our story for their local papers. Also, our branch associations would never give out a story involving a question of policy or a definite advance in their campaigns without informing us. We have, however, not had the money to do this work as we should and many awkward situations have resulted. Not only have we frequently been in a false position before the public—one which could have easily been explained had we suffragists all known the facts—but also we have unfairly judged one anothers' actions merely on the evidence of newspaper reports.

In general, we obtain the best results when we give our news and ideas to the professional writers instead of writing suffrage articles ourselves and mailing them to the papers at considerable expense for printing or multigraphing and postage. This rule, I think, applies to state work as well as to the National Press work. It is a very unusual press chairman who can write with sufficient detachment to have her stories printed in anti-suffrage or neutral papers, while even newspapers favorable to woman suffrage usually relegate the work of amateurs to suffrage columns, which the general reader is likely to avoid. The same material, if handled by a professional writer, without the obvious pro-suffrage slant, is very likely to get across as news.

The usefulness of our Weekly Press Bulletin is limited because we cannot save live news for it; because it is impossible to write one set of items equally interesting to the sophisticated readers of the states where suffrage is a political issue and to those where suffrage work is yet in the propaganda state; also because many of the smaller papers won't set up typewritten copy unless it has a strong local interest. However, the answers to the questionnaire that I recently sent out to our press chairmen have convinced me that even with these limitations, the Bulletin has considerable value, especially in the states where organized press work is just beginning, and in the states where the press chairmen combine our bulletin news with local news in such a way as to meet the individual requirements of the newspapers in their territory.

In this report, it is not possible to take up in detail the

various branches of our work, but it is, I hope, possible to make members of the Convention realize two facts. The first is, that there now exists a most remarkable and unprecedented demand for information about suffrage and suffrage events. We are news as we have never been before. Moreover, we are no longer amusing and sometimes picturesque; we are of real intellectual and political interest. The other fact is that we have not in any particular been able to take advantage of all the opportunities we have had, although we realize that publicity is as the breath of life to the suffrage movement. Without it, the benefit of any kind of suffrage work is reduced to a minimum. With publicity of the right kind, we secure full value for all our labor of organizing and campaigning.

Our failure to measure up to our opportunities is, of course, due primarily to lack of money, although in some instances a greater co-operation would enable us to offset the poverty handicap. Having no appropriation, our press work is, of course, not in the least like that of any political organization or reform movement which is able to buy plates, pay for matrix material, or send great quantities of typewritten and printed material to newspapers throughout the country. We have, in fact, had a much smaller appropriation for running expenses than have some of our branches and our Congressional Committee. But, even assuming that we shall never have the large sums necessary to do our work as it should be done, and admitting that in some instances we get more space because we work as amateurs, it would seem ridiculous, were it not so deplorable, that we are unable to afford workers enough to do those things which can be done only by suffragists. We can never expect the newspapers to pay experts to collect the facts on suffrage which we would most like to have published. If we fail to supply them with the best sort of material, and to dramatize it, so to speak, in order to make its news value apparent, the papers very naturally fill the space with stories which are easiest for professionals to write. There is very little information on suffrage of any news value which is not printed, provided some-

one has had time to get it into shape. The professional writers are many of them most intelligent concerning the suffrage movement, but they cannot be expected to do the work which it is our place to do.

While there are some editors who give us space because they have to—that is, because we are always doing something different and making news which cannot be ignored—there are perhaps even more editors who are either suffragists or who have a real interest in the suffrage movement, and are therefore eager to give us all the space which the business department of their paper permits. And, by the way, one of the most valuable kinds of press work is that which can be done by every suffragist individually. Newspaper and magazine offices are most sensitive to the praise and blame of readers. Suffrage departments are sometimes stopped because no readers write their approval. Individual newspaper policies, belittling or perverting the suffrage issue, are sometimes persisted in because no readers write their disapproval. Also, it is discouraging to the editor when a reader writes a letter complaining of one news item or one cartoon, although she has ignored everything which has been printed in favor of suffrage.

Above all else, it is necessary to bear in mind that the newspapers cater to all of their readers and not merely to suffragists. Instead of being angry with the reporter for featuring some point which seems to us a bit silly, or for leaving out something that we consider important, we must remember that the reporter probably had a hard time to make the story interesting enough to get published at all. Nor should we feel grieved if a trivial human interest story gets on the front page while an account of a meeting or a convention is cut out entirely. What we consider vital happenings in the suffrage movement are often not news at all and we must realize that although newspapers do sometimes make mistakes, on the whole they know their business better than we do.

It is in my opinion almost impossible to have suffrage news given out successfully by anyone who is not a very

ardent suffragist. Knowledge of publicity does not in the least make up for lack of conviction and enthusiasm. For instance, anyone who is a suffragist first and publicity person second will try to kill a good news story if there is anything in it prejudicial to the suffrage movement. In some cases it is impossible to keep a story out and the decision of the person interviewed must necessarily be to state facts in an impartial manner rather than let the story go out in a garbled and inaccurate form. There are many other instances, however, when a person can kill a story by refusing to comment upon a rumor or upon definitely known facts. During the last year when any reporter has brought me an alleged statement by a member of the Congressional Union criticising the National Association, I have refused to comment and have also discouraged attempts to interview members of the National Association on this subject. When, however, I have been asked for a statement of fact as to the conflicting policies of the Union and the National, I have made the statement without comment. It is very undesirable to criticise other suffragists, but when there is known to be a difference of policy, it seems wise to state that difference in such terms that the public will understand there are principles at issue upon which reasonable women may easily differ.

Demands upon the press bureau, as upon every department at Headquarters, have materially increased during the past year. There is, of course, little doubt that the increase during the coming year will be even greater. For carrying on the press work in anything like an adequate manner, we need now at least one person who is skilled in research work and has had legal training; one person who can devote all her time to reading and filing material, two stenographers, and one person who will give out all the material prepared by the other four. At present there is only the press chairman and one assistant who divides her time between filing and stenography. The proposed budget for next year provides no increase in workers and contemplates a cutting down of the running expenses of the press bureau. I feel that the members of the Convention would wish to increase

rather than decrease the press bureau budget, if they realized that the demands which now come to us cannot be met by the local associations without a much greater expenditure of time and money than are necessary for centralized work. The press work which can be done by wholesale, so to speak—that is the assembling of news which is circulated throughout the country by the great magazines, the press associations and the syndicates—can obviously best be done in the headquarters which is, more than any other place in the country, a clearing house for information, ideas and knowledge of the personalities of suffragists. Moreover, preparing data and statistics for the use of other suffragists can in many cases be better done by the National Association than by local associations which, in the stress of legislative work and active campaigns, cannot take time for any sort of research work. In other words, the State Associations should be able to demand of the National the work which the National can do most economically, which it can do without infringing upon the press work the local associations are best able to do for themselves, and which it would do if the financial resources of the Press Bureau were adequate.

ELINOR BYRNS.

REPORT—DATA DEPARTMENT

The Data Department of the National Association existed from January 23d until April 15th. The department was created at the suggestion of the executive secretary, Mrs. Dennett, the secretary of the Literature Committee of the National Association, Mrs. Bjorkman, and myself.

After a year or more of experience at National Headquarters, we all realized fully the need of a source of accurate information on all facts pertaining to woman suffrage and the subjects which are allied with it in the minds of the public. We believed that this information, if carefully prepared and filed, could be used with almost equal advantage in the literature department, in the press bureau and in the organization work of the National Association.

The National Budget of last year provided for a Data

Department if a plan were adopted which would secure the payment by the National Woman Suffrage Publishing Company for one-half the time of one person, who should spend the other half of her time as Chairman of the Data Department, and also of a part of the time of a stenographer, who should devote the rest of her time to the Data Department.

The plan was in operation for less than three months, but the experiment proved a very interesting one.

The first work undertaken by the Data Department was to make a card catalogue of laws affecting women and children in the non-suffrage states, the subjects to be covered being labor laws, domestic relations, equal guardianship laws, prostitution and white slave laws. We planned to do this work because of the very great demand for the information, especially after the publication of our study of legislation in the equal suffrage states. I secured the services of a volunteer worker, Miss Helen Ranlett, who is like myself a member of the New York Bar, and, in the time which we had free for this library work, we made a preliminary study on all of these subjects in thirty out of the thirty-nine non-suffrage states. Before we had time to verify and check up on our results, or study the decisions which modified the statutes, the Data Department was abolished. This part of the work of the Data Department is at this moment quite useless. Another two months' work would, I think, have put the results of our preliminary work in such shape that they would be extremely valuable to us all.

We still feel the demand, and have, with great regret, been forced to write many letters telling suffragists and professional writers that we were not able to supply them with the information which they requested, and which they had believed we would soon have.

During the recent campaigns we have especially felt the lack of such information, as we have received a number of requests from the campaign states for information for their speakers and press workers.

During the time that the Data Department was in existence, we developed quite a large correspondence, proving

that there was a real demand from suffragists for accurate information on may points. A number of our correspondents expected such a wide range of information, that it would have been absurd for us to try to answer them. Many others, however, asked very pertinent questions, which it seemed our duty to be able to answer.

Even during the short time the Department was in existence, it became obvious that the work would soon fall into certain lines so that the answering of questions asked, either by our suffragists or professional writers, would be almost a matter of routine; in other words, suffragists and writers in every part of the country wanted to know practically the same things. After looking up the information for one we had it in such shape that the sending of it to another was a very simple matter.

Since the middle of April, when I took over the press work again, I have been able to collect only such information as I have found most essential for press work.

The Executive Secretary and I have found, moreover, that instead of answering inquiries by the best possible evidence on any point we have had to send second-hand information. That is, we have not been able to look up many points ourselves, but have had to say—"In such and such a magazine or newspaper, we saw such a statement"; or "We have understood from so and so that such a thing is true." This has been far from satisfactory to us, and has, of course, been even more unsatisfactory to those who have made inquiries from us.

ELINOR BYRNS,
Chairman.

REPORT OF THE LITERATURE COMMITTEE

The function of the Literature Committee has been radically different this year from the previous years inasmuch as the literature department of the National Association was by vote of the last convention, converted into the National Woman Suffrage Publishing Company, Inc., as an independent corporation.

The actual incorporation did not occur until the latter part of February, and previous to that time the National Literature Department did very little new publishing, but simply continued the sale of the literature on hand, until the new Publishing Company was ready to take over the business.

After that the duty of the Literature Committee was assumed to be to make recommendations to the Publishing Company as to the kinds of literature which it might be advisable to print and to give advice and information when requested.

Until the end of March, the chairman of the National Literature Committee was also one of the five directors of the Publishing Company. At that time, however, she resigned from both positions because the conditions under which the literature was published had been made essentially different from those announced to the convention and approved by it. The Literature Company had concluded after a few weeks of experiment that it could not conduct the business on a paying basis, if it adhered to the plans made at the convention. It therefore asked the National Board to release it from the agreement in regard to certain joint salaries, and to lessen its floor space and its rent. The request was granted by the Board. The Literature Company Board also reduced its own staff workers and dismissed all but one who had had any previous experience with the literature. The result of the action of the two Boards was that the Data Department was entirely abolished, the editor given up, a new business manager appointed who had known nothing of suffrage work heretofore and the promotion work in the main office abandoned.

Under those circumstances, it seemed to me that the outlook for the production of good literature was seriously hurt, and I earnestly advised both the Literature Company Board and the National Board to let the literature come back into the National Association as a regular department of work, on the same basis as previous to the convention. This proposition not being accepted, I felt that I could not wisely remain either a member of the Literature Company Board of

Directors or the Chairman of the Literature Committee of the National Association. The National Board thereupon voted that it should be ex-officio, a part of the duty of the executive secretary to serve as Chairman of the Literature Committee.

Since that time I have rendered what service I could in response to questions from the Publishing Company.

Respectfully submitted,

MARY WARE DENNETT,
Chairman.

REPORT OF THE NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING CO., INC.

Madame President and Members of the Convention:

I come before you to report on the first nine months' work of the National Woman Suffrage Publishing Company, Inc., the "infant industry" of the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

At a session of your last Annual Convention held at Washington on December 4, 1914, the committee on the proposed incorporation of the Literature Department of the National Association, presented its report to you. This report was accepted by you, and you voted that a Publishing Company should be incorporated as outlined in that report.

On January 22, 1914, the National Woman Suffrage Publishing Company, Inc., was incorporated. The incorporators were Mrs. Raymond Brown, Mrs. H. Edward Dreier, Mrs. Stanley McCormick, Miss Esther G. Ogden and Miss Helen Potter, and the incorporators were by the certificate of incorporation made directors of the Company for the first year. Later it was deemed advisable to increase the number of directors to seven, and Mrs. Mary Ware Dennett and Mrs. Cyrus W. Field were elected as additional directors. Mrs. Dennett and Mrs. Dreier have since resigned from the board, causing two vacancies. One of these vacancies has been filled, and the officers and directors of the Publishing Company, at the present time, are as follows: the President, Mrs.

Cyrus W. Field; the Vice-President, Mrs. Raymond Brown; the Secretary, Miss Helen Potter; the Treasurer, Miss Esther G. Ogden; the Chairman of the Literature Committee, Mrs. Edward O. Parker; and our Director-at-Large, Mrs. Stanley McCormick.

It is a fact that the solution of a problem on paper, and the practical working out of the same problem are two different matters, and this fact was brought home to the directors of the new Company almost immediately after its formation.

Two matters in particular could not be worked out as planned, and as one of these matters involved a change in the plan for the issuance of the capital stock, as contemplated in the report submitted to and accepted by your Convention, and as the other involved a slight change in the Budget of the National Association, I feel that I should go into some detail in explanation.

On January 23, 1914, the organization of the Publishing Company was completed by the meeting of the incorporators and of the board of directors, and the Publishing Company was ready to take over the business of the Literature Department of the National Association. On that day an inventory was taken of the stock of literature on hand, and a statement made of the assets and liabilities of the Literature Department. The value of the assets over the liabilities amounted to between $5,000 and $6,000. The Literature Department had a valuable asset to transfer to the new company in the value of its business—called the good will. This item, however, was not of the same character as the tangible assets.

The report submitted to the Convention contemplated a corporation with a capital stock of $50,000, of which $26,000 was to be issued to the Trustees for the National Association, and $24,000 was to be sold to subscribers for cash at its par value. The directors of the Publishing Company decided, after serious consideration, that upon the showing made on January 23, 1914, they were not willing to issue $26,000 par value of stock to the National Association, on the same basis that it was proposed to sell to the other subscribers, who

were to pay the par value of the stock in cash. It was necessary, however, that the control of the company should be retained by the National Association. The directors of the Publishing Company, facing this situation, made the following proposal to the National Board. That the Publishing Company issue two classes of stock: $30,000 par value of 5 per cent. Non-Cumulative Preferred Stock, and $20,000 par value of Common Stock, both stocks to have equal voting power. That it issue to the Trustees for the National Association $6,000 par value of Preferred Stock for its tangible assets, and $20,000 par value (all) of the Common Stock for its good will. That the balance of the Preferred Stock be issued at par to other subscribers for cash. In this way the control of the company remains with the National Association, but the cash subscribers and the National Association, to the extent of the stock representing its net tangible assets, have a prior claim against the earnings of the company up to 5 per cent in any year, and against the assets of the corporation in the event of liquidation.

In this matter your Board met us fairly and accepted the only terms which we felt we were justified in offering.

The second matter has in reality only to do with the management of the Company's business, and the arrangement of the Association's offices at 505 Fifth Avenue, New York City. As planned, the Publishing Company and the Association were to divide the services of several people, and were to share space, as the Literature Department had formerly done. After a trial of this plan, however, it was found that this arrangement was not practicable. It imposed upon the Publishing Company a payroll of nearly $6,000 a year, and an annual rental of $1,200; a burden which the Publishing Company could not bear! We were using up our capital on poorly economized labor and rental so fast that we were appalled. Appeal was made to the Board of the Association on the ground that we could not continue to carry on the business at the loss which we were incurring. In order to give us a chance to work out of a bad situation, the Board voted to release us from all obligation as to part salaries,

and the fixed rental, and permitted us to lease from them a separate portion of their offices, paying to them the same rate per square foot that we had previously paid them. This left us free to make a new adjustment of our work and our workers.

I wish that I could come before you now, and tell you that all had been plain sailing and fair weather, and that we had accomplished all that we had planned. This I can not do, for we have had many obstacles to overcome, and we have had our set-backs; but I believe that a fair beginning has been made, and that in another year you will find that there is a steady gain in the efficiency and value of the literature service which you are obtaining.

The position which we, as directors of the new Company, have taken, has been that the money received from the sale of the capital stock is a trust fund in our hands; and that the purpose of the subscribers has been that the money should become a part of a permanent fund to be used in the preparation of suffrage literature and supplies.

With this in view we have felt that it is our duty to put the Company on a firm financial basis, and by January 13, 1915, when the first annual meeting of the stockholders will be held, we will be able not only to report on what we have done, but we will be in a position to say what we will be able to do in future work.

We feel that we know now to some extent where we stand and what we can do. We have been hampered by very unfortunate office management, due to the fact that in a work largely philanthropic it was found impossible to secure the services of an executive woman willing to work for the salary we were then able to offer. This has been rectified and we are sure of better results in the future. We have also been greatly hindered by lack of space, but we hope to make better arrangements with the National Association for the coming year. Lack of space means lack of storing capacity, and means that sufficient stock can not be kept on hand to give the promptest service.

A very important factor in the further development of

our work, is the need of data, and the preparation and editing of new material. This, if done by a paid worker is pure outlay, represents propaganda pure and simple, and can not be expected to earn any return. Part of this work is being done by the Literature Committee, whose work is of course donated, but much of the work, particularly as to data, requires a paid worker. The sale of literature alone would not pay our expenses. The profit earning part of the business is in suffrage novelties, which are, of course, in themselves, excellent propaganda material. It is our hope that the earnings on these novelties will enable us to enlarge our business.

Let me say further that we, the directors of the company, believe that the Publishing Company is going to be a success; that you are going to get better service from it than you could get in any other way; and that the question of strictly propaganda activity can be worked out by using the profits which we earn on other branches of the work.

Have you stopped to realize the difference between the financial status of Suffrage Associations and of the Publishing Company? There is not a single Suffrage Association which is not supported by membership dues and donations. The Publishing Company on the contrary maintains of itself a paid office staff of five persons, pays rent and all expenses from the sale of literature and novelties and is entirely self-supporting.

Now to enable us to carry on this work and to give you even cheaper literature than you are now able to get from us, let me tell you what you must do. As soon as we print all the suffrage literature in the United States, our prices will go down. Because we will be printing in larger quantities and more often than we do now. For instance—we are obliged to print our Rainbow Flyers in one-half million lots to get a price from the printer that will enable us to sell them at our present rate. If we were printing Flyers for every association it would mean better prices on account of the volume of work and less delay in filling our own orders. We would be printing Flyers so often that our stock could be kept up. As it is now, if one Flyer sells better than another we

have to wait until we feel able to order another one-half million of various kinds before the one that has been sold out can be replenished. This is also true of all our literature.

All of this necessarily means that we can not always have on hand enough literature to supply every demand; but, if you will give us *all* your printing I can assure you that after a short time there will be cheaper rates on our own literature, less delay in filling orders and your printing bills will be much lower than they now are. We need your co-operation and your ideas—AND YOUR PRINTING.

The amount of stock subscribed and paid for (outside of the National Association stock) prior to November 1, 1914, is $8,430.00. We still have 1,557 shares of stock to be sold at a par value of $10 a share. This will give us a good working capital. Before this Convention ends all our stock should be subscribed for so that we can do our share in supplying every demand upon us for the CAMPAIGNS OF 1915!

EDITH M. J. FIELD,
President.

REPORT OF THE LEGAL ADVISER

Nov. 10, 1914.

Your legal adviser is glad to be able to report that since our last annual convention two bequests have been paid over to the Association. One of these had involved us in a law-suit in the state of Ohio, and the other was collected without trouble other than the delay incident to the settling of an estate. The matter of the bequest of Sallie J. McCall, which was reported on in some detail at the last convention, was finally settled this summer after long litigation in which the Association was ably represented by W. C. Cochran, Esq., of Cincinnati, and the property in question, consisting of one hundred shares of stock in the Cincinnati Street Railway Company of the value of between five and six thousand dollars, was transferred to the Association on August 21, 1914. There was also received $704.95, accrued dividends remaining after the inheritance tax and Mr. Cochran's fees had been

deducted. The second bequest was that of the late Senator Thomas W. Palmer of Michigan, and amounted after deduction of the inheritance tax to $4,750. This sum was received by the Association in July.

The matter of the bequest of Mrs. Lila S. Buckley of Kansas, reported on at the last convention, is still unsettled, the case not having yet been reached on the calendar. Tentative proposals of a compromise have been made to our Kansas representative, A. L. Wilmoth, Esq., of Concordia, but the only one of these proposals that your Board of General Officers has felt inclined to entertain has not yet taken the form of a definite offer.

In February your legal adviser was requested to attend a meeting of the Board of General Officers at which meeting action was to be taken on certain proposals made by the National Woman Suffrage Publishing Company to the Association. As the proposals in question are more properly treated in detail in the report of the President of the Publishing Company, they have not been so treated in this report, but have been made the subject of a short supplemental report which will be accessible to any member desiring further information in the matter.

The only other questions with which your legal adviser has had to deal during the past year have been those having to do with the legal aspects of certain political and propaganda work of the Association. Because of their relatively unimportant character these questions have been omitted from this report.

Mary Towle,
Legal Adviser.

REPORT OF FIELD SECRETARY

In making this report, I might tell you that I have spent about $900 of your money, have raised about $200 by collections and the sale of pins, buttons, pencils, etc., part of which was used for expenses while part was turned over to local leagues. I might also tell you that I have traveled about 8,000

miles since April 9th and that I have been in a number of towns in the four campaign States in which I have worked since April 9th, Montana, North Dakota, Missouri and Nevada.

The pride I feel in having helped Jeanette Rankin win in Montana is very great, but I feel an equal pride in the other States, too, for to work with these splendid western women is an opportunity to learn so much that is beneficial, but I will not dwell upon Jeanette Rankin, Mrs. E. M. Darrow, Mrs. H. G. Miller or Mrs. Draper Smith, for you can see for yourselves just what they are like; but splendid as they are they would not have gotten quite so far had it not been for the other splendid women and men who worked so hard with them.

The duties of the Field Secretary as outlined to me when I took up the work, were to go about establishing a more friendly and more cordial relationship between the National Headquarters and the branches of the National in the States. As to how effective that plan might be I cannot say, for owing to the pressing needs of the campaign States, my duties were elsewhere, but through the hearty and cordial receptions that were given me as a national representative in the four States I have already mentioned, I feel certain that such a plan definitely carried out in all the States would keep them so in touch with the National Headquarters that many misunderstandings would be cleared up from the past, and many avoided in the future.

I would like to tell you about some of the experiences I have had—some of the places where I have slept and didn't sleep. Only once on my whole trip did I have to stop speaking on account of the rudeness of the crowd, and even then, they were just good-naturedly too indifferent—they preferred to voice their own views rather than hear mine, so I simply gave them the floor. In this town, there were eight saloons for a population of two thousand, so you can easily imagine why they were more opposed to suffrage than for it.

One day I was telling a man about the splendid reception that I had received everywhere I went and that all the other

speakers too had been cordially received at all of these street meetings, and I rather marvelled that we should meet with such kindly treatment invariably. His reply was, "It's not so very surprising. Did you ever see people go to a circus and abuse the animals?"

Many phases of the opposition to us came to light in different places, but it was constantly demonstrated to me that wise enemies are often better than foolish friends. We can only win by education, organization and then legislation. Too much emphasis cannot be placed upon education followed by the most perfect form of organization that it is possible for us to get. In speaking of the difficulty in organizing women, a man made the comment, that when it came to fashions in clothes, women seemed to organize in a day or week. Had my mind worked rapidly enough, I might have replied, that the necessity for education first made the suffrage organization harder.

As a national worker who has been so closely in touch with the Campaign States, I have been chosen to present to Dr. Shaw their expression of gratitude. I take great pleasure in the performance of this privilege.

JANE THOMSON.*

REPORT OF THE NATIONAL CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE

On the first of January, 1914, the following women were appointed to serve on the National Congressional Committee:

Mrs. Medill McCormick, Chairman, Chicago, Ill.
Mrs. Antoinette Funk, Vice Chairman, Chicago, Ill.
Mrs. Helen Gardener, Washington, D. C.
Mrs. Mary C. Bradford, Denver, Colo.
Mrs. Sherman M. Booth, Glencoe, Ill.
Mrs. Desha Breckinridge, Lexington, Ky.
Mrs. John Tucker, San Francisco, Cal.
Mrs. Edward Dreier, Brooklyn, N. Y.

I assumed the responsibility as Chairman early in January, and after opening our headquarters in the Munsey Building, at Washington, D. C., divided the Committee's work into three departments—Lobby, Publicity and Organization. The lobby and publicity were continued from the Washington office, and an organization office was opened in Chicago

*See special Resolutions and Greetings, page 211.

during the latter part of January, as it was decided that Chicago was much better situated geographically effectively to carry on the program laid out under the organization department.

As Congress was in session, it was necessary for us, as a committee, to concentrate our attention on the lobby at the Capitol, and to determine as quickly as possible both the policy to be adopted by the committee and the wisest method of legislative procedure. In order to facilitate this work, Mrs. Booth and I joined Mrs. Funk in Washington, and dividing our duties, we proceeded to investigate the temper of Congress.

The Susan B. Anthony amendment, known in the present Congress as the Bristow-Mondell resolution, had been reported out favorably by the standing committee on Suffrage in the Senate, and if we desired, could be placed as unfinished business on the calendar in the Senate, which would enable us to have a discussion on the woman suffrage question on the floor of the Senate, terminating in a vote on the question.

The situation in the House of Representatives was not so favorable. There is no standing Committee on Suffrage before that branch of Congress. The Mondell amendment was in the Judiciary Committee, and as that Committee was composed of men if not actually opposed to suffrage at least indifferent on the subject, there did not seem to be any immediate chance of action in the House. We discovered very soon, however, that the Congressional Union was circulating a petition among the Democrats requesting them to caucus on the subject of establishing a Suffrage Standing Committee. The members of your Congressional Committee felt this to be a great mistake. It gave the Democratic party a splendid opportunity to commit themselves as opposed to woman suffrage, using their *states' rights* doctrine as a reason for their action. We discussed the advisability of circulating the petition with the members of the Congressonal Union, who were convinced they were right in putting the Democratic party on record for or against suffrage, and it developed during our discussion that their policy of holding the Democratic party, as the party in power, responsible, was to be put into action at once and announced as soon as the Democrats had voted in caucus. Knowing, as we did, that this policy of the Union was diametrically opposed to the policy of the National Association, which has always been a non-partisan policy and a policy to hold the individual, and not the party, responsible for his attitude on suffrage, we tried desperately hard to block the petition and avoid the Democratic caucus voting on the subject at that time, but as the Congressional Union had a lobby of forty women as against our three, it was impossible for us to head off the petition. The Democratic party caucused, and not only voted against a Standing Committee on Suffrage, but Mr. Heflin, of Alabama, amended the resolution before the caucus so that the members of the caucus were enabled to vote, saying definitely that the woman suffrage question was a

question to be determined by the states and not by the national government.

This, then, was the general situation in Congress when our committee began work at the Capitol. It was now necessary for us to make a complete canvass of both houses of Congress, to tabulate the records of the men, in so far as we were able to secure the information, and to determine at the earliest possible moment whether or not it was advisable to force the Bristow amendment to a vote in the Senate.

The Senate had no very important legislation before it. The members of Congress were unusually impatient for an early adjournment, and wished only to consider at the present session of Congress such administration measures as the President had called for, and it looked as if an adjournment would come immediately after the trust legislation had been passed. You must remember that at this time war with Mexico was not even appearing on the horizon, and outside of the trust legislation, there was no political or administration issue important enough to keep the members in Washington. As the Judiciary Committee in the House was discussing trust legislation preparatory to introducing it in the House before it was sent over to the Senate, it seemed an auspicious moment for us to introduce suffrage legislation in the Senate. We would then have an opportunity for unlimited discussion until the trust legislation was sent over from the House, and we would have no opportunity to bring up our bill after the discussion of the trust legislation, because adjournment would be the order of business in the mind of every Congressman and Senator. The coming Congressional elections made the members unusually restless, as every politician wishes to return home in time to repair his fences for the approaching Fall elections. We therefore determined to canvass the Senate, and to advise with the men favorable to suffrage in that body as to the best method of procedure.

My first call was upon Senator Borah, of Idaho, who is a strong personal friend, a staunch suffragist and has the advantage of being a Progressive Republican from an enfranchised state. I began my conversation by explaining that I was calling upon him officially, when I was interrupted by his saying that he did not wish to have any personal misunderstanding with me in regard to his attitude on the national suffrage amendment, then pending before Congress. "I cannot vote for this amendment, and want you to understand my reasons for taking such a stand. I do not believe the suffragists of the country realize what they are doing to the women of the South, if they force upon them universal suffrage before they are ready for it. The race question is one of the most serious questions before the country to-day, and the women must help solve this question before they can take on their greater responsibilities," etc. "I am also a strong conservationist, and entertain a state's rights attitude of mind on both these questions." I thanked him for his frankness, and expressed my regret that we were going to lose his

vote, but gained his consent to serve on our Advisory Committee in the Senate.

My next call was upon Senator Burton, of Ohio, a reactionary Republican, and an old and intimate friend of my father's. When I explained my mission, he amazed me by saying that he intended to vote for our amendment, but that in casting a vote for it, he did not mean that he was in favor of woman suffrage, and did not consider that he was casting his vote for woman suffrage. When I inquired just what he thought he was doing by voting for the national suffrage amendment, he explained at length that he was very much in favor of submitting all such propositions to the people, and letting them decide. He said: "By voting for the Bristow amendment, I will be submitting the woman suffrage question to the people, in so far as I am able to do so, through national legislation."

Senator Johnson, of Maine, a Democrat, and a strong believer in the states' rights principle, told me on the same morning that he would use his influence to a certain extent in Maine for the promotion of woman suffrage, but could not conscientiously vote for this national amendment.

Going next to see Senator Saulsbury, of Delaware, I found that he was extremely interested in the idea of having the people of the states decide whether or not they favored woman suffrage, and expressed the same idea as Senator Burton, in regard to submitting the proposition to the people throughout the country. Senator Saulsbury is a strong advocate of states' rights, so he was not willing to go as far as Senator Burton and vote for the Bristow amendment. On the other hand, he said he was willing to introduce some sort of a national amendment which would submit this proposition to the people, if such an amendment were practicable.

These four interviews gave us both a geographical and political idea of the general sentiment in the Senate. Here were the same ideas expressed from Idaho to Maine, and from Ohio to Delaware, the views of men ranging from a Progressive Republican from a suffrage state to a reactionary Democrat in a New England non-suffrage state, and from a stand-pat Republican in a middle western non-suffrage state to a Progressive Democrat in a southern non-suffrage state.

This rough canvass of the Senate, where there is a Democratic majority, showed that the states' rights doctrine predominated to such an extent as to place an insurmountable barrier in the way of passing the Bristow amendment, at least during this session of Congress. In order to prove this canvass to be correct, we interviewed personally every member of the Senate. By interview we mean that we found out, in as great detail as possible, not only whether the man would vote for or against the Bristow amendment, but just how he stood on the woman suffrage question, whether it be in the state or national government. This detailed canvass proved that our estimate was correct, and we

discovered that we had about 44 votes, if the Bristow amendment could be brought up for roll call.

The following men agreed to serve on the Advisory Committee in the Senate: Senators Borah, of Idaho; Bristow, of Kansas; Shafroth and Thomas, of Colorado; Owen, of Oklahoma; Clapp, of Minnesota; Smoot, of Utah, Kern, of Indiana; Lea, of Tennessee, and Ashurst, of Arizona.

They unanimously agreed with us that it would be of great educational value to have the question brought up before the Senate during the present session of Congress, as there never had been a debate on the question of woman suffrage in Congress. We therefore placed the Bristow amendment on the calendar as unfinished business, which meant that every day at 2:00 o'clock, no matter what other subject might be before the Senate, according to the rules of that body, the question of woman suffrage was before the Senate, and it would require the unanimous consent of those members present to postpone the discussion of this bill to another hour or day. As we always arranged to have our friends in the Senate at 2:00 o'clock, it was impossible for the men opposing our measure to gain the necessary unanimous consent, and for ten days the woman suffrage question was discussed pro and con, at great length. At this time the speakers on both sides of the question had practically been exhausted, so it was brought to a vote. The roll call in the Senate was as follows:

Ashurst	Kenyon	Sherman
Brady	LaFollette	Smith, Arizona
Bristow	Lane	Smith, Michigan
Burton	Lea, Tennessee.	Smoot
Chamberlain	Myers	Stephenson
Clapp	Nelson	Sterling
Chilton	Newlands	Stone
Clark, Wyoming	Norris	Sutherland
Crawford	Owen	Thomas
Cummins	Penrose	Thompson
Gallinger	Perkins	Townsend
Gronna	Poindexter	Walsh
Hollis	Ransdell	Warren
Hughes	Shafroth	Works
Jones	Sheppard	

I wish to draw your attention to the fact that our vote was 44, which was the exact number of votes we had pledged, showing three facts which were very significant. First, that a detailed canvass proves to be an accurate method of estimating the strength of an amendment. Second, that the speeches made by the members had no effect upon the decision of the individual members to change their vote. Third, the lobbyist has very little chance of converting the members—conversion

can only be brought about by an expression from the Representative's *Congressional* district, which is the reason why a Congressional district organization throughout the country is necessary if we are to pass national legislation at an early date. This Congressional district organization must act efficiently and promptly, and when that has been accomplished, the suffragists of the country will have convinced their Representatives in Washington of their seriousness of purpose, and, in my judgment, not until we have reached that point of co-operation and efficiency will we enfranchise the women of the United States.

During the canvassing of the Senate, we were more and more impressed with the necessity of meeting the states' rights argument, and felt more and more keenly the barrier of the state constitutions in advancing our cause. An analysis of these constitutions proved most illuminating, and in arguing with the Senators upon this point, they constantly reiterated the general idea of submitting this question, as well as other big national questions, for the decision of the people. We also discovered at this time that there were seven or eight different amendments before Congress on the woman suffrage question. For example, there is a bill giving us the right to vote for Presidential electors. There is another bill giving us the right to vote for Senators and Congressmen, etc. A national constitutional convention is thought by many to be a more advantageous method of workng for national legislation. Our work as a Congressional Committee, representing the National American Woman Suffrage Association, is maintained in Washington for the purpose of promoting national legislation. We therefore were obliged to take carefully into consideration the advisability of these other measures, and to weigh the advantages and disadvantages of them before we determined upon our next step.

The Bristow amendment would soon be voted upon in the Senate. The trust legislation was entirely occupying the attention of the Judiciary Committee in the House, and we were more or less at a standstill in our lobby work at the Capitol. A general canvass of the House of Representatives convinced us, in an even more pronounced way than in the Senate, that we were again blocked by the states' rights doctrine, and also by the action of the Democratic caucus which prevented us from being reported out of the Judiciary Committee.

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It was at this time that Mrs. Funk, Mrs. Booth and myself interpreted our duty as a committee to mean that we were appointed not

only for the purpose of national propaganda and for the promotion of the Bristow amendment, but that our duty was a more extensive one and required us to meet whatever political emergency might arise during our term of office. We therefore set about to originate a new form of amendment to the United States Constitution which would meet the states' rights argument, if such a thing were possible. As Mrs. Funk is a lawyer, Mrs. Booth and I agreed it was important for her to draw up such an amendment, and we would then submit it to several lawyers and to our Advisory Committees in both the House and the Senate for their consideration. At the end of a week, Mrs. Funk presented the rough outline of an amendment to Mr. Felix Franckfurter, an able lawyer in Washington, who was at that time connected with the Government, but who has since gone to the Harvard Law School where he is teaching constitutional law. He worked on some of the details of the amendment, and it was next sent to Judge Hiram Gilbert, of Chicago, who is considered one of the best constitutional lawyers in the State of Illinois, and also to Judge Calhoun, a lawyer of international reputation, who was our former Minister to China. We adopted the rewording of the amendment by Judge Gilbert, and then sent it on to the Progressive Legislative Bureau in New York, where it was endorsed by their corps of lawyers who draft all their bills. The amendment was at this time discussed with our Advisory Committee in the Senate, and met not only with their approval as an amendment, but they considered it a very shrewd political move on the part of our organization.

At the next meeting of the National Board, I presented the amendment, and after nearly two months' consideration and discussion with some of the leading suffragists of the country, they voted unanimously endorsing it and instructing us to have it introduced whenever we thought it advisable. This action was passed by the National Board about two weeks before the vote came up in the Senate. Not wishing in any way to interfere with the Bristow amendment, we did not discuss even the idea of the Shafroth with any other members of Congress, excepting of course our Advisory Committees, or with the suffrage organizations.

Immediately after the vote was taken, it was introduced by Senator Shafroth, of Colorado, who is one of the best and strongest suffragists in the Senate.

The Congressional Union had requested Senator Bristow to reintroduce the Susan B. Anthony amendment immediately after the roll call on the suffrage vote, so that we did not interfere with their request, but, of course, would have had it introduced ourselves if we had not known beforehand from Senator Bristow that he had consented to introduce it for the Union.

Both the Shafroth and the Bristow amendments were at once sent to the Standing Committee on Suffrage, of which Senator Thomas, of Colorado, was Chairman, and in due course of time they were both reported out favorably.

Now, to go back four or five weeks in the history of the legislative work, the Congressional Union asked for a hearing before the Judiciary Committee in the House. Upon inquiry we discovered the hearing was not an exclusive one granted to the Union, and that the Federal Society was to be given part of the time apportioned for the suffragists, and that the anti-suffragists were to follow with an equal amount of time. We therefore considered it necessary that the National Association should be represented at this hearing, and wrote to Judge Clayton, Chairman of the Judiciary Committee, requesting time enough for two speakers. He wrote a circular letter to the Congressional Union, the Federal Society and ourselves, allotting the first hour to the National Association, the next twenty minutes to the Federal Society, and the last hour of the suffragists' time was given to the Congressional Union. The hearing was just at the time of the big blizzard, and our speakers were storm-bound, so that when we appeared before the Committee, there were only Mrs. Funk, Mrs. Booth and myself to represent the National, and as Mrs. Booth was not prepared to speak, and as I was Acting Chairman for the time given our Committee, it left Mrs. Funk as our only speaker. We had discussed, the night before the hearing, the possible phases of the suffrage question Mrs. Funk could use in her speech that would be new to the Judiciary Committee. As an organization, we have been conducting hearings before the Judiciary Committee of the House for over forty years, and as many of the members of that Committee have served several terms, they are as familiar as we are with all the suffrage arguments. We therefore decided to be perfectly frank with the Judiciary Committee and draw to their attention the fact that they, as a Committee, possessed the power, if they wished to exercise it, to suggest to Congress some other form of legislation than had been presented to them. Mrs. Funk made this statement to them, and said that in interviewing the members of the Judiciary Committee individually, we found that they were convinced that woman suffrage was a question which was growing so rapidly throughout the country, that it would only be a short time before the women would succeed in gaining their political freedom, but that as a Committee, and because there was a majority of Democrats on that Committee, they did not feel that they were able to report the Mondell amendment out of Committee in any form. She pointed out to them the national bills and amendments that were before Congress, drawing their attention to the fact that a national constitutional convention was a possibility, and that, as a matter of fact, if it was the states' rights doctrine which they considered a serious impediment to national suffrage legislation, it might be possible to amend the United States Constitution in such a way as to submit by national amendment the subject of woman suffrage to a vote of the people.

I have gone into the details of this hearing for the purpose of clearing up in your mind the misunderstanding which arose among the members of the Congressional Union in regard to Mrs. Funk's speech, and

because of the attack made upon us of bad faith in a letter circulated by one of its members. In reading this report, if anyone wishes, we can mail, upon request, a copy of the stenographic record of the hearing.

As the original draft of the Shafroth-Palmer amendment was drawn by Mrs. Funk, I am going to call upon her to present both the amendment and the argument.

"The Shafroth-Palmer amendment is as follows:

> "'Whenever any number of legal voters of any state, to a number exceeding eight per centum of the number of legal voters at the last preceding general election held in such state, shall petition for the submission to the legal voters of said state of the question whether women shall have equal rights with men in respect to voting at all elections to be held in such state, such question shall be so submitted and if, upon such submission, a majority of the legal voters of the state voting on the question shall vote in favor of granting to women such equal rights, the same shall thereupon be deemed established, anything in the constitution or laws of such state to the contrary notwithstanding.'

"This amendment to the United States Constitution must pass both branches of the National Congress by a two-thirds vote, and be ratified by a majority vote of three-fourths of the state legislatures before it becomes law.

"So far it is identical with the Bristow-Mondell amendment. The difference between the two amendments is that after the Bristow-Mondell amendment has passed three-fourths of the state legislatures, it completely enfranchises the women. The Shafroth-Palmer amendment, after it has passed three-fourths of the state legislatures, enables eight per cent. of the voters of the state to bring the suffrage question up for the consideration of the voters at the next general election. Such a petition may be filed at any time, not only once, but indefinitely, until suffrage is won, and a majority of those voting on the question is sufficient to carry the measure. In other words, every state where the women are not at present enfranchised may be a campaign state every year. If the male voters in the states where women are not enfranchised are obliged to hear the woman suffrage question agitated and discussed at a perennial campaign, how long will it be before, in desperation and self-defense, they will vote in favor of it?

"Now, why is the Shafroth-Palmer amendment easier to pass Congress than the Bristow-Mondell amendment?

"First of all, it shifts the responsibility of actually enfranchising the women from the Senators and Representatives to the people of their respective states. The politician is always ready to shift responsibility.

"Second, the states' rights doctrine is the one objection raised to every federal issue that comes before Congress. It is primarily the greatest obstacle to federal legislation on any subject, and is recognized as a valid objection by the members of Congress, and particularly those members from the North, who feel that they owe to the members of the South the justice of refraining from interference in matters vital to the South. This condition arises from the fact that the fifteenth amendment was passed over the heads of the South, and, as they express it 'thrust upon them.' This they resent bitterly, because while it affected the North little, if at all, the negro question affected the South vitally. The bitterness is accentuated by the members of the reconstruction period, when the negro was first enfranchised, and by the fear that at some time in the future Congress will again force upon the South a condition to which it is violently opposed. The women of the South share this sentiment up to a certain point, and at least two state presidents of suffrage associations wired their Senators to vote against the Bristow-Mondell amendment.

"Third, the Democratic party is committed to the initiative and referendum, but not to woman suffrage. It is the psychological moment to co-operate in the Democratic principle to 'Let the people initiate legislation' and take advantage of the 'majority party' favoring it. This can be more effectively done than by attacking the 'majority party,' to do which is not to meet the issue practically. We are confronted in the national Congress with the fact that we have a Democratic majority in both houses and a Democratic President in the White House. The President has endorsed the initiative and referendum, and has fully convinced himself of its merit. He has not yet endorsed suffrage—somewhat to his embarrassment having made much of the point that it is not in the party platform. We, in this resolution, ask him to endorse something that is in the party platform, and a principle over which he has declared himself, namely: The initiative and referendum. We are, in other words, asking the Democratic party to give us, the women of the country, the initiative and referendum on the question of whether or not we shall be allowed to vote, and no state can have this question forced upon them or even settled until a majority of the voters of the state cast their ballots in favor of it.

"The difficulty we encounter in trying to pass national suffrage legislation, is that we are not well enough organized, using the Congressional district as a unit, which is the only organization line recognized by a Congressman or Senator to demonstrate to him that the majority of his constituents desire national action on the woman suffrage question. Now, before we have actual voting strength enough in the national Congress to pass the Susan B. Anthony amendment, it is necessary for us to have more suffrage states. Our representation in Congress is a very small one because the enfranchised states happen to be those states with the smallest delegations. For example, the following eleven suf-

frage states: Washington, Oregon, California, Nevada, Idaho, Montana, Wyoming, Utah, Arizona, Colorado and Kansas, have a total representation in the House of 40, and in the Senate of 22. Add Illinois, where we have a municipal and Presidential vote, and you make our total in the House 66, and in the Senate 22. As we require a two-thirds vote of both branches before we can pass an amendment to the United States Constitution, we fall short of the necessary two-thirds vote in the House by 224, and 40 votes in the Senate. The single votes that we are able to gain from the different delegations in Congress do not make up this difference, so we must wait until we have won some of the states with large enough delegations to swing the balance of power.

"We made a careful and exhaustive study of the constitutions of every one of the forty-eight states, with the inevitable conclusion resulting that every state that had come into the suffrage column had had the advantage of a somewhat modern and democratic constitution. Also, that they had the advantage of the western spirit, which is less reactionary and more progressive and advanced perhaps than in the older and more conservative states. Examining and considering carefully the constitutions of the disfranchised states, we discovered that a very large per cent of them are so restrictive as to be almost prohibitive, and this, together with the political control of legislatures that had come about through machine politics in the older states, rendered it imperative that some action be taken in aid of these states before we could hope to number them in the suffrage column. A few examples of restrictive constitutions and bad conditions will suffice.

"Under the New York constitution, a resolution for an amendment must be passed by two successive sessions of the legislature before it may be submitted to the people. Nearly sixty years ago the women of New York started a campaign to induce the legislature to submit this measure to the people. Probably there are not five states nor ten states in the Union where so much time, money and ability have been expended in an effort to let the people decide upon this question, for it must be borne in mind that the spirit of each state constitution is that these problems are problems for the people themselves to determine.

"The New York legislature last session passed this resolution, and in all probability the coming legislature will do the same. Then the matter will be submitted for a decision of the people. Meantime, during the more than half a century that the women have been working to this end, the great city of New York has grown up, with its manifold political ramifications and controls, a city where for years past they have been naturalizing foreigners at the rate of something over fifteen thousand a year, decreasing each year the proportion of American born citizens and increasing the foreign born citizenship, which is generally opposed to the advancement of women.

"If the matter of suffrage is submitted to the state of New York in 1915 and does not carry, under the New York constitution the resolution

cannot again be submitted for two years. Meantime all the energy that should be expended in directly educating the people, must again be wasted trying to pass a majority vote in two successive legislatures. It is the opinion of one of the great suffrage leaders in New York, as expressed to me, that if the amendment does not carry in 1915, the people will not have an opportunity to vote upon it for another fifteen or twenty years.

"In the state of Illinois, the women have been trying for a quarter of a century to induce the legislature to submit an amendment to a vote of the people. The Illinois constitution is among the most restrictive. It was adopted more than fifty years ago, when the state was a small agricultural community. It is now third in size, with the second largest city in America and the fifth largest in the world in its boundaries. The constitution is bursting at the seams. Its provision is that only one section may be amended at a session, and although there is pressing and serious need of amendment, there has been no amendment in twenty-two years. This is because of the political nature of its control.

"Another state can only amend its constitution when three-fourths of the legislature speaks, when three-fourths of all the people vote to amend the constitution, and when two-thirds of all the people in every county so vote. This would mean that if one hundred per cent of all the people in every county except one voted to adopt an amendment, and in that one county there was only one less than two-thirds, it could not carry. In a number of states an amendment must pass two sessions of the legislature. In some it must pass by a two-thirds, three-fourths, or three-fifths majority. In many states it must be adopted by a majority of the highest number voting at the election, and I wish to say here that there is no record of any amendment upon which there is the slightest controversy having been carried under such conditions. We recognized, and it cannot be gainsaid, that the sentiment in Congress reflects the sentiment in the states.

"The early passage of the Shafroth-Palmer amendment would eliminate the state constitutional barrier, and leave for the state organization only the work of ratification of the Shafroth amendment, which only requires a majority vote in both branches of the legislature. Again the legislators in the state are able to shift the responsibility of the enfranchisement of the women to the voters of his state. He is not voting directly on the question himself—he is only voting to submit the question to the people. You can readily see that here again the Shafroth-Palmer amendment is easier to ratify in the state legislatures than the Bristow-Mondell resolution would be, because in the ratification of the latter amendment, the legislators are practically casting the final vote on the enfranchisement of the women all over the country. In other words, where the women use the initiative and referendum petition system of submitting the question of woman suffrage to the voters of the State, they are enormously impressed with the educational value of the work

in connection with the petitions, whether they win or lose the state for suffrage.

"The simultaneous consideration of suffrage in every state at the same time, would give overwhelming accumulative impetus to the movement, and would increase suffrage activity inestimably. Federal sanction would dignify the movement in states where suffrage has not yet been treated seriously enough, and many women heretofore timid to stand openly for it, would be encouraged to do so. The fact that the national Congress had taken any action whatsoever in regard to the suffrage question, would stamp it as a national issue, and it would make it most difficult for the Democratic or Republican party to ignore the suffragists when they next convene their respective national conventions, and I very much doubt whether they would be able to decline to put a suffrage plank in their national platforms.

"Respectfully submitted,

"ANTOINETTE FUNK,

"Vice Chairman."

In dividing up the work of the lobby, Mrs. Sherman Booth, the third active member of the Congressional Committee, undertook to card catalogue Congress by the same method which she used so successfully on the Illinois legislature. I now take great pleasure in calling upon Mrs. Booth to give us a digest of her records.

This closes the report on Congress and the lobby.

We opened the Publicity Department of the National Congressional Committee with the idea of publishing the news from the Capitol by our own Washington correspondent, who would have the grasp and knowledge of the political situation, as well as giving out local and national news on suffrage and humanitarian legislation. For this reason we selected Mr. Arthur Dunn, who had been a Washington correspondent for thirty years, as the head of this bureau, and in addition to publishing the local and national political news, he supplied nearly four hundred papers with a weekly résumé of the situation at the Capitol. He proved to be of inestimable value to the lobby work of the Committee, because of his personal acquaintance with every man in both branches of Congress. There are many times when an emergency arises, and to be able to get a message to a Senator or a Congressman in a committee room, a critical situation may be saved. This Mr. Dunn was able to do, and during the time we were pressing for a vote in the Senate, it enabled us to take advantage of many points, which, otherwise, we would have been compelled to let go by.

During the summer months, the National Board appointed me Chairman of the Campaign Committee to assist the campaign states, and as this work was of vital importance, and as it required an entirely different sort of publicity campaign work, we transferred the press work from

Washington to Chicago. Mr. Dunn was unable to undertake this campaign work, and it was at this time—early in July—that we were fortunate enough to secure Mr. Charles T. Hallinan's services at the head of the Publicity Department, which was to include both the campaign and the Congressional Committee's work for the rest of the year. Mr. Hallinan, who was formerly of the Chicago Evening Post, was safely tucked away in the country, writing a novel, when we presented the proposition of this national suffrage publicity work to him. Being an ardent suffragist, and recognizing the great opportunity of service in this country in this particular line of the suffrage work, he has taken hold of the department with the real vigor of an enthusiast. I think it is unnecessary for me to say anything more in introduction, as you have all become familiar with his work during the last few months. I take great pleasure in introducing Mr. Hallinan.

REPORT OF THE CHAIRMAN OF THE PRESS BUREAU OF THE CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE, CHICAGO, NOV. 1914.

"When your chairman assigned me to the publicity work of the Campaign Committee and the Congressional Committee of the N. A. W. S. A., I found myself confronted with a publicity tradition—if I may call it that—within the suffrage movement, which was very different from that with which I was familiar.

"That is, I found myself expected to send out regular weekly bulletins to unknown women, located at remote points in the various states, who were called 'State Press Chairmen.' These women, I was told, would take my material and in turn feed it out to local women, who in turn would give it to the papers. I wanted very much to accept this tradition, partly from sheer amiability and partly because I respected, and had, indeed, a vivid sense of, the devotion and the capacity for detailed and persistent endeavor which this machinery of the National represented.

"But my training and the stream of events were too much for me. When news developed in the field of the Congressional Committee or in that of the Campaign Committee, I found myself whipping it into shape and sending it out instantly over the country, through the channels with which, as a newspaper man, I was already familiar. The results were gratifying, though every little success found me further and further from the good old ways with which my devoted colleagues were familiar. I tried several times to frame up a 'Bulletin Service' which would help these women in furnishing news to their constituents. But in nearly every case, the 'story' seemed too good to jeopardize by delay in delivery, and I gradually and mournfully gave up the attempt to fit the live news into the service which I found in existence.

"Of the five professional methods of getting news out over the country, we used, during that brief campaign, all but one. First, we sent out stories through the big press associations, which means the Associated Press, the United Press and the International News Service. Secondly, we sent out stories through various 'newspaper syndicates' which use material, especially when it is accompanied with pictures, of a general news character. We also sent out some matter, though not very much, through the Washington correspondents of the big daily papers, and finally we established direct communication with the seven hundred evening papers and the four hundred morning papers of the country.

"The fifth method which was open to us—that of sending out 'plate matter' through the Western Newspaper Union or the American Press Association—we did not use. This is a very common form of publicity but we did not attempt to use it, first, because it is very expensive, and second, because my experience convinced me that it was the sort of service which can best be done state by state rather than nationally. A State Press Chairman—I really believe in State Press Chairmen and in intensive state publicity—who has worked up a personal connection with the small daily and weekly papers in her state, is alone in a position to furnish this plate service on an economical and effective basis. She—or he!—can give that matter a local color and make it seem like state or local news. She can vary the plate service so as to make it appeal to the different nationalities in her state. In short, it is an admirable method when it is handled with insight into local conditions, but it is pretty extravagant when it is handled on a national scale.

"The most interesting results came from our direct contact with the daily papers. This meant writing up a 'story' in a straightaway newspaper style over a Chicago date line and sending it out by mail to be released at a given time. The melting pot story, for example, was sent out in this fashion, and had an extraordinary popularity. So far as we know, only one big newspaper violated the release date and printed the story ahead of time. I am inclined to believe that was an accident. The story of the National's joining the Buy-a-bale movement was handled partly through the big press associations, and partly by direct contact with the papers in the fashion just described. The publicity on the motion picture play was likewise handled in this way.

"It is entirely possible for the suffragists to get a great deal of legitimate publicity through this direct contact with the big daily papers of the country. This requires, first, that we send out news that is interesting to the general public as well as to suffragists, and second, that we write our news in a style of entire detachment and without any traces of partisan coloring. Nothing could be easier than to get the newspapers of the country accustomed to the appearance and style of our press matter so that they learn to trust it and to use it gladly. The one thing, usually, which prevents a propaganda from doing this successfully, is that movements very seldom tell the truth about themselves, and editors

are justly suspicious of the matter which they send out. If we have the sound sense to make our publicity vital, if we demonstrate that our press bureau exists primarily for furnishing news and not for concealing or distorting it, we will find a vast growth in our publicity results.

"The suffragists of an older day expected their cause to gain through the conversion of men's minds. They believed that man was essentially a reasoning being and would weigh solemnly the pro and con and finally 'come out for suffrage.' But we know to-day that man is not essentially and simply a rationalistic being; he is partly imitative; partly emotional and always more or less suggestible. We make our greatest gains the more we forsake the didactic and argumentative tone of an earlier day, and take ourselves and our cause for granted. When a man sees suffrage news in the paper day after day, the assumption gradually forms in his mind that the movement is growing. It acquires the form and character of an avalanche, and if he is of the ordinary temperament, he would rather be on an avalanche than under one, and after a while, as the process goes on, he will declare that he has always been a suffragist and cannot, for the life of him, understand how anybody can be on the other side! For one man—let us confess it—who has read John Stuart Mill, there are tens of thousands who have read nothing on the subject except unimportant squibs of news. The more we reckon with this fact, the more successful we shall be.

"CHARLES T. HALLINAN."

A Chicago office was opened for the purpose of carrying on the organization work. Our idea is to build up in each state a Congressional district organization for the purpose of using pressure upon Congress and keeping the states in close touch with the Washington work.

The following plan was mailed to the President of every state association, called the "Detailed Organization Plan," and each state President was requested to present this plan to her Board for consideration and adoption

Each state Board is to elect a State Congressional Chairman who acts under the direction and supervision of the State President, and at the same time keeps in direct communication with the Congressional Chairman in Washington. Should any dispute arise between the Congressional Committee and the State President as to the duties of the Congressional Chairman or the carrying out of instructions in regard to the Congressional work in the state, we want it thoroughly understood that it is our idea that the Congressional Chairman is acting under the State Board and not under the Congressional Committee.

When the State Congressional Chairman has been elected, she should communicate with the local suffrage organizations in each Congressional district, requesting them at an early date to appoint members of their various organizations to meet and elect a Congressional Committeeman to represent their district and act under the state Congressional Chairman.

The duty of the Congressional Committeeman is to obtain all possible information about the Congressman representing that district in Washington. For example, his reputation as an individual in the community in which he has lived; if he has been a business man, his record as a business man, all to be looked up and confirmed; and if a professional man, much information can be secured as to his standing in his profession. If he is married, we want the information about his wife; whether or not she is a suffragist; if she belongs to a suffrage organization; if she has done any suffrage work in her home district. All this information is valuable to the lobbyist in Washington in working in Congress. The affiliations of a man are of great importance, particularly when a man has not definitely made up his mind to oppose a measure but is really open to reason. At such a time, the detailed information which can only be obtained by the people in his own city or town is of the utmost value, because it impresses him not only with the thoroughness and system of our work, but, so to speak, we have "the goods on him."

After this information has been gathered by the Congressional District Committeeman, a copy of it should be put on file at the state headquarters, and a copy sent through the State Congressional Chairman to the Congressional Committee in Washington. In this way the Congressman's record is filed and kept in both the state and National headquarters.

Another duty of the district Committeeman is to appoint a secretary in each local suffrage organization throughout her district for the purpose of giving us an opportunity to demonstrate the efficiency and strength of our organization when in Washington we desire a telegraphic communication from a man's constituency to bring pressure upon him suddenly, whether it is upon a parliamentary technicality or upon an amendment itself.

Let me illustrate.

If a vote is pending in Congress and we have only 36 or 48 hours' notice, it is very difficult to demonstrate to the members of Congress the support of our organization, which is, after all, the biggest argument for suffrage which we can present to them, unless we can secure telegraphic communications within that length of time. This plan we believe would work out in the following way:

The Chairman of the Congressional Committee in Washington would send a wire to each of the State Congressional Chairmen, stating the exact request to be made of the Congressman by his constituents. The State Congressional Chairman in turn wires her instructions to her Congressional Committeemen, the Committeeman in turn communicates to her secretaries, and not only would the Congressman receive within 24 or 36 hours individual telegrams requesting him to vote upon the measure, but he would receive a message from the suffrage organizations stating the number of women represented.

In other words, we could demonstrate quite clearly to these Congressmen the extent of the activity and interest in this question throughout his entire district.

I do not believe that it is the American man who is opposed to woman suffrage, and in spite of all our propaganda work, we have not reached the bulk of the men in this country, and, as a matter of fact, they are still ignorant of the fundamental reasons for our persistent requests for the ballot. It is the politician who is opposed to us, and who will continue to be opposed to us just as long as he is able to be elected in his district without the help of the women. He realizes that the days of independence in representing his constituency will be over when the women are in a position to hold him responsible for the way he votes in Congress, and that the days of corruption and graft will be at least very much diminished when women as well as the men elect him to office.

No argument which can be presented by a lobbyist in Washington is of any value in trying to convert a man who is opposed or indifferent to the question, for the reason that the lobbyist is powerless to force him into a decision. The only authority that the politician recognizes is an authority from the concerted action of his constituency. To demonstrate to these men over and over again that your Congressional Committee in Washington is backed by hundreds of thousands of organized women all over this country, is the most convincing argument that can be presented to such men as are representing us now in the United States Congress. Thanks to the partial franchise of the women of Illinois, the suffrage party of the country has at last attained a practical political position. If we are only willing to face practical political facts, we can, by united action, bring about definite results in the political arena, by demonstrating political knowledge of complex political situations and by actively campaigning against men who do not support and represent us in Congress.

In following out this organization plan, we believe it will benefit the states as well as the Natonal Association. We intend not only to tabulate a man's record in Congress upon the suffrage question, but also upon the humanitarian measures which are the measures the women of the country are most interested in, and to report to the Congressional Chairman and in turn to each Congressional district in the various states the voting record of every Representative in Congress.

Washington is a long way from the great majority of the Congressional districts of the country. Comparatively few of the voters of the United States read the Congressional Record, except when their representative in Congress makes a speech on the Floor of the House or Senate and mails a marked copy to the important men in his home district to prove to his constituency how hard he is working for them in the national Congress. I doubt if there are many men, unless it is a man of business who happens to have financial interests and there is

some pending legislation in Congress which will directly or indirectly affect that business, who ever glance at the roll calls in the Congressional Record to see whether or not their Representatives have voted for or against the important legislation before Congress.

For this reason we took from the Congressional Records, since the year 1912, the actual votes of every Congressman upon the humanitarian measures before Congress, the prohibition and the suffrage questions. We had this record of each Congressman printed and mailed to each state association showing the exact way in which each Congressman was representing the women of his district. We selected the Congressmen, after this digest had been made, who had voted persistently against every humanitarian question, and the prohibition and suffrage questions, and published what the newspapers regarded as a "blacklist." As a matter of fact, we did not apply that term to it because it was not a "blacklist." It was simply a list of the men, who, in our judgment, ought to be defeated for re-election because of their outrageous records. It was the only direct and quick way we could reach the women of the country with this startling fact of misrepresentation of some of the conspicuous and leading Congressmen in Washington. It was a report of the National Congressional Committee to the women of the country interested in national legislation and to the suffrage organizations in order that they might possess accurate material with which to wage a campaign against any of these individuals at the Fall elections, if the state association should decide it advisable.

To illustrate the effect of publishing the records of these men I want to cite the case of James R. Mann. Mr. Mann is one of the ablest men in Congress, a strong Republican and leader of the minority party in the lower house.

His views on suffrage have made him conspicuously mediaeval, but we felt it of vital importance to gain his support. Ten days after the Congressional Committee report went out he wrote the President of the Illinois Association and came out in favor of suffrage. What converted him? His personal feeling undoubtedly remains the same, but he is an able statesman and a good politician.

The women of his district had spoken at last, and he listened to their voices and he bowed gracefully to the inevitable. The information sent out from Washington by the Congressional Committee of N. A. W. S. A. was accurate and complete, and no one knew this better than Mr. Mann. His respect for our work grew, and now we have this able leader working *for* suffrage instead of *against* it.

It may have been only a coincidence that Mr. Mann should have chosen that particular day to express himself in favor of suffrage, but I am strongly inclined to believe the organization work in the state, in co-operation with the lobby work in Washington, brought about this result. If we did not accomplish but this one thing during the entire winter, we would have done a good year's work, because of the position

Mr. Mann occupies in the House and because of his efficiency as a promoter of legislation when he is actively working for it.

In following out this particular political plan to its logical conclusion, I firmly believe that we should select every two years three or four of the most prominent suffrage obstructionists in Congress and help to defeat them by waging a political campaign against them in their respective districts, and that it would be a comparatively short time before we would have demonstrated to these Congressmen not only that we are in earnest in the advocacy of our cause, but that we are shrewd enough politicians and possess competent enough organizations actually to demand from our representatives representation.

I cannot lay too much stress upon the importance of this systematic tabulation of records and co-operation with the state organizations, because even with our perfect and hastily put together organization of the past year, we have demonstrated beyond any question of doubt the efficiency of this plan and the practical results obtained by it.

The National Congressional Committee maintained two field organizers, Miss Lily Glenn, who spent most of her time in Kentucky, and the other, Miss Lavinia Engle, who divided her time between North Carolina, South Carolina, Florida, Georgia and Missouri.

Following is Miss Glenn's report:

"In Washington I began the organization of a Press Committee, the plan being to appoint a Press Chairman living in Washington from every state in the Union, particularly the south.

"On Marth 4th, I was sent to Kentucky to organize under the direction of Mrs. Desha Breckinridge, both for Congressional and local suffrage work, going first to Frankfort, where Mrs. Breckinridge and three lieutenants were watching the suffrage bill which had been introduced providing full suffrage for women. They had established suffrage headquarters at the Capitol Hotel, where practically all of the Senators and Representatives were staying during the session. I met the Senators and Representatives in the hotel and at the Capitol, and this first-hand knowledge of the men helped me in my work in their districts.

"I spoke on suffrage before thirteen county teachers' institutes, and made speeches in thirty-two other counties, covering in all forty-five counties, as follows: Barren, Simpson, Logan, Todd, Christian, Trugg, Lyon, Caldwell, Marshall, Calloway, Fulton, Hickman, Carlisle, Ballard, Livingston, Union, Henderson, Hopkins, Ohio, Hancock, Russell, Clinton, Daviess, Wayne, McCreary, Pulaski, Perry, Leslie, Woodford, Anderson, Fayette, Clark, Washington, Trimble, Carroll, Gallatin, Boone, Kenton, Grant, Madison, Pendleton, Lewis, Boyd, Lawrence and Pike.

"I was able to form twenty-seven organizations with full list of officers (all of them county leagues), in two counties appointed chairmen, in seven counties did not effect an organization, though membership cards were signed, and nine counties visited were previously organized. I have secured 1,739 new members to the state organization. These mem-

bers do not pledge themselves to any dues, but are asked to give to the extent of their ability. In Kenton and Fayette counties several of us spoke at all the meetings, and we took no credit for any of the members enrolled.

"Whenever possible, I spoke to all kinds of women's organizations, and various other gatherings. Usually I found the women's clubs fair-minded, and only once was there any question as to the advisability of letting me talk. The woman's club in one of the county seats did not give me permission to come to the meeting until they had taken a vote and decided to adjourn as a club and just listen as individuals to my speech on suffrage. They notified me by 'phone, and I almost ran to get there before they changed their minds. All of them signed membership cards.

"In Richmond I addressed the Eastern Kentucky Normal School, and reached the high school students in many towns during the chapel exercises. I talked in picture shows and on hotel verandas through the summer.

"For some time after I came to Kentucky, I explained the Shafroth amendment to the people, but as I went further into untried territory, I found it was necessary first to talk to them on the A B C's of suffrage before we could effectively explain how we expect to work for the vote. So from that time on my work has been in the line of propaganda. When I say that I met jeers and laughter on the streets in the most unenlightened sections, so soon as my business in town became known, and in one instance heard a suggestion that it would be well to run me out of town, you will understand why it was of no use to talk ways and means for the national enfranchisement of women. I will add, however, that invariably after the meetings I would hear no more ridicule, because the best in every town always came to the front and took up suffrage work.

"Most of my work has been in counties where there has been no suffrage agitation. One of these places was Elkton, Todd County, my father's birthplace. Needless to say, I was very successful in Elkton, because they felt I was one of them. There, too, lives the mother of Supreme Court Justice McReynolds, and she wanted very much to come to the meeting, but having had a fall some time previously, she could not walk up the steps to the church. She told me that while her son is opposed to woman suffrage, she could not see any reason why she could not have a mind of her own.

"Sometimes I organized two and three counties a week, and sometimes only one. At Bedford, Warsaw and Carrolton I spoke from the court house steps while my audience sat on the lawn. In Somerset, a town of about 5,000, I spoke at the fountain square. I reached Somerset at three in the afternoon, and at once asked permission to use the court house that night (Saturday). They were not willing to give it to me, so I put up some handbills in the store windows (these were so worded

as to fit any occasion, and I always carried them), announcing that I would speak at the fountain square, getting the permission of the mayor and the chief of police. I spoke from an auto, and the policeman on duty signed a card, and helped distribute the literature. It was a success. We have held successful street meetings in Louisville, Covington, Lexington and Lawrenceburg as well.

"The average man is much more willing to help the suffragists than the average woman in Kentucky. In two towns the town bands offered their services, and in one of these towns lives the anti-suffrage Speaker of the Kentucky House. The band never fails to draw a large crowd.

"Every means of transportation has been used in Kentucky this summer but the flying machine. The other organizers and I have ridden in mail hacks over roads so rough that springs were out of the question, and where the driver had frequently to get out and walk behind to see that the wheels did not come off. Our autos were sometimes drawn by mules over the huge rocks, while we trudged behind. I have travelled on boats up the Ohio to reach Kentucky towns, and have forded the Cumberland River. I rode a mule to Hyden, Leslie County, because the trip was too hard for a horse, carrying my clothing in saddle bags. It is on the road past 'Hell for Sartin,' made famous by J. Fox, Jr., and sixteen miles from the railroad through wonder country. My meeting at Hyden was in the church, and the minister introduced me, endorsing suffrage. It is a strong Progressive community, and 116 people joined the association and formed a league that night.

"At another time I rode 22 miles in a mail hack to Albany, Clinton Co., where I organized a league with a minister as President.

"Union County was the last county to be organized, and the President of the league is Mr. N. C. Hammack, President of the Kentucky Education Association. Our Governor is not a suffragist.

"Under the capable leadership of Mrs. Murray Hubbard, State Congressional Chairman, the Congressional work has been whipped into such shape that Kentucky will be able to render efficient service to the Congressional Committee during the coming year.

"Lily Green."

I want to take the opportunity here of expressing my deep appreciation and gratitude of the cordial co-operation of the state organizations through the entire year. I know how difficult it has been many times to cope patiently with my ignorance of the suffrage organizations and past detailed history, but it has been a real inspiration to represent a body of women who are serving the cause with such generosity.

With this, the report of your Congressional Committee, I respectfully submit the following suggestions and recommendations:

I suggest that the time is at hand when not only the state officers of the state suffrage organizations, but the entire body of suffragists in the states, should be kept informed of and in touch with the national

situation in all of its bearings upon our cause; that they should be informed of the make-up of Congress, and that they should be supplied with information not only as to what the individual member may profess by words, but what he stands for by deeds, as evidenced by his official attitude toward suffrage, and other kindred causes.

I suggest that although a man professes to be a suffragist and even lends support at times, if he fails to uphold measures of great human and moral importance, then the thinking women in his district should know this, in order that she may form her judgment of his value with all the facts before her. I suggest that this data is not generally available and can only be acquired by research work requiring time, opportunity and special preparation.

I suggest that many questions dealt with by the national Congress are local in their economic and political bearing, and frequently become controlling factors in the success of suffrage. I suggest that suffragists in the several states and various localities should be able to get information concerning these matters from your Congressional Committee.

I suggest that ours is the cause of every individual suffragist, and that every individual suffragist is entitled to a true, uncolored, unvarnished statement as to the situation bearing upon suffrage at Washington at all times, whether such report is favorable or discouraging, based upon the best information obtainable; and, further, that when a request is made of your Committee calling for a conclusion on the subject, the facts upon which such conclusion is based should be set out.

I further suggest that many members are elected to Congress who have given but little, if any, thought to woman suffrage, and that with these it is of vital importance to wage a dignified and unending campaign of education, and that to this end it is essential that Committee members with this work in charge have a thorough understanding of general national politics, and further, that they keep in touch through state and Congressional organizations, in so far as possible, with the Congressional situation in the different states and districts.

I suggest further that our National organization cannot take its proper place, nor the work of your Congressional Committee approach the highest point of efficiency, without a press or publicity department; that such a department is the right arm of your Congressional Committee, without which fully one-half of the force of your Committee work would be wasted and without effort.

I suggest that the suffrage campaigns of the past, and particularly those of this Fall, have demonstrated the urgent need of better and fuller co-operation between the National and state organizations, in organizing, framing and carrying to ultimate success all campaign work.

Further, that this work could be standardized, and the campaigns more effectively administered with greater saving of time, money and energy under a carefully worked-out system of co-operation.

I further suggest the following plan in general outline for campaign work, such suggestions being merely tentative:

A state holding a constitutional convention should be regarded as in the campaign class.

All states, once they decide upon inaugurating campaigns, if they desire aid from the National, should at once advise the National Board of this fact.

The Committee, as suggested, should then make a thorough and painstaking investigation of the exact situation in the proposed state with reference to:

The status of the various political parties.

The attitude of each political party toward suffrage.

The character and temper of state officials toward suffrage.

The extent and general efficiency of the state suffrage organization.

The number of workers, organizers and speakers available in the state.

What the state might reasonably do by way of financing the campaign.

The amount of money reasonably necessary to carry the campaign.

The organization of the opposition if any.

The interests opposed and their probable activity.

Whether the campaign is undertaken for the purpose of education, or to pave the way for a second campaign.

Whether the campaign is undertaken to break down or weaken some constitutional or moral obstacle.

Whether the campaign is undertaken to induce favorable and path-finding legislation.

What the probable chances of success are from the various view points.

With the report of this Committee before the National Board, such Board could then decide the extent and character of aid it could best render the state, whether in money, organizers, literature, speakers or all of these.

With this decision before them, your Committee should work out a general campaign plan, modified in each state to meet the special need of that locality.

Such special literature for the states, bearing on local situations, as might be deemed necessary, could probably be prepared by the press department of your Committee, with the aid, advice and assistance of the various state committees and officers, accomplishing much saving in time and energy by the centralization of the work and great economy in the matter of printing, etc.

The need of each state being known under a general plan, there could be greater economy and efficiency in the management of salaried organizers. The publicity department could render valuable assistance and co-operate extensively with the press agents of the states. With all speakers routed by one department, we would reach a higher degree of economy and effectiveness.

I suggest that there is no more pressing need than for a National Speakers Bureau to meet a constantly increasing demand for speakers from all sections of the country. Such a bureau should have a selected list of speakers, with tabulation as to their special qualifications, time of availability, cost of service, etc. With all available speakers upon the books of a bureau, whether in the locality or within easy distance of the place requiring such services, they could be supplied at minimum cost and maximum convenience. I suggest that, as the Woman Suffrage Council of Washington have inaugurated such a bureau, they would probably be willing to turn the same over to the National control, should it be so desired.

In conclusion I most earnestly suggest that those forces who have always opposed movements, based upon the principles of democracy, are now centering their fire upon the advance of women into the national field; that their work is no longer sporadic or confined to disassociated localities, but that their organization is national in its scope with its ramifications planted in great vested interests, and that our organization, to succeed, must be built along lines co-extensive with theirs.

I further suggest that we cannot afford to leave untried nor unexplored any field or any avenue which carries us in the direction of our goal.

To sum up these suggestions briefly:

Your Congressional Committee recommends to this convention first the establishment of a Publicity Bureau in connection with your National Headquarters.

Second; the standardization of the co-operative work between the National Association and the various campaign states.

Third; the establishment of a Speakers Bureau to meet the demand for suffrage speakers.

Fourth; the further organization of Congressional districts.

Fifth; the appointment by Board of Directors of a special Finance Committee for financing the work of the Congressional Committee and the Publicity Bureau.

Respectfully submitted,

RUTH MCCORMICK.

HISTORY OF SUFFRAGE IN SIXTY-THIRD CONGRESS.
HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION NO. 1.

(The Susan B. Anthony Amendment.)

April 7, 1913.

HOUSE RESOLUTION No. 9.—Creating a Committee of the House of Representatives, known as the Committee on Equal Suffrage. Introduced by Edward T. Taylor, of Colorado. Referred to the Committee on Rules. Congressional Record, page 47.

April 8, 1913.

HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 1.—Introduced by Frank W. Mondell, of Wyoming, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary. Page 95 Congressional Record.

Jan. 24, 1914.

MEETING OF THE RULES COMMITTEE.—Members:

Robert L. Henry, Texas, Chairman.
Edward W. Pou, North Carolina.
Thomas W. Hardwick, Georgia.
Finis J. Garrett, Tennessee.
Martin D. Foster, Illinois.
James C. Cantrill, Kentucky.
Henry M. Goldfogle, New York.
Philip P. Campbell, Kansas.
Irvine L. Lenroot, Wisconsin.
Edwin A. Merritt, Jr., New York.
M. Clyde Kelly, Pennsylvania.

Mr. Lenroot moved to report House Resolution No. 9 favorably to the House. Only 8 members were present. The vote stood for Mr. Lenroot's motion:

FOR:	OPPOSED:
Foster, Illinois.	Hardwick, Georgia.
Campbell, Kansas.	Pou, North Carolina.
Kelly, Pennsylvania.	Cantrill, Kentucky.
Lenroot, Wisconsin.	Garrett, Tennessee.

Mr. Lenroot then moved to report the resolution without recommendation, and Hardwick offered as a substitute that action on this motion be postponed.

FOR POSTPONEMENT:	OPPOSED:
Pou, North Carolina.	Cantrill, Kentucky.
Hardwick, Georgia.	Lenroot, Wisconsin.
Garrett, Tennessee.	Campbell, Kansas.
Foster, Illinois.	Kelly, Pennsylvania.

Feb. 3, 1914.

DEMOCRATIC CAUCUS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.—Called by signature of 51 names to petition requesting it, circulated by the Congressional Union.

Quotation from the Washington Post, Feb. 4th: "It had been given out yesterday that many members would sidestep the whole matter by remaining away from the caucus, and thus break a quorum. Just before the caucus was held, the Democratic members of the Ways and Means Committee, who constitute the ruling body of the Democratic membership, met in Representative Oscar J. Underwood's

office in the Capitol and resolved to take decisive action. Mr. Underwood counseled, it is understood, that it would be unwise to avoid the question longer, and that action should be final, as the Rules Committee for many months has been juggling with the proposition."

Representative John E. Baker, of California, offered a resolution calling for the creation of a Suffrage Committee in the House.

Representative J. Thomas Heflin, of Alabama, then moved a substitute:

"Resolved, That it is the sense of this caucus that the question of woman suffrage is a State and not a Federal question."

Mr. Baker spoke to the motion, Mr. Heflin moved the previous question and closed debate, and the vote was taken on Mr. Heflin's substitute, the motion being carried by a vote of 123 to 55, thus dictating to all Democrats in the House that suffrage should not be considered Federally, and was as follows:

Those Who Supported Heflin.

Abercrombie	Bowdle	Lazaro
Ainsberry	Buchanan (Tex.)	Lever
Bartlett	Galloway	Morrison
Booher	Clark (Fla.)	Oldfield
Brown (W. Va.)	Cox	Park
Burnett	Dies	Rayburn
Cantrill	Dooling	Rubey
Collier	Estopinal	Shackleford
Dent	Gard	Stephens (Miss.)
Diffenderfer	Allen	Taylor (Ark.)
Driscoll	Barnhart	Vaughan
Finley	Bell	Weaver
Adamson	Brodbeck	Witherspoon
Ashbrook	Burgess	Gittins
Bathrick	Chandler	Graham
Borchers	Clark (Mo.)	Gudger
Bruckner	Cullop	Henry
Byrnes (S. C.)	Dixon	Howard
Carr	Doughton	Key
Conroy	Falson	Lee (Ga.)
Dickinson	Garrett (Tenn.)	Lieb
Donovan	Garrett (Tex.)	Moss
Edwards	Gordon	Padgett
Flood	Hammond	Patten
Aiken	Heflin	Reilly (Wis.)
Bailey	Houston	Rucker
Beakes	Johnson (S. C.)	Susson

Talbott	Page	Humphreys
Ten Eyck	Post	Kitchin
Walker	Rothermel	Lesher
White	Russell	Lonergan
Young	Stanley	O'Brian
Glass	Talcott	Palmer
Gregg	Tuttle	Quinn
Hardwick	Watkins	Rouse
Hensley	Wilson (Fla.)	Saunders
Hull	Baltz	Stedman
Kindel	Goeke	Taylor (Ala.)
Lee (Pa.)	Griffin	Underwood
Loft	Hay	Watson
Murray (Okla.)	Holland	Wilson (N. Y.)

THOSE AGAINST THE SUBSTITUTE.

Adair	Keating	Reilly (Conn.)
Buchanan (Ill.)	Lebeck	Sherwood
Decker	Metz	Stone
Doolittle	O'Shaunessy	Taylor (N. Y.)
Francis	Reed	Williams
Hayden	Seldomridge	Carew
Levy	Stevens (N. Y.)	Crosser
McDermott	Taylor (Colo.)	Donohoe
O'Hair	Townsend	Foster
Raker	Brown (N. Y.)	Goulden
Scully	Connelly (Kans.)	Kinkaid
Smith (N. Y.)	Dershem	McAndrews
Stringer	FitzHenry	Neely (W. Va.)
Thompson	Gilmore	Rainey
Baker	Kettner	Sabath
Church	Logue	Smith (Md.)
Deitrich	Mitchell	Stout
Evans	Peterson	Thomas
George		

March 3, 1914.

HEARING BEFORE COMMITTEE ON JUDICIARY, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

1 hour National American Woman Suffrage Association.

20 minutes Federal Equality Association.

1 hour Congressional Union.

2 hours Anti-suffragists.

MEETING OF COMMITTEE ON JUDICIARY OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.—Motion made to report House Joint Resolution No. 1 out,

without recommendation, with the Prohibition Amendment, made by Chandler, of New York.

After heated discussion, wherein the Committee objected to being the body to kill all unpopular bills, motion carried to report out the suffrage amendment House Joint Resolution No. 1.

August 27, 1914.

MEETING OF HOUSE RULES COMMITTEE.—Campbell, of Kansas, moved that the House be given an opportunity to vote on the Bristow-Mondell resolution. To head this off, Pou moved to adjourn. Pou, Garrett and Campbell voted in favor of adjournment; Campbell, Goldfogle and Kelly against it. Henry then cast the deciding vote for adjournment.

"SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION NO. 1."

April 7, 1913.

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 1 (Susan B. Anthony Amendment). —Introduced by George E. Chamberlain, of Oregon. Referred to Committee on Woman Suffrage, Congressional Record, page 19.

COMMITTEE ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE.—(Hearings.)

Jan. —, 1914.

REPORTED BACK TO SENATE.—(Senate Report 64.) Congressional Record, page 19.

SENATE RESOLUTION No. 124.—To print additional copies of hearings before Committee on Woman Suffrage on subject of suffrage parade.

Dec. 19, 1913.

DEBATED.—Remarks relative to disposition of petitions on subject of woman suffrage. Congressional Record, page 1216.

Dec. 26, 1913.

DEBATED.—Remarks relative to disposition of petitions on subject of woman suffrage. Congressional Record, page 1665.

Jan. —, 1914.

DEBATED.—Remarks relative to disposition of petitions on subject of woman suffrage. Congressional Record, page 1814.

Jan. —, 1914.

DEBATED.—Remarks relative to disposition of petitions on subject of woman suffrage. Congressional Record, page 2076.

Jan. —, 1914.

UNANIMOUS CONSENT AGREEMENT ASKED FOR.—A vote on Senate Joint Resolution No. 1 objected to, pages 2076 and 2077.

Feb. 9, 1914.
DEBATED.—Page 3328.

Feb. 20, 1914.
Page 3991.

Feb. 12, 1914.
RESOLUTION BY KEATING TO PRINT HEARINGS, BEFORE THE RULES COMMITTEE, ON THE RESOLUTION, House Resolution No. 411, TO CREATE A COMMITTEE ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE.—Referred to Committee on Printing, page 3556.

Feb. 17, 1914.
MR. BARNHART, ON COMMITTEE ON PRINTING, REPORTED RESOLUTION 411, WITH AMENDMENT.—Debated (by Barnhart, Mann, Madden and Fitzgerald), amended and agreed to. Page 3771.

Feb. —, 1914.
DEBATED.—Page 3469.

Feb 18, 1914.
DEBATED.—Pages 3840-48.

Feb. 27, 1914.
UNANIMOUS CONSENT OBJECTED TO.—Pages 4302-05.

Feb. 28, 1914.
DEBATED.—Page 4393.

March 2, 1914.
DEBATED.—Pages 4435-39.

March 2, 1914.
Made unfinished business. Pages 4440-46.

March 2, 1914.
VOTE.—Page 4442.

March 2, 1914.
VOTE.—Page 4444.

March 2, 1914.
VOTE.—Page 4445.

March 3, 1914.
DEBATED.—Pages 4486-90.

March 4, 1914.
DEBATED.—Pages 4530-34.

March 3, 1914.
DEBATED.—Page 4575.

March 3, 1914.
DEBATED.—Page 4562.

March 3, 1914.
DEBATED.—Pages 4578-82.
March 2, 1914.
DEBATED.—Pages 4585-93.
March 5. 1914.
DEBATED.—Pages 4615-20.
March 6, 1914.
DEBATED.—Page 4656.
March 6, 1914.
Unanimous consent objected to. Pages 4659-62.
March 4, 1914.
DEBATED.—Pages 4704-08.
March 9, 1914.
DEBATED.—Page 4792.
March 9, 1914.
DEBATED.—Page 4795.
March 10, 1914.
DEBATED.—Page 4856.
March 11, 1914.
DEBATED.—Page 4946.
March 13, 1914.
DEBATED.—Page 5132.
March 13, 1914.
DEBATED.—Page 5151.
March 16, 1914.
DEBATED.—Pages 5231-33
March 16, 1914.
DEBATED.—Page 5236.
March 17, 1914.
DEBATED.—Pages 5278-83.
March 19, 1914.
DEBATED.—Pages 5454-72.
March 19, 1914.
VOTES TAKEN AND REJECTED.—Page 5471.
March 20, 1914.
DEBATED.—Page 5509.
March 20, 1914.
DEBATED.—Pages 5559-66.
March 20, 1914.
DEBATED.—Pages 5566-68.
March 21, 1914.
DEBATED.—Page 5644.

March 21, 1914.
DEBATED.—Pages 5648-58.
PETITIONS, MEMORIALS AND DEBATES.—8693, 9266, 10427, 10682, 11276, 12235, 12364, 12635, 12886, 12902, 17391.

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION NO. 128.
(The Shafroth-Palmer Amendment.)

March 20, 1914.
INTRODUCED IN SENATE BY JOHN F. SHAFROTH, OF COLORADO.—Page 5519.

March 20, 1914.
DEBATED.—Pages 5519-22.

March 20, 1914.
VOTE ON REFERENCE TO COMMITTEE ON JUDICIARY.—Referred to Committee on Woman Suffrage. Page 5520.

April 30, 1914.
REPORTED BACK.—Page 8059.

March 20, 1914.
BRISTOW RESOLUTION No. 130.—Referred to Committee on Woman Suffrage. Page 5522.

March 20, 1914.
DEBATED.—Page 5522.

April 7, 1914.
REPORTED BACK.—Page 6777.

April 7, 1914.
DEBATED.—Page 6777.

April 8, 1914.
DEBATED.—Page 6854.

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION NO. 130.
(The Susan B. Anthony Amendment.)

March 20, 1914.
REINTRODUCED BY JOSEPH L. BRISTOW, OF KANSAS.—Referred to Committee on Woman Suffrage. Page 5522.

March 20, 1914.
DEBATED.—Page 5522.

April 7, 1914.
REPORTED BACK TO SENATE AND DEBATED.—Page 6677.

April 8, 1914.
DEBATED.—Page 6854.

PETITIONS, MEMORIALS AND EDITORIALS ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE DURING THE SECOND SESSION OF THE SIXTY-THIRD CONGRESS.

From Dec. 1, 1913, to Oct. 3, 1914.

(Report compiled Oct. 3rd, before adjournment of Congress.)

TITLE:	BY WHOM PRESENTED:	DATE:	PAGE IN RECORD:
Federal Woman's Equality Assn.	Geo. E. Chamberlain	Feb. 9, '14	3328
Cal. Newspaper Clippings.	Jos. R. Knowland	Feb. 20, '14	3991
The States Rights Shibboleth, by Mary Beard.	Miles Poindexter	Mar. 17, '14	4281
Testimony from California.	John D. Works	Mar. 2, '14	4435–39
Testimony from Colorado.	John F. Shafroth	Mar. 2, '14	4585–93
Excerpts from Bryce's American Commonwealth Relative to American Woman.	Nathan P. Bryan	Mar. 2, '14	4575
Petition of Mrs. Jas. Bennett.	Wm. O. Bradley	Mar. 5, '14	4606
Article by Susan Whitcomb Hassell, 21 Telegrams and Articles.	Jas. E. Martine	Mar. 19, '14 Mar. 19, '14	5463 5461
Letter by Wm. L. Marbury, States Rights Applied to Woman Suffrage.	Blair Lee	Mar. 19, '14	5455–56
Summary of Investigation Concerning Woman Suffrage in England. Paper Relating to Woman Suffrage in California.	John D. Works John D. Works	Mar. 11, '14 June 2, '14	4946 10427
Text of Report on Woman Suffrage in House of Representatives, 1884.	Moses E. Clapp	June 5, '14	10682
Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont's Telegram.	Henry F. Ashurst	Mar. 6, '14	4656
Dr. Shaw's Letter re Belmont Telegram.	Charles S. Thomas	Mar. 9, '14	4792
Editorial on Ashurst and Suffragists.	John F. Shafroth	Mar. 12,' 14	5034
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Petitions and Telegrams on Woman Suffrage.	Many Senators	Mar. 16, '14	5231–33

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Petitions and Telegrams on Woman Suffrage.	Many Senators	Mar. 16, '14	5236
Letter by Mrs. Medill McCormick.		Mar. 17, '14	5278
Telegram from Texas.	Morris Sheppard	Mar. 17, '14	5278
Article by Helen Gardener.	John Sharp Williams	Mar. 19, '14	5457–60
Article by Annie Riley Hale.		Apr. 14, '14	7196
Essay by Bishop of Kensington.	A. W. Lafferty	Apr. 10, '14	7095
Declaration of Independence, 1914.	J. W. Bryan	May 9, '14	8693–96
Article by Miss Mary Smith of Washington.	J. Thomas Heflin	May 13, '14	9266–68
Speech in House in 1884.			10682–3
Petitions on Woman Suffrage from:			
Utah: Salt Lake City.	Reed Smoot	June 27, '14	12235
Illinois: Chicago.	J. Hamilton Lewis	June 27, '14	12235
Pennsylvania petitions.	George T. Oliver	June 27, '14	12235
New Mex.: Albuquerque Women's Clubs.	Thomas B. Catron		
Georgia: Atlanta.	Hoke Smith		
Michigan:			
Cass County.			
St. Joseph County.			
Ann Arbor County.	Charles E. Townsend		
Allen County.			
Kalamazoo County.			
Flint County.			
Kansas: Topeka.	Joseph L. Bristow		
Rhode Island:			
Woonsocket.			
Westerly.	Henry F. Lippitt	June 27, '14	12236
Newport.			
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West Newbury.			

TITLE:	BY WHOM PRESENTED:	DATE:	PAGE IN RECORD:
Minnesota: Owatonna. Chisholm. Cottonwood.	Knute Nelson	June 27, '14	12236
New Mexico: Portales.	Albert B. Fall	June 27, '14	12236
North Carolina: Charlotte. Chapel Hill.	Lee S. Overman	June 27, '14	12236
West Virginia: Fairmont.	Nathan Goff	June 27, '14	12236
Nebraska: Chadron. Table Rock. David City. McCook. Kenesaw. Uplands. Central City. Shelby. Custer County.	Geo. W. Norris	June 27, '14	12236
Washington: Seattle.	Miles Poindexter	June 27, '14	12236
New York: Monroe County. Chenango County. New York City. Syracuse. Richbury. Sayville. Malone County. Franklin County. Huntington County. Mount Vernon. Freeport. Hempstead. East Hempstead. Niagara Falls. Cambridge. Port Washington. Islip. Rockaway.	Elihu Root	June 27, '14	12236

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Michigan: South Haven. Saginaw. Alpena. Montgomery. Harbor Springs. Kalamazoo. Paw Paw.	Wm. Alden Smith	June 27, '14	12236
Oregon: Portland.	Harry Lane	June 27, '14	12236
Pennsylvania: Oxford. West Chester. Plymouth. Conshohocken. Philadelphia. Delaware County. Altoona. Shippenburg. Harrisburg. Washington. Somerset. Wyalusing. Towanda. Morristown. Lancaster. Williamsport. Scranton. Erie. Mercer County. Weelsboro. Tunkhannock. Reading. Bloomsburg. Carlisle.	Boise Penrose	June 27, '14	12236
Washington: Seattle. Petitions and newspaper clippings showing clubs, etc., represented, amounting to over 10,000 women.	J. W. Bryan	June 29, '14	12364
Colorado: Denver.	John F. Shafroth	July 3, '14	12635
Wyoming: Laramie.	Frank W. Mondell	July 8, '14	12886
Wyoming: Laramie (U. of Wyo.)	Francis E. Warren	July 9, '14	12902

Title:	By whom presented:	Date:	Page in Record:
Policy of the National American Woman Suffrage Association.	Dudley Doolittle	Sept. 29, '14	17391

OBJECTIONS TO UNANIMOUS CONSENT AGREEMENT IN SENATE TO CONSIDER SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION NO. 1. (Susan B. Anthony Amendment.)

Objector and State:	Date:	Page in Record:
Nathan B. Bryan, Florida	Jan. 21, '14	2076–77
Hoke Smith, Georgia	Jan. 16, '14	1814
Henry Cabot Lodge, Massachusetts	Jan. 14, '14	1665
James A. Reed, Missouri	Feb. 27, '14	4302–03
General objection	Mar. 6, '14	4460–62

SPEECHES AND REMARKS FAVORING SUFFRAGE DURING SECOND SESSION OF THE SIXTY-THIRD CONGRESS.

Speech and State:	Chamber:	Date:	Page in Record:
Henry F. Ashurst, Arizona	Senate	Jan. 21, '14	2079–87
Joseph R. Knowland, California	House of Rep.	Feb. 20, '14	3991
John D. Works, California	Senate	Mar. 2, '14	4435–39
John D. Works, California	Senate	Mar. 5, '14	4615–17
John D. Works, California	Senate	Mar. 11, '14	4946–47
John D. Works, California	Senate	June 2, '14	10427–28
John F. Shafroth (Remarks), Colorado	Senate	Mar. 4, '14	4532
John F. Shafroth, Colorado	Senate	Mar. 2,' 14	4585–93
Charles S. Thomas, Colorado	Senate	Mar. 17, '14	5281
Charles S. Thomas, Colorado	Senate	Mar. 19, '14	5463–64
Nathan P. Bryan, Florida	Senate	Mar. 3, 14	4562–76
Wm. E. Borah (Remarks), Idaho	Senate	Mar. 2, '14	4588
Lawrence Y. Sherman, Illinois	Senate	Mar. 4, '14	4533
Charles M. Thompson, Illinois	House of Rep.	Mar. 20, '14	5509–10
Lawrence Y. Sherman, Illinois	Senate	Mar. 21, '14	5644–58
Albert B. Cummins, Iowa	Senate	Mar. 5, '14	4618
Joseph L. Bristow, Kansas	Senate	Feb. 18,' 14	3841–42
William H. Thompson, Kansas	Senate	Mar. 4, '14	4530–32
Joseph L. Bristow, Kansas	Senate	Mar. 19, '14	5464
John R. Thornton, Louisiana	Senate	Mar. 19, '14	5464
Charles E. Townsend, Michigan	Senate	Mar. 19, '14	5464–65
Wm. Alden Smith, Michigan	Senate	Mar. 21, '14	5647 and 5654

Speech and State:	Chamber:	Date:	Page in Record:
Moses E. Clapp, Minnesota	Senate	Mar. 3, '14	4486
Moses E. Clapp, Minnesota	Senate	Mar. 3, '14	4578–82
Moses E. Clapp, Minnesota	Senate	June 5, '14	10682–83
Moses E. Clapp (Remarks), Minnesota (Article 1884 to be printed.)	Senate	June 13, '14	11276
John Sharp Williams, Mississippi (Helen Gardener's Speech)	Senate	Mar. 19, '14	5457–60
Jacob H. Gallinger, New Hampshire	Senate	Mar. 19, '14	5460
Jacob H. Gallinger, New Hampshire	Senate	Mar. 19, '14	5467
Jacob H. Gallinger (Remarks), New Hampshire	Senate	Mar. 20, '14	5564
Francis G. Newlands, Nevada	Senate	Mar. 19, '14	5468 (States rights)
Asle J. Gronna (Remarks), North Dakota	Senate	Feb. 27, '14	4304
Asle J. Gronna (Remarks), North Dakota	Senate	Mar. 19, '14	5460
Robert L. Owen, Oklahoma	Senate	Feb. 18,' 14	3842–43
Robert L. Owen (Remarks), Oklahoma	Senate	Mar. 2, '14	4590
Robert L. Owen, Oklahoma	Senate	Mar. 4, '14	4704–08
Robert L. Owen (Remarks), Oklahoma	Senate	Mar. 21, '14	5647
George E. Chamberlain, Oregon	Senate	Feb. 9, '14	3328
George E. Chamberlain, Oregon	Senate	Feb. 18, '14	3843
George E. Chamberlain, Oregon	Senate	Mar. 4, '14	4532–33
Harry Lane, Oregon	Senate	Mar. 17, '14	5278–79
A. W. Lefferty, Oregon	House of Rep.	Apr. 10, '14	7095–96
George Sutherland, Utah	Senate	Feb. 18, '14	3841–42
Geo. Sutherland (Remarks), Utah	Senate	Mar. 2, '14	4589
Geo. Sutherland (Remarks), Utah	Senate	Mar. 20, '14	5566
Geo. Sutherland (Remarks), Utah	Senate	Mar. 21, '14	5646
Geo. Sutherland (Remarks), Utah	Senate	Mar. 17, '14	5652
Miles Poindexter, Washington	Senate	Mar. 17, '14	5281–83
Miles Poindexter, Washington	Senate	Mar. 19, '14	5465–66

Speech and State:	Chamber:	Date:	Page in Record:
Miles Poindexter (Remarks), Washington	Senate	Mar. 20, '14	5565–66
J. W. Bryan, Washington	Senate	May 9, '14	8693–96
Wesley L. Jones, Washington	Senate	Mar. 19, '14	5463
Francis E. Warren (Remarks), Wyoming	Senate	Mar. 2, '14	4587
Clarence D. Clark, Wyoming	Senate	Mar. 2, '14	4592
Frank W. Mondell, Wyoming (History of Session)	House of Rep.	Aug. 13, '14	14936–42

SPEECHES AND REMARKS OPPOSED TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE DURING THE SECOND SESSION OF THE SIXTY-THIRD CONGRESS.

Speech, Objection and State:	Chamber:	Date:	Page in Record:
J. Thomas Heflin, Alabama	House of Rep.	May 13, '14	9266–68
Frank B. Brandegee, Conn. Constitution, Connecticut	Senate	Mar. 19, '14	5466–7
Nathan P. Bryan, Florida	Senate	Mar. 3, '14	4486
Wm. E. Borah (Remarks), Conservation Negro and States Rights, Idaho	Senate	Mar. 3, '14	4487
Wm. E. Borah (Remarks), Idaho	Senate	Mar. 2, '14	4593
Wm. E. Borah (Remarks), Idaho	Senate	Mar. 17, '14	
Wm. E. Borah, Idaho	Senate	Mar. 19, '14	5465
Wm. E. Borah, Idaho	Senate	Mar. 20, '14	5559–66
John W. Kern (Interrupting Shafroth), Indiana	Senate	Mar. 2, '14	4589
Wm. O. Bradley (Remarks), States Rights, Kentucky	Senate	Mar. 19, '14	5455
Ollie M. James, Kentucky	Senate	Mar. 19, '14	5462
Blair Lee, Maryland	Senate	Mar. 19, '14	5455–57
John Sharp Williams, Mississippi	Senate	Mar. 3, '14	4488–90
Jas. K. Vardaman (Remarks), Amendment, Mississippi	Senate	Mar. 5, '14	4618–20
Jas. K. Vardaman, Negro Ques., Mississippi	Senate	Mar. 17, '14	5279
James K. Vardaman, Mississippi	Senate	Mar. 19, '14	5464–5
John Sharp Williams, Amendment, Mississippi	Senate	Mar. 19, '14	5468–70
Jas. K. Vardaman (Remarks), Negro Ques., Mississippi	Senate	Mar. 20, '14	5564-65 –66–68
Jas. A. Reed (Remarks), Missouri	Senate	Mar. 4, '14	4533

Speech, Objection and State:	Chamber:	Date:	Record: Record:
Jas. A. Reed (Remarks), Missouri	Senate	Mar. 21, '14	5648
Jas. A. Reed (Remarks), Missouri	Senate	Feb. 27, '14	4303
Key Pittman, States Rights, Nevada	Senate	Mar. 19, '14	5466
Jas. E. Martine (Remarks), New Jersey	Senate	Mar. 2, '14	4589–90
Jas. E. Martine, "Pedestal," New Jersey	Senate	Mar. 19, '14	5460–61
Jas. A. O'Gorman (Remarks), New York	Senate	Mar. 21, '14	5646
Porter J. McCumber, North Dakota	Senate	Mar. 3, '14	4486–88
Atlee Pomerene, States Rights, Ohio	Senate	Mar. 5, '14	4617
Geo. T. Oliver (Remarks), Penna.	Senate	Mar. 3, '14	4487
Finis J. Garrett, States Rights, Tennessee	House of Rep.	Feb. 20,' 14	3993–94

PARLIAMENTARY BLOCKING AND DEFENDING SUFFRAGE IN SENATE.

Blocking, Date and Page.	State, Date, Page, Defending.
	Arizona, Jan. 21; 2076; Henry F. Ashurst
	Colorado, Jan. 21; 2077; Charles S. Thomas
	Connecticut, Mar. 2.
	Connecticut, Mar. 2; 4444; Frank B. Brandegee
Nathan P. Bryan, Jan. 21, 1076	Florida
Nathan P. Bryan, Mar. 2; 4443	Florida
Nathan P. Bryan, Apr. 8; 6854. Jan. 21; 2076	Florida
	Georgia
Benj. F. Shiveley, Feb. 28; 4393	Indiana
	Kansas, Jan. 21; 2076; Jos. L. Bristow
Ollie M. James, Mar. 2; 4445	Kentucky
Henry Cabot Lodge (Sarcasm), Jan. 21; 2078-79	Massachusetts
Henry Cabot Lodge, Mar. 2; 4445	Massachusetts
J. Sharp Williams, Jan. 21; 2076-78	Mississippi
	Mississippi, Jan. 21; 2078; John Sharp Williams

Blocking, Date and Page.	State, Date, Page, Defending.
James A. Reed, Mar. 2; 4441	Missouri
James A. Reed, Mar. 2; 4445	Missouri
Henry L. Myers, Mar. 2; 4442	Montana
Henry L. Myers, Mar. 19; 5454	Montana
	New Hampshire, Jan. 21; 2077-78; Jacob H. Gallinger
	New Hampshire, Feb. 27; 4444; Jacob H. Gallinger
Porter J. McCumber, Jan. 21; 2078	North Dakota
Porter J. McCumber, Feb. 27; 4304	North Dakota
Porter J. McCumber, Mar. 2; 4440-41	North Dakota
Porter J. McCumber, Mar. 2; 4444	North Dakota
	North Dakota, Mar. 2; 4442; Asle J. Gronna
	Oregon, Jan. 21, 2078; Geo. E. Chamberlain, at critical moment.
	Tennessee, Mar. 2; 4444; Luke Lea
	Utah, Jan. 21; 2076; Reed Smoot
	Virginia, Jan. 21; 2078; Thomas S. Martin
Claude A. Swanson, Mar. 2; 4441	Virginia
	Washington, Jan. 21; 2077; Wesley L. Jones

Interruptions:	Date:	Page:	State.
Edward Keating	Feb. 20	3991	Colorado
Emmett Wilson	Feb. 20	3991	Florida

N. B.—Active defenders and watchers throughout: Smoot, Shafroth, Thomas, Ashurst.

REPORT OF THE SPECIAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE

Early in the summer Mrs. Desha Breckinridge advanced the valuable idea of a special campaign committee to be appointed by the National Board for the purpose of giving aid in the Campaign States by establishing a speakers' bureau for their benefit and to devise means for raising necessary funds to be used in this (campaign) connection.

Mrs. Breckinridge made this motion at a National Board meeting and it was unanimously carried. She had consulted Miss Addams and myself on a trip from Chicago to New York and I had most enthusiastically indorsed her idea. My indorsement, I think, would have been less enthusiastic could I have foreseen that I would have been selected as chairman of this committee. A special finance committee was also appointed at this time to handle the funds. Mrs. Stanley McCormick was appointed chairman, Miss Addams treasurer and I secretary.

It was necessary in the interests of efficiency to appoint some one to take charge of the speakers' bureau and the publicity department of the Congressional Committee which had been closed for the summer months. It was at this time that we were fortunate enough to secure the services of Mr. Charles T. Hallinan, who became head of the publicity department for the joint campaign and congressional committees. Miss Ethel Smith of Washington, D. C., spent her vacation establishing a speakers' bureau in the Chicago headquarters as a member of the special campaign committee, and since her return to Washington the bureau has been conducted by Mrs. Josephine Conger-Kanecko and through it as many National speakers have been routed through the campaign states as our finances would permit and special speakers have been provided for special occasions, and for temporary work whenever it has been possible for us to respond to numerous demands. Our activities have only been limited by our financial ability.

As soon as we assumed our duties we were faced with the discouraging fact that to do really active Campaign service we would need a fund of not less than $50,000.00.

All told we had less than $13,000 to do the work of this committee. We collected and distributed in cash an amount less than would be used on the campaign of an alderman in an off year.

The plan of self-sacrifice day had been suggested to Mrs. Breckinridge by a Wisconsin suffragist and this suggestion was adopted by the National Board and a general appeal went out to the women of America to sacrifice something in aid of suffrage and to contribute the amount to the general fund for use in the Campaign States. Details concerning the fund raised on sacrifice day are reported to this convention in the financial report of the special finance committee. Mrs. Antoinette Funk, while walking through the capitol building one day, observed a bride with much gold jewelry in evidence and expressed the wish that a little of the gold used for personal adornment might find its way into a treasure chest for the Campaign States and so the idea of the melting pot was formed. The campaign was well advanced by this time, but we recognized in the melting pot an idea that can be continually useful in financing local, state and National suffrage work. We recognized, too, that we could not exhaust its possibilities in a limited time and that it would be well for us in one locality at least to put into practical operation some workable plan for bringing money to a melting pot—some idea that might be helpful to all suffrage organizations.

The plan indorsed by us was put into operation in Washington by the Woman Suffrage Council and was as follows:

A carefully selected list of names was taken from among the various suffrage organizations, colleges, churches, etc. These women received a letter asking for a contribution to the melting pot and further urging them to accept a sub-committeeship, making themselves responsible for soliciting from at least six people a contribution and for keeping track of this group until their possibilities had been exhausted. The names of these persons were carefully scanned by the general committee and two or three out of each group of six were asked to go at the head of a further sub-committee and so something not unlike an endless chain was created. Although

this was put into effect hastily and during the intense heat of a Washington summer, it was an enormous success, and now at the close of the campaign contributions are still coming in and we consider that the top soil of melting pot possibilities has not been scratched. This somewhat detailed report is made in the hope that it may be of assistance to some suffrage unit, and in order that the name "Suffrage Melting Pot" may not be encroached upon we are making an application for a copyright of the same.

The amount raised and distributed as the result of this committee's activities, the number of speakers and organizers sent into the campaign states and the publicity resulting from the same will be contained in detail in the report of the chairman of the campaign finance committee and of the presidents of the various campaign states, and in the report of the work of the publicity department of the joint committees. I hereby append the report of Mrs. Funk, one of the members of this committee, who spent ten weeks speaking through the campaign states as follows:

"From the time I left Washington August 25th until I returned to Chicago October 27th, I have covered approximately eight thousand miles. After speaking three days in Indiana where the suffragists were straining every nerve to secure a constitutional convention I spent two days in Chicago and then started into the western states. My first three days were spent in Omaha and although my original itinerary contemplated my coming to Nebraska for the last ten days of the campaign this was afterwards changed and I went back to Montana a second time, so my observations regarding Nebraska refer to Omaha alone. Here existed an almost unbelievable condition of opposition. The brewers had come openly into the field against us. The brewing interests are connected with many of the big financial ventures in that city. Bankers, merchants, tailors and other business men whose wives were in suffrage were brazenly warned that the brewing deposits would be withdrawn from banks, that patronage would be taken away from merchants and trades people, even doctors were threatened with the loss of their clientele if

their wives continued actively in the campaign. The result was a paralysis of action among many women who would naturally have been leaders and supporters of the work. Mrs. Draper-Smith was doing all that was humanly possible under the circumstances to stem the tide of opposition, but money for publicity and organizing and many speakers seemed to be a necessity. Upon my report to Mrs. McCormick of the Omaha condition all extra aid possible was given to Omaha. The situation there fully demonstrates the need suggested in the report of the congressional chairman for highly organized and efficient co-operative work among all the states to meet these menacing conditions.

"My trip through South Dakota was interesting in the extreme. This state and North Dakota are agricultural states. The cities are small and far apart. The villages are scattered over vast areas. By far the larger per cent of population dwells in the country on farms and ranches. The two Dakotas are almost pioneer states even now. At the same time they present the highest degree of educational advantages and of general literacy perhaps in the whole United States. Their laws are generally good and for that reason there appears to be a good deal of apathy on the part of both men and women regarding suffrage. The states are prosperous and the people have not felt to any extent the pinch of wrong political conditions. The great problem in both these states was to reach the people and make them think. When they think at all upon the subject they are apt to think right. At the time of writing this report there are no results from this state, but I am convinced that whatever the vote against the suffrage amendment may have been it was the vote of indifference and lack of special information not to any extent real opposition to suffrage.

"I believe from what I could learn that in South Dakota the liquor interests were making their last fight for state control and about the time I arrived there Mrs. Pyle had ascertained that a large amount of money was being used to subsidize the state press, and simultaneously the literary efforts of the anti-suffragists which have appeared in the press

during the last year appeared in the leading Dakota papers and anti-suffrage ladies at $100.00 a week and expenses appeared on the platform of the principal towns and cities. During my campaign in the Dakotas I spoke wherever possible out-of-doors, even though meetings were arranged for me in halls, court houses and churches. I found that the small audiences that would assemble in these places were made up of women and men already interested and that the uninstructed voter would only listen when you caught him on the street. I spent the week of the state fair at Huron with Mrs. Pyle and witnessed a wonderful demonstration of activity. As high as 50,000 people a day were in attendance. The grounds were covered with yellow banners. Every prize-winning animal, every racing sulky, automobile and motor cycle carried our pennants. Twenty thousand yellow badges were given away in one day. The squaws from the reservation did their native dances waving suffrage banners. And the snake charmer on the midway carried a Votes For Women pennant while an enormous serpent coiled around her body. I spoke during the fair four and five times a day and held street meetings down town in the evening. When not thus engaged I assisted Mrs. Pyle and her committee in distributing thousands of pieces of literature and was amazed at the eagerness of the people to receive the same. Mrs. Pyle and myself investigated the fair grounds to see how much was thrown away and found almost none. In both North and South Dakota there appeared to be a general lack of interest in the political situation and I was not able upon the investigation I made to find that the politicians who professed themselves ardent suffragists were going out of their way to advance the cause. They appeared to be in a waiting and receptive attitude.

"The work through North Dakota was almost pioneer work. Mrs. Darrow had asked me to go into the untilled suffrage field. In many places they had never heard a suffrage address, nor had a suffrage meeting ever been held. I zigzagged across the state from the southeast to the northwest corners and in Minot was arrested for making a street speech. There was no law that I could discover against my speaking

in the street and I was convinced and am still that it was the result of the petty tyranny of town officials unfavorable to women. A fine of $5.00 imposed upon me by the justice of the peace was remitted by him. He was unable legally to remit the costs of $2.00 and when I refused to pay the same and took an appeal to the supreme court the city board of commissioners took action and I have just been advised that the costs assessed me have been remitted.

"I spent twenty days in Montana and traveled something like two thousand miles. I think I found more general interest in Montana than in any other state. With one hundred eighteen thousand voters scattered over the third largest state in the union, with many contending elements, with an acute labor situation, with the political control of the state vested very largely in a great corporation there was plenty to occupy the attention of a suffragist worker. Miss Rankin's organization work had been carried to a high degree of efficiency by the most strenuous endeavor on her part. The Amalgamated Copper Company working to defeat the workmen's compensation act had joined hands with the liquor interests, working to defeat suffrage, and had put on the petticoat and bonnet of the organized female anti-suffragist. I spoke to thousands of people all over the state and while on the surface all appeared well, there was an undertow of fierce opposition that could be felt but that cannot be estimated until the votes are counted.

"Nevada was like a story in a book—a big, little state. With eighty thousand inhabitants and eighteen thousand voters, and so thoroughly was it organized by Miss Martin that I believed she could address every voter by his first name. I felt like a fifth wheel. All the work appeared to be finished and hung aside to season by the time I arrived and I was in the unenviable position of being sandwiched between Dr. Shaw who had just preceded me and Miss Addams who immediately followed me. I went over the desert however and into mines and spoke in butchers' homes and at meetings that wound up with a supper and a dance and came away with the

certainty that Miss Martin had two or three thousand majority votes tucked away in her inside pocket. On this trip I learned of hundreds of thousands of pieces of literature sent out by our enterprising friend, the Honorable Tom Heflin of Alabama. I know now why it was that all last winter he jumped up in Congress every few minutes and read into the congressional record something about the horror of women voting. He had a long business head, that Mr. Heflin, and he was thriftily saving postage on the anti-suffrage work in the interest of the "society opposed," of the liquor interests, of organized crime and of all those forces that have taken arms against us. For you must know that Mr. Heflin used his congressional frank and filled thousands of mail sacks to this end while you and I and all other mere citizen tax payers footed the postage bill."

RUTH MCCORMICK,
Chairman.

REPORT OF THE MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE

November 12, 1914.

The Membership Committee reports that the following organizations have applied for admission to the National American Woman Suffrage Association as Affiliated Members, that they have complied with the requirements for membership, and have been duly elected Affiliated Members by unanimous vote of the Membership Committee:

The South Carolina Equal Suffrage League
The Louisiana Equal Suffrage League
The Equal Suffrage League of Baltimore
The Washington Woman Suffrage Council
The Georgia Woman Suffrage League.

Respectfully submitted,

LILLIAN F. FEICKERT,
Chairman.

REPORT OF THE ELECTIONS COMMITTEE

The Elections Committee submits as its report to the Convention the following plan for carrying on the elections of 1914:

The name of a candidate for nomination at the Primary must be presented to the Elections Committee by a nominating petition signed by at least ten members of the convention, at least twelve hours before the Primary opens.

The Primary shall be held on the second day before the last day of the convention from 8 to 10 A. M., and the result shall be announced not later than 5 P. M. of the same day.

The Election shall be held on the next to the last day of the convention from 8 to 10 A. M. The ticket shall contain the names of the two candidates for each office who receive the greatest number of votes at the Primary.

The Primary and Election shall be conducted by the Elections Committee assisted by fifteen persons chosen by the convention on the first day of the convention in time to have them trained in Election methods.

Each member of the convention may personally cast one vote. In case of a tie vote for the candidates for any office at the Election, a second Election shall be held to fill such office.

This scheme for holding the election has two objects.

1st. It should avoid criticism as to its legality. So it is in harmony with the paragraph in the 1912 By-Laws relating to elections which perhaps should still control our 1914 election as no other By-Law took its place in the revision of 1913. But to avoid any possible question the 1912 By-Law should be re-enacted before the Primary in accordance with notice duly given of amendment of By-Laws.

2nd. The election, Primary and caucuses preceding should interfere less than formerly with the important convention work and yet every facility should be afforded each

independent-minded delegate for publicly placing in nomination her selection for official positions. To secure the signatures of ten members as petitioners for any candidate will take less time than caucuses. The nominating petitions can be publicly posted as soon as presented to the Elections Committee, and the prescribed twelve hours intervening will enable the Elections Committee to print ballots with all the names that have been duly presented. The printed ballot however will in no way curtail the right of the voters to write other names on the ballot.

The early hour for balloting—8 o'clock—will permit most of the vote to be cast before the convention opens.

To facilitate matters six ballot boxes shall be used and the delegations shall be allotted to the various polling places, according to their numerical strength so that about the same number shall be voting in each booth. When the boxes are opened the ballots shall be mingled together before any count is made.

One of the Credentials Committee should be in attendance at each ballot box at the time of casting the vote, to determine whether or not the person desiring to vote is eligible.

When the person desiring to vote has been identified as eligible by the member of the Credentials Committee, she shall be given a ballot with the Elections Committee member's initials thereupon, and after marking it and depositing it in the ballot box her name shall be marked on the Credentials Committee list as having voted.

There should be no electioneering in the room in which the ballot boxes are.

To assist the Elections Committee in counting the vote, two other members of the convention should be selected.

Two watchers representing different parties may be present, but they should not handle the ballots,—only watch and speak if mistakes are made.

GRATIA ERICKSON,
Chairman.

REPORT OF PRESIDENTIAL SUFFRAGE COMMITTEE

The logic of events during the past year gives emphatic emphasis to the value of presidential suffrage. It is of itself the most significant and far-reaching of any act of voting because of its political potentiality in bringing the voice of womanhood into the electoral college, and into the arena of Federal legislation. Moreover the consideration that it calls forth from politicians on account of the fact that over three hundred thousand offices of emolument and honor are filled by the presidential administration renders it the most direct means towards the great end of full enfranchisement; for in any state the party most advantaged by its exercise by the women will support their efforts for the full rights of citizenship. The favorable decision the past year by the Supreme Court of Illinois leaves no room for any further contention regarding its constitutionality. It can be granted by any state legislature by a bare majority vote, and this can be obtained by many states that could not secure the large vote necessary to submit a constitutional amendment for full suffrage. Even where that can be obtained, the experiences of suffrage campaigns have proved too often that they were premature, and the great outlay of time and strength that they have involved have resulted in defeats whereby further progress of the cause has been impeded.

In view of the comparative ease by which it may be secured and the significance of its possession as a political factor in obtaining full suffrage, the following recommendations are submitted:

That any state contemplating a campaign for full suffrage shall first secure presidential suffrage. That those states that have secured favorable action for a constitutional amendment for full suffrage by one legislature, shall seek to obtain presidential suffrage before attempting further action for full suffrage.

By such a program it is quite probable we might double the vote of women in the presidential election of 1916.

Elizabeth Upham Yates,
Chairman.

REPORT OF CHURCH WORK COMMITTEE

The work carried on by the Church Work Committee in various states, has been so varied and so interesting that it will be impossible to give any impression of the scope of the work, in a ten minute report, so we will only give a brief summary of the most important things that have been done by the Committee. The Ministerial Association of Atlanta, Ga.—through the influence of Mrs. McLendon, President of the W. S. A.—received your Chairman at their monthly meeting in January and for the first time permitted the subject of Woman Suffrage to be brought before their Association for discussion. At the expiration of an hour when your Chairman left the meeting, a number of clergymen followed her into the Hall to express their personal interest in the subject. One clergyman asked to be permitted to call upon her at the hotel that evening to talk further on the subject, which he did, remaining until midnight, so interested did he seem in the subject. Two ministers called on the following day to enquire how they might co-operate in arousing interest among church women, and the wife of a prominent Methodist minister went to the general Methodist Conference and presented a petition urging that the Conference grant Laity rights to women in the church.

Your Chairman addressed the Ministerial Association in Tampa, Florida, and with Mrs. Boyden Douglas of New Orleans, went before the Ministerial Association of that city, where a most interesting discussion followed during which a resolution was offered and carried, that the New Orleans M. E. Ministerial Association recommend to the general conference the giving of Laity rights to women. While this was not in the direct line of woman suffrage, it was considered by conservative New Orleans women as a step in advance and an indication that the clergy were awakening to their duty to stand by their women.

From New Orleans, at the urgent request of Dr. Nina Wilson Dewey, State Chairman of church work for the State of Iowa, your Chairman went to Des Moines to attend the Mississippi Valley Suffrage Conference and to help fill en-

gagements made by Dr. Dewey for a number of church meetings on March 29th. The clergymen in all the leading Protestant churches had consented to permit the suffrage speakers to occupy their pulpits at one of the regular Sunday services, morning, afternoon or evening. Eighteen different church meetings were held on that day in addition to the large mass meeting arranged by the Conference Committee in the Berchel Theatre in the afternoon.

The speakers at the church meetings were—Jane Addams, Rev. Dr. Olympia Brown, Rev. K. W. Powell of Custer, S. Dakota—who is called because of her eloquence, "The Anna Shaw of the West," Mrs. Ella S. Stuart of Chicago, Mrs. Upton of Ohio, Mrs. Ida B. Smith of Cedar Rapids, Miss Dunlap of Des Moines, Miss Ellis, Mrs. Maud Wood Park of Boston, Miss Kate Gordon of New Orleans and Dr. Dewey. So many churches asked for speakers that Mrs. Craigie and some of the others addressed three different church meetings during the day. Splendid notices of the meetings had been given in advance, one paper giving an entire front page, with pictures of the women who were to speak, sketches of their work and the churches where they were to speak; consequently the audiences were large, and a committee appointed to attend each meeting, to make an actual count of the number in attendance, found by actual count that the speakers reached in their combined audiences 6,000 persons. That it was possible to find in a city so many clergymen willing to resign their pulpits on Sunday to suffrage speakers was due to preliminary work that had been done by Dr. Dewey and Mrs. Craigie, who had been before the Ministerial Association urging the clergymen to support woman suffrage and started them to think on the subject. What was accomplished in Des Moines could be done in any other city, if the women will go about it in the right way.

Mrs. Capwell in Buffalo has succeeded during the past year in having suffrage meetings in many of the Buffalo churches, before Men's Clubs, Women's Missionary or Women's Aid Societies, Christian Endeavor and even at the weekly prayer meetings.

Your Chairman had 4,000 letters printed and distributed to clergymen throughout the states asking them to preach on Mothers' Day on the need of the mothers' influence in the state, and various State Chairmen report that more and more clergymen are coming to observe Mothers' Day as a fitting time to declare their belief in the principles of equal suffrage, not only for the state but for the advancement of church work. The letter sent out this year was brief but direct in its appeal. It was as follows:

Dear Sir: In view of the fact that in the moral and social reform work of the churches the mothers and church women are striving to correct serious evils, such as the Liquor Traffic, White Slavery, Child Labor, etc., evils that exist in our cities as a menace to the morals of their children outside the home, and in view of the fact that church women are learning that much of their effort is ineffective, and of no value, because they are denied the weapon of Christian Warfare, the *Ballot,* which gives to Christian Citizens the only possible power to register their peaceable assertion of conviction and will in shaping the governmental affairs of the City, State or Nation, we ask if you will not—in justice to the mothers of your church—choose for your topic on Mothers' Day some subject bearing on "The need of the mothers' influence in the State"?

MARY E. CRAIGIE,
Chairman.

Expense Account
Church Work Committee
1914

Traveling Expenses, New Orleans to Des Moines	$50.00
Des Moines to Washington	50.00
Printing 4,000 circular letters for Mothers' Day	8.00
Postage	10.00
Express	2.50
	$120.50
Donated by M. E. Craigie to Church Work	$120.50

REPORT OF THE RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE

WHEREAS, There is no question of greater importance to the people of the United States than the political freedom of its women; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the National American Woman Suffrage Association urge upon the United States Senate and House

of Representatives to take up at once the amendments now pending in Congress for the enfranchisement of women.

Resolved, That the National American Woman Suffrage Association urge upon Congress the immediate enactment of such legislation as shall protect the rights of its women citizens who marry unnaturalized foreigners.

Resolved, That we petition Congress to protect women against state denial of the rights of citizens of the United States who vote for members of Congress, Presidential electors and United States Senators in the state wherein they reside, by making Federal laws in pursuance of that clause of the 14th Amendment of our National Constitution, which says that "No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States."

Whereas, the principle of equal pay for equal work, regardless of sex is in accord with that greater democracy for which we are working; therefore be it

Resolved, That the members of the National American Woman Suffrage Association urge all women to encourage such industries and institutions as adhere to this principle.

Whereas: The present war in the countries of Europe has already turned their fertile fields into desolation, their cities into ruins, their arts and industries into ashes, and has left their people homeless and bereft,

And whereas: The slow gains of human brotherhood and civilization are being lost because of the hatred that now supplants love between the people of these countries,

And whereas: It is our conviction that had the women of these countries, with their deep instinct of motherhood and desire for the conservation of life, possessed a voice in the councils of their governments, this deplorable war would never have been allowed to occur; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the National American Woman Suffrage Association, in Convention assembled, does hereby affirm the

obligation of peace and good will toward all men, and further demands the inclusion of women in the government of nations, of which they are a part, whose citizens they bear and rear, and whose peace their political liberty would help to secure and maintain.

RESOLVED:—That we commend the efforts of President Wilson to secure peace. Sympathizing deeply with the plea of the women of fifteen nations, we ask the President of the United States and the representatives of all the other neutral nations to use their best endeavors to bring about a lasting peace, founded upon democracy and world wide disarmament.

WHEREAS, the 46th Annual Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association has been one of the greatest and most delightful meetings in the history of the organization; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we extend to the suffragists of Tennessee a cordial appreciation of the invitation which brought us to this historic state; that we extend our thanks to the people of Nashville, especially to the local committee for their broad and generous hospitality, their untiring energy and unfailing interest in all that has pertained to our comfort and pleasure, and to the ladies of the Hermitage Association, whose hospitality at the home of Andrew Jackson gave us so much pleasure; to our hostess of Sunday evening who so delightfully entertained this convention at her home; to the Centennial Club, who have kept open house for us during the entire week, to his Excellency, the Governor of Tennessee, to the Governor-elect of the State, to United States Senator Luke Lea, to His Honor, the Mayor of Nashville, and other distinguished men for their splendid addresses; and moreover

That we express our sincere thanks to the untiring pages and ushers; to the management of the Hotel Hermitage; to those who have so generously placed their motor cars at our disposal; to the merchants of Nashville for their elaborate and beautiful decorations; to the railroad representatives for their courteous attention; to the representative men of Nash-

ville for their hearty interest and fine spirit; to those who have sent the exquisite flowers from day to day; and last, but far from least, to those of the press and its representatives, who so faithfully and accurately have published our proceedings.

FRANCES E. BURNS, Chairman.

REPORTS OF AFFILIATED MEMBERS

CAMPAIGN STATES

MISSOURI EQUAL SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

The Missouri Campaign for Woman Suffrage was a short but dramatic one!

In the 1914 Legislature, a bill was introduced by a few suffragists, was referred to Committee, reported out favorably, and put on the Calendar with lightning rapidity, and the petitioners were sent home, feeling that the victory was won. And then the unexpected happened! With equal dispatch the bill was taken off the Calendar, referred back to the Committee and pigeon-holed, too late in the session for another bill to be introduced. In the first flush of indignation, the women said "The question shall not be shelved. The Suffragists of Missouri will bring it before the voters through that new democratic device whereby the people can make their wishes heard—the initiative petition." And so the petitions were printed, with little comprehension of how difficult it would be to find people to circulate them. With an empty treasury, not a single county in the state organized, and only the two great cities ready for work, the task presented unusual difficulties.

To appreciate the whole campaign, one must realize that Missouri is larger than any state east of or bordering on the Mississippi river and larger than all the New England states together, counting Rhode Island twice; that she has 114 counties, in many of which are no railroads and with roads almost impassable; that her two great cities are on her border and that she has no newspapers which cover the whole state; that her population includes many who are racially opposed to Woman Suffrage and that her strongest labor unions are forced, through their occupation, to fight the gaining of political power by women.

With these handicaps to overcome, on June 27 fifty women from the Districts represented, filed with the Secretary of State 38,000 signatures secured from every county but four in twelve of the sixteen Congressional Districts—And so the fight was on!

In July, our war chest held the magnificent sum of $12.65, but a S. O. S. call to the National Board and to our sister states brought a generous response, and gifts amounting to $3,264.10, came in from

National Headquarters, from Massachusetts, Vermont, Maine, Connecticut, New York, North Carolina, Michigan, Kansas, New Jersey, and from England, while $1,826.40 was raised at home.

Through our press work, most of the county newspapers were reached, 274 papers received 33,000 columns plate in less than three months, weekly news bulletins were sent to 200 papers not using plate; material was furnished each week to 38 suffrage columns; signed articles to 42 papers each week, 30 cuts and 12 cartoons with special write ups were routed—at a total cost of $1,691.96. In addition to this, the Woman's Journal was sent to many editors, to all the State Legislators and to all the county chairmen. Five hundred dollars worth of literature was distributed in 90 counties, the county and state fairs covered, speakers furnished to Chautauquas, political meetings, county round-ups, suffrage rallys, moving picture shows and wherever a ready-made audience could be found.

The greatest enthusiasm was aroused where Dr. Shaw, Jane Addams, and Mrs. Breckinridge spoke, while Rosalie Jones and Helen Todd made lasting friends for the cause during their short visits. The president traveled 1,500 miles in six months, speaking from one to as many as ten times in a day and to audiences varying from 50 to 5,000. Missouri had one organizer for three months, another for one, and the vote in places visited, showed conclusively that winning a campaign is largely a question of getting a hearing in the country districts and an honest vote in the cities. In Kansas City, where the women were at the polls with cameras, the adverse majority was less than 1,000, and another time that will be overcome.

Before the election, defeat was conceded for all fifteen of the amendments, without reference to merit, and the politicians claimed a 300,000 majority against woman suffrage. The good amendments were snowed under because they were in the bad company forced on them by special interests for that particular purpose, and the order "scratch all amendments" which was sent out all over the state caused the loss of many a vote, which No. 13 would have won, had it been divorced from all other measures. As it was, the Suffrage amendment received more votes than were cast on any other, showing the widespread interest in the cause and when the question is resubmitted in 1916, it will surely carry.

Meanwhile, thorough organization and an adequate campaign fund is the motto, and education the watchword, of the Missouri Suffragists, and, given a fair show, these will win in this state as they have in twelve others.

HELEN GUTHRIE MILLER, President.

MONTANA

An attempt was made to get a suffrage bill through the Twelfth Legislative Assembly in 1911. It was voted on in the House, and received a majority but lacked the necessary two-thirds to pass. The Democratic and Republican conventions in 1912 recommended to the Legislature the submission of the Woman Suffrage question. The Socialists and Progressives endorsed the principle.

We had a booth at the State Fair, and had at this time formed a State Central Committee, with myself as temporary chairman and Miss Ida Auerbach of Helena as temporary secretary. One-half of the counties were visited and temporary county chairmen appointed. Two weeks before election, we campaigned against the election of Mr. McNally, the labor representative for the Legislature. He was elected, but voted for our bill in the Thirteenth Legislative Assembly. After election, letters to the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor were written from all over the state, asking the Governor to recommend the passage of the suffrage bill in his message to the Legislature, and asking the Lieutenant-Governor to help us in the Senate.

The first meeting of the State Central Committee was held in Helena at the opening of the Legislature, and at that time permanent officers were elected. The Committee was visiting the Legislature at the time the Governor read his message recommending the passage of the Woman Suffrage Bill. With no discussion the Bill passed with only two votes against it in the House. On February 1, the women celebrated the passage of the Bill in at least a dozen towns in the state.

The second meeting of the State Central Committee was held in Livingston immediately following the meeting of the State Federation of Women's Clubs. The third meeting was held in Butte, just preceding the State Fair, where we had a suffrage booth.

In January, 1914, we opened our headquarters in Butte. The campaign was opened with a speaking tour through the state with Mr. and Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw as speakers.

Every newspaper in the state received a letter written each week by Miss O'Neill, telling the suffrage news. About once a month, some propaganda was sent. At the beginning of the campaign, letters were sent to women's clubs, Grangers, and labor unions and farmers' societies asking them for aid in the campaign and requesting that they pass resolutions favoring suffrage. This work was continued throughout the campaign. Monthly and bi-monthly letters were written to the county chairmen and all the women who had shown especial interest in the campaign. These letters attempted to keep them in touch with the activities of the state and give detailed instructions for new activities.

Practically all of the literature used was printed in the state. We rewrote or copied a great deal of the National literature, and wrote some of our own. This was distributed very generously over the state, with new

leaflets for special occasions. A few weeks before election, 20,000 voters in country districts were each sent a personal letter and leaflets written especially for farmers. For this circularizing, we used stamped envelopes which bore no indication on the outside of the contents. From the beginning to the end of the campaign, the women of the state were very helpful. The house-to-house campaign was the most effective work that was done. In many small communities and in some of the large ones, the women were very faithful in this work.

During the campaign our women spoke in every county and outside women spoke in all but seven very small counties. We tried to have each month a state wide or sectional demonstration. In May we celebrated the Second, which the Governor proclaimed as Woman's Day; in June, we had our State Central Committee meeting in Lewistown, just following the meeting of the State Federation of Women's Clubs; in July, we had a campaign in the southeastern part of the state with headquarters at Billings. General Rosalie Jones and Colonel Ida Craft were our star speakers. In August, we planned to have the same demonstration in the northern part of the state. The excellent work done by Miss Blake in that part of the state and the loss of our campaign funds in the State Savings Bank caused us to give up this plan. We spent one week in September at the State Fair in Helena, where we had headquarters at the Fair Grounds and in the city. We sold our "Suffrage Daily News" on the streets and at the Fair. The parade with Dr. Anna Howard Shaw as speaker at the auditorium was a great success. Mrs. Root, of Los Angeles, and Miss Gratia Erickson and Florence Lord, of Chicago, helped us in preparing for the parade. On November 2, we celebrated Suffrage Day all over the state. Women distributed leaflets, held meetings with their local speakers, and gave hat bands to the school children on which was printed, "I want my mother to vote." The towns were placarded with suffrage posters. At all demonstrations of any kind, the suffragists were urged to have suffrage floats. Material and instructions were sent from headquarters before such days as the Fourth of July, County Fairs, etc.

During May, and part of June, we had Mrs. Cotterill from Seattle speak before labor unions. Miss Margaret Hinckey, of New York, spoke to the unions during July and part of August. These were the only workers in the campaign who received salaries except the stenographers. I think, in one case, a Montana woman received a little more than her expenses, but the rule was merely to pay expenses. The story of our finances is a very sad one. The financial support from outside of the state made it possible for us to win. I have not the exact figures of the money spent, although it was something less than $8,000. Over half was received from outside the state.

It was our plan to use some of our own women with the outside speakers. However, Mrs. Funk did very valuable work under very trying circumstances. We had outside speakers in the state from April until the middle of October, but not more than three in the state at one time.

The last two weeks of the campaign there were no outside speakers, although ten or twelve of our own women were kept busy speaking every night.

Not a single candidate for office spoke against woman suffrage, that I know of. Perhaps this was due to our campaign against Mr. McNally in 1912. The precinct organization was very effective where it was worked out in detail. The National American Woman Suffrage Association aided us in many ways. The Field Secretary, Jane Thompson, came early in the campaign, and Mrs. Funk and Dr. Shaw spoke at the time when we needed them most. We could not have won without the valuable help of the National Association and the many friends all over the country.

JEANNETTE RANKIN.

NEBRASKA

Woman Suffrage Association

The Legislature of 1913 did not pass the Bill for the submission of an amendment to Nebraska's Constitution giving the ballot to women. Hence the Nebraska Woman Suffrage Association availed itself of the Initiative method and the question was submitted to the vote of the electors in November, 1914.

Under our initiative law, petitions must come from two-fifths of the Counties and there must be as many voters' signatures as fifteen per cent of the vote for Governor at the last previous election. In this instance that meant 38,000 signatures from thirty-eight Counties. The labor of securing these signed petitions was performed by volunteers—men and women suffragists—and on March 14, 1914, the petition was filed with 41,707 signers from sixty-three different Counties. Before the time for filing additional names expired, enough were added to bring the total to about 50,000 and to have nearly every County represented.

The Finance Committee received generous help from the National Association and from Massachusetts. The money raised in the State was gathered by the "Hardy plan" devised by the State Treasurer and her able assistant, Mr. Hardy. This plan provided for an assessment based on population. Not all the Counties raised the full quota, but enough was paid into the Treasury to avoid taking collections at meetings and to leave the various Committees free to plan work with an assured income to count upon.

Our Press Committee gave bi-monthly service to one hundred and sixty-two country newspapers during three months of the spring and summer. This service was used by the editors quite generally until crowded out by the paid political advertising preceding the primaries. The plate was sent to the papers at no cost to them. News service to the daily papers in the State was given throughout the campaign and to some special interest papers.

Our Educational Committee prepared and circulated programs of excellent quality, suitable for seventh and eighth grades, for High Schools, and for adult persons. A different program was furnished for each of these groups. They were all full of propaganda availably arranged for entertainment purposes. This Committee also did work in various Colleges of the State.

Our Publicity Committee presented our cause through hundreds of moving picture shows by getting slides shown there with brief, terse Suffrage sentiments on them.

It also arranged for speakers before picture show audiences in many cases. This Committee maintained a Speakers' Bureau through which speakers of National reputation as well as many local leaders were scheduled for tours through the State. It also arranged for automobile tours made possible by the remarkable generosity of some of our men Suffrage friends who gave their own time and the use of their machines. Two of these cars were driven six thousand miles each by their owners in Suffrage work. Auto tours approximating 20,000 miles and meetings in five hundred places during the summer and fall constituted one of the achievements of this very efficient Committee. In a State four hundred miles East and West, two hundred miles North and South, with a rural population of more than 800,000, crossed by three lines of railroad, thousands of voters must be reached in off-the-railroad places. It is well to remember that the area of this State is 22,010 square miles greater than that of Rhode Island, Delaware, Connecticut, New Jersey, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Vermont and Maryland combined. New England is not so large as Nebraska by over 11,000 square miles.

Our organization was now complete. We had splendid service from the organizers we employed and generous help from Kansas, Colorado, and many individuals from elsewhere. Our own workers were able and faithful.

We met well financed and well organized opposition. While our campaign cost about $25,000 the opposition circularized the State with literature which our experience indicates cost not less than twice our total expenditure. We had the active opposition of the German-American Alliance and Nebraska has about 50,000 German voters. The Alliance is an influential organization among them. We had 90,782 affirmative votes, 99,036 negative, out of a total 246,593 voting. Without changing any of the negative ones, another campaign able to bring the 56,775 who did not register an opinion to a vote in favor would give us a handsome majority in favor of our amendment.

Without doubt, the interest stirred by the campaign of 1914 will grow and the next will come to a successful conclusion. The Association feels that good work has been done and a permanent impression has been made on the public sentiment of the State in behalf of our Cause.

GRACE M. WHEFLER,
Chairman of Campaign Committee.

NEVADA

Equal Franchise League

Every suffrage campaign is necessarily shaped by characteristics within the state, physicial, sociological, moral and industrial.

There are in Nevada certain unusual conditions as regards its geography, its distribution of population, its electorate and its industries that produced peculiar difficulties and necessitated a special type of work to reach and educate the voters.

Nevada has a population of only 80,000 people on an area of over 110,000 square miles, a territory one-quarter larger than Great Britain with its more than 40,000,000 inhabitants, an area larger than the whole of New England. Of these 80,000 people, 40,000 are men over twenty-one years of age, of whom only 20,000 remained in the state long enough to vote at the last general election. Twenty thousand voters, scattered over an area of 110,000 square miles, gave an average of one voter to every five square miles to be sought and educated.

It is true that some of these voters are massed together in the towns, but, with one exception, in towns of less than 1,000 votes.

Nevada has, therefore, the lowest urban and the most scattered rural population in the United States. Nevada has also the highest proportionate male population, the lowest proportionate population of women and the largest "floating" or transient vote in the whole country. This large floating vote is due to mining, railway and irrigational construction, and other transitory occupations.

The difficulty of reaching and educating this vote for suffrage, distributed over the greatest proportionate area in the United States, a vote which is constantly changing, passing in and then out of the state, was met in the following ways:

1. By press work. Nevada's forty-five newspapers, chiefly rural weeklies, were supplied every week with a special bulletin of news, comment and argument from suffrage headquarters.

2. Every editor, over one hundred school districts, and three hundred representative names from our sixteen counties received the Woman's Journal every week.

3. A suffrage essay contest was conducted by the College Equal Suffrage League in the schools of the state, so by educating the children to suffrage we could educate the parents in the widely separated rural school districts. The winning essays were published in the local papers.

4. Every voter in the state, according to the country registration lists of 1912, was circularized by the county organizations, and again by state headquarters, with different kinds of suffrage literature. This comprehensive piece of work by no means insured the education of every voter in the 1914 election; a prominent Nevada sociologist estimated the voting population as fifty per cent. transient, which makes the 1912 regis-

tration lists fifty per cent. wrong as regards the 1914 lists. The new voters in the 1914 election were circularized from the primary registration lists available after September.

5. Our last, and next to the state-wide circulation of our vote, the most important educative factor in our campaign was personal contact with the voter. We accomplished this by means of canvasses and street meetings in the towns, and by seeking out the rural voters by train, automobile, stage and even on horseback, "prospecting for votes" among the miners in our vast mountains, and the farmers in our remote valleys. To reach less than one hundred votes at Austin, the County seat of Lander County, required a journey of two days over the desert in a motor narrow-gauge railroad costing on an average more than ten cents a mile. In most cases it required several days' journey away from the railroad to seek out the scattered vote in the outlying precincts of our northern and southern counties. A house to house canvass was made with the houses twenty to thirty miles apart on cattle ranges and on the desert.

Nevada is rightfully classified as a "doubtful" state as regards its Republican and Democratic character. Election figures for the last ten years show that Nevada has always gone Democratic when powerful Democratic leaders were seeking re-election, and Republican by as many votes as it went Democratic, when a powerful leader like the late Senator Nixon was successfully seeking election to the United States Senate in 1904 and 1910. The Democrats, the Progressives and the Socialists of Nevada have endorsed equal suffrage, and many individual leaders of the Republican Party support it. In the election of 1912, 20,115 votes were cast, of which 7,986 were Democratic, 5,620 Progressive, 3,313 Socialist, and 3,196 Republican.

Besides the endorsement of every party in the state but the Republican, equal suffrage was endorsed by every labor union which has voted on the subject, and by a state-wide conference of labor representing 6,000 members.

The State Suffrage Society had only fourteen paid members and no County organizations in 1912, and now has over 1,000 paid members, a large additional enrollment, suffrage organizations or committees in every county, and an advisory board containing the names of United States Senators, Francis G. Newlands and Key Pittman, Congressman Roberts, Governor Oddie and Lieutenant-Governor Ross, the late President Stubbs of the State University and Bishop Robinson, besides judges, editors, bankers, and other business and professional men, who are leaders from every county.

In less than two years of suffrage work the Nevada Equal Franchise Society has secured a larger percentage of Nevada's 18,000 women as paid members than are enrolled members of all suffrage associations in the state of New York, with its splendid suffrage background and its powerful workers.

We did not win without opposition; a powerful organization, called the "Business Men's League," opposed us to the last, as did the largest mine-owner in the state, who was a multi-millionaire and controlled several newspapers as well. We had fierce and bitter opposition from these newspapers, including the Reno Evening Gazette, the leading Republican newspaper of the state, controlled by Mr. Wingfield, and active support from only one or two, notably the Nevada State Journal.

The object of the opposition was to keep Nevada a "wide-open State" and restore the gambling law, maintaining Nevada, entirely surrounded by equal suffrage states, as a kind of "men's playground of the western world." As Nevada is the most "male" state in the union, having two hundred and twenty men over twenty-one years of age to every one hundred women, the need of woman's direct influence in the social and civic life of the state is apparent. The men of Nevada instinctively responded to this need by their big majority for woman suffrage on its first submission to them on November third of this year.

In addition to organization, presswork, school essay contests, circularizing the voters' registration lists, canvasses and personal journeys, to visit every precinct in the state that had twenty-five votes, we aimed to reach the voters from every other possible angle; circularizing the Catholic population with special literature, sending organizers who belonged to labor unions to talk before every union in the state, sending specially suitable organizers to talk before the Mothers' and Women's Clubs.

The campaign in Nevada was won largely because we were able through organization to reach the voters—reaching the voter is the final test of an efficient campaign.

Since the majority of the people are good and not bad, and since our cause is just, a majority of the voters are going to support it if they can be reached and the cause presented to them. By canvasses of the towns and our organizing and speaking tours all over the state, in one of which we covered over 3,000 miles this summer by automobile, we were able to reach personally nearly every one of our 20,000 voters. Sometimes we went on horseback, sometimes we climbed on foot.

Out of two hundred and forty precincts in the state every precinct that had twenty-five votes in it was reached, canvassed and an open-air meeting held. Over one hundred and eighty of the two hundred and forty precincts were organized with a woman precinct leader, who distributed our literature sent from headquarters, and "picketed the polls" all day election day, November 3, 1914, handing out our final appeal to the voters, to "give Nevada women a square deal," and vote for the amendment on non-partisan lines, as a humanitarian and reform measure, appealing to the members of all parties.

Out of 18,193 votes cast on the amendment, 10,936 were for, 7,257 against, giving a majority of 3,679, or a twenty per cent. majority in favor of the amendment.

Every county in the state carried but four, in each case a county with one of the largest or oldest towns in the whole state, i. e., Washoe County with Reno, 600 votes against out of a total of 2,400, Ormsby County with Carson went 141 votes against, Storey County with Virginia City and 31 votes against, Eureka County with Eruka and 48 votes against.

According to our books the whole campaign conducted for three years, through two successive sessions of the legislature beginning in 1911, cost seven thousand dollars.

The whole lesson of the campaign is that thorough organization by which the adverse vote in the towns is *kept down,* and by which the country vote is reached and educated, is sure to win. The same principle applies to the Eastern campaigns, where the prejudice against such reforms as woman suffrage is perhaps deeper seated; the greater difficulty of winning in the East is undoubtedly one of degree and not of kind.

These principles applied in the Eastern work will be sure to win in the end, paving the way, with the Western States already won, for the National amendment.

ANNE H. MARTIN, President.

OHIO

Woman Suffrage Association

After our annual convention last year, our executive committee had a conference in Portsmouth, preceding a conference in Columbus on detail campaign work. We formed a campaign committee consisting of our own executive committee and a representative from each state organization endorsing us, making a committee of twenty-nine members.

Our usual plan of asking for hearings and endorsement from farmers' institutes was continued. Forty-two farmers' institutes and one hundred and thirty-one subordinate granges endorsed during the year.

After we had launched our initiative petition we found that in order to avoid a probable adverse ruling by an unfriendly state official, we had better withdraw it and put it out under another heading, which we did.

We held several conferences during the year and opened our campaign in Toledo April 14th and 15th, Jane Addams being the speaker.

May 2nd was celebrated throughout the State. The big event of that month was the pageant "A Dream of Freedom" by the Cuyahoga County (Cleveland) Woman Suffrage Party.

In June the suffragists journeyed to Salem holding a meeting in the old Friends Meeting House where the Woman's Rights convention of 1850 met. This was followed by street meetings in Salem and towns roundabout. The following day our executive committee met in Canton with Mrs. Catt as speaker at a banquet.

Having secured 131,271 names to our petitions, some thousands more than we needed, we presented them to the Secretary of State July 30th. This presentation was rather spectacular, being preceded by a parade,

representatives of each county carrying their own petitions in decorated baskets. A public meeting on the State Capitol grounds followed, attended by thousands.

August and September were devoted largely to political work, aside from the regular campaign work. We went before the Republican and Democratic Conventions, were given hearings before the resolutions committees of both, but did not secure endorsement. The Progressive Party endorsed.

We had unusual success with our county fair work and although we have been speaking at county fairs and distributing literature for the last ten years, this work was much more effective than usual because of our increased organization. Local people managed the details of the speaking and distributed the literature.

More than half a million women in the State of Ohio have by enrollment and endorsement declared themselves in favor of suffrage. Nevertheless the antis continue to say only ten or twelve per cent. of Ohio women want to vote and people believe them.

Many influential state organizations endorsed, the most important being the Federation of Women's Clubs.

During the campaign we had seventy-four people in the field, twenty of these came from outside the state. These pople worked in groups sometimes as many as ten at a time going into a county and staying until each town and hamlet had been covered. When the campaign closed we had some sort of organization in eighty-three of our eighty-eight counties.

The strength of the campaign was the beautiful self-sacrificing service of our workers, their hearty co-operation each with the other, their praise of each other and their indifference to personal recognition or reward; their only concern was that they do their work as well as it could be done. In the conviction that they fought a good fight they have their compensation.

Our defeat was due to the wet and dry fight. Realizing that we could not win if that question was to come up the State president secured the promise of the head of the Anti-Saloon League that he would not bring forward a prohibition amendment in 1914. When the brewers saw that our petition was surely to succeed they initiated an amendment, also by petition, to repeal certain existing temperance legislation and called it the "Home Rule Amendment." We urged the Anti-Saloon League to take the defensive merely and not introduce an amendment. We believed that the brewers had brought up their measure in the hope of diverting dry support from the suffrage amendment and thus defeating both suffrage and temperance. We set forth our position to this effect in our official paper at the time. However, the Anti-Saloon League prefers to make offensive, not defensive, fights and so initiated a prohibition amendment. This amendment, like the suffrage amendment was defeated, by a much smaller majority than suffrage, however, showing that many men who voted for prohibition failed to vote for suffrage.

The total number of votes cast on the woman suffrage amendment was 843,685; against 518,295; for 335,390; lost by 182,905. This means that 335,390 Ohio men believe women should be real citizens and furthermore, this was within 1,485 of the number of votes against us two years ago, but the total adverse vote was so large that it made the majority against us about three per cent. more than two years ago. We got forty-two per cent. plus of the 1912 vote; thirty-nine per cent. plus of the 1914 vote. Our problem as we see it therefore is to convert an additional eleven per cent. of the Ohio electorate and to its accomplishment we are devoting ourselves with unabated energy and zeal.

HARRIET TAYLOR UPTON, President.

Equal Franchise Association

The Ohio Equal Franchise Association has had a year of large and varied experience.

We have done the usual things—headquarters' meetings, parlor meetings, mass meetings, factory and street speaking, luncheons, teas, markets, County Fairs and every other form of work that suffrage knows.

Our member of the Executive Council, Mrs. Frances G. Richard, Professor of Literature in Miami University and chairman of the department of Literature of the Ohio Federation of Women's Clubs, has spoken in most of the southern Counties of the state, and continuous work with weekly meetings has been kept up.

Last April we secured in Cincinnati free of rent a large vacant store on a prominent street, and for five days served lunch there. The walls of the store were covered with posters and cards with suffrage information printed on them. We think this was conceded to be the greatest event in suffrage work in Cincinnati up to that time.

Our County Fair work seemed especially effective this year. We had a large booth where we had quantities of literature for distribution, a voiceless speech, and we served lemonade "like mother used to make," which the crowds liked because it was the genuine article.

With part of the money sent us by the National Association we rented a large empty store in Cincinnati within a few hundred feet of the sixth busiest corner in the United States. One window fronted on the street, and a large side one opened on the lobby of a burlesque theater, and this we decorated with posters and an immense sign which read: "Give the mothers of men the vote that war may be abolished." Silent speeches were turned in the front window and sometimes at the door from eight in the morning till nine at night, and on Saturday nights till ten thirty or eleven o'clock. We averaged ten women a day at this work for seven weeks. All our help was volunteered. We paid no one for any work. The crowds were continuous and interested and the work created a tremendous impression. It was an education for those en-

gaged in it. We learned how to treat all kinds and conditions of men. We were visited by "fifty-seven varieties" of drunks and near drunks. Most of these came to berate us for our presumption in wanting to vote, and to assure us that if the women got the ballot, Ohio would surely go dry, which, in their opinion, would be very deplorable. At first we would treat them civilly, but when we found that they were in no condition to be talked with, we ignored them or if that hint did not suffice, we suggested that they step outside and read the speech as it contained all our arguments, and it was funny to see, when they once understood that we wished them to leave, how meekly they would make their departure. We never had any trouble that we could not settle ourselves.

We had callers from nearly all the suffrage states who came in to bear testimony to the beneficent working of equal suffrage and to wish us success.

Since we had not much expectation that Ohio would win this time, and hope without expectation being dead, we should not say that we are disappointed or disheartened by our failure. Indeed we are not. We feel that our work has been of great educational value to ourselves and to the public, and must bring results in the not very distant future.

Let us keep on with the work and assist The National Association and Ohio by a generous co-operation in the possible and probable states, Let us plead for a concentration of strength on the part of suffragists over the country upon two or three states at a time which we can pull through. As a matter of economy and efficiency, some plan looking toward this end might be carried out, drawing into the work all state associations as far as possible.

Such co-operation and massing of work and money must redound to the honor and glory of Ohio, and we shall soon win out.

FLORA E. WORTHINGTON, President.

PRESENT CAMPAIGN STATES

IOWA

Iowa has undertaken to organize for Suffrage by State senatorial districts and though but twenty out of the fifty districts are as yet really organized the outlook is most promising for a fairly complete organization of the state within the next six months. Miss Mable Lodge of Dover, Delaware, has given four months of work for this state organization plan and has been most successful.

The Mississippi Valley conference held in Des Moines in March gave much inspiration to the Iowa workers and was a successful meeting in every way. In June, Mrs. Ella F. Stewart of Illinois conducted a three days' School of Methods in Des Moines which was well attended and was most helpful.

Des Moines Suffrage workers have been especially active and in August completed a canvass of the whole city. About five hundred helped in making the canvass and in the taking of the birth registration for 1913 at the same time.

The Republican convention in July adopted a strong Suffrage plank and as the Iowa Legislature is Republican the passage of our bill by the General Assembly of 1915 seems assured. The Democratic state convention referred Woman Suffrage to the initiative and referendum but since we have as yet no such law in Iowa this was not a particularly strong endorsement.

The number of dues-paying club members in the state is but little larger than last year but we have added many non-dues paying members. While our budget is very small compared to some of the other states a vast amount of volunteer work has been done. All of the state officers have given voluntary service and many speakers have served us without charge. Altogether we feel that the outlook for suffrage in Iowa in 1916 is most hopeful.

FLORA DUNLAP, President.

MASSACHUSETTS

Political Equality Union

The Massachusetts Political Equality Union is organized to help in the fight to secure Votes for Women.

Its founders realize that in all probability the legislature will submit to the voters of the State a Constitutional Amendment granting equal suffrage in 1915, and feel that before this amendment goes to the voters it is absolutely necessary to stir up and organize far more generally than has been done as yet the great amount of latent interest in the movement, which must be turned into active support if that campaign is to prove successful.

We believe that more groups of workers, working through different channels, in more places, as well as from various points of attack, are needed to strengthen and vitalize the whole movement.

Our Union depends upon a Ten-cent Initiation Fee and volunteer subscriptions, and is, therefore, open to all men and women that believe in equal suffrage, however heavy may be the other demands upon their support.

The General Committee is composed of one member from each senatorial district.

The officers are a President, Vice-President, Treasurer and Secretary, who, with five other members, make up the Executive Committee. Our Executive Secretary plans the field and office work, superintends it, and also herself does some of the work near headquarters, thus releasing the other organizers for the more remote parts of the State.

The membership of the Union has in two years grown to 2,500, having increased 1,000 in six months, a number that is a very practical proof of the need for an organization of the democratic type of the Union.

The membership is distributed through all of the forty Senatorial Districts, and represents all types of citizens. There are many Grangers —a large number of Trade Union men and women, a notable group of stenographers and office workers—many professional women and home makers—men in public life, of every political party—men of the professions and in business, as well as men and women representing all churches and various races.

At the legislative hearings of 1913 and 1914 the Political Equality Union devoted its portion of the time wholly to brief speeches by working women, and many who were present have testified that the simple statements from these self-supporting women were the most telling and impressive part of the entire hearing.

One organizer has been in the field the entire time since the organization of the Union and a second one has been at work much of the time. For the past four months two organizers have given all their time to field work, and one other, with the Executive Secretary, have given part of their time. The experience of our organizers has shown how great is the need of steady work in the smaller towns and cities and rural districts, and also how ready is the response made to this personal effort.

Last winter the Union organized a series of meetings for Miss Helen Todd of California, and in the spring a banquet was held under the auspices of the Union, where four hundred people listened to George Creel, and other friends of woman suffrage. The Union took most of the responsibility for the arrangements for the National Rally, April 1, in which it co-operated with the Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association. Later the Finance Committee gave a very successful and delightful Thé Dansant at the Copley-Plaza Hotel.

On May 2, twenty-eight meetings in different towns and cities in behalf of the Amendment to the National Constitution were held through the efforts of our members and organizers. Since then, the Association has held several publicity weeks in various sections of the State, and has arranged several very successful series of weekly or semi-weekly mass meetings for a period of time.

On July 1, Mrs. Catlin, one of the organizers of the P. E. U., started on a four months' horseback campaign through the State. Mrs. Catlin started without funds and met all her expenses from collections and donations. She had a most successful four months and she reached the voters in many country sections, and we hope to have more workers like her next summer. She traveled about five hundred and thirty miles and talked to about ten thousand people at meetings.

During June and July the Political Equality Union co-operated with the Equal Franchise Committee, who conducted a suffrage store on Fed-

eral Street, Boston, by supplying speakers one day a week for the noon meetings.

August 1st, we moved into our new store at 1301 Washington Street. This meant an increase in office expenditure, but on the other hand, it meant that the office has a chance to be self-supporting, because we are holding Rummage Sales here for two days every two or three weeks, and from time to time sales of other kinds. Also, it means many larger opportunities for suffrage work, such as evening meetings and a store window in a crowded working class district.

In August and September most of our time was devoted to short campaign trips in the country districts. Late in September, and early in October, we had booths at the County Fairs.

The Massachusetts Melting Pot for the benefit of the Campaign States was cared for by a committee of representative suffragists, and much of the work was done at the Political Equality Union's Headquarters.

On three different occasions this year the Moving Pictures have carried news of our work all over the country: First, the Governor of Massachusetts greeting the National Board on the steps of the State House, April 1st; second, Mrs. Catlin starting on her trip July 1st; and third the Melting Pot Parade in August.

The Union stands for democracy of membership, democracy of organization and democracy of administration.

The plain lesson of our twenty months' work is that more workers are needed—workers that can go out in the field and stay there, giving information, arousing interest and building up membership among the rank and file of the citizens. There is no limit to the amount of very practical work that needs to be done—the demands come to us faster than we can fill them. Lack of funds alone stands in our way.

MABEL GILLESPIE, President.

MASSACHUSETTS

Woman Suffrage Association

The Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association has to report the most important and significant work of its more than forty years.

The Legislature at its last session passed the resolution providing for the submission to the voters of a Constitutional Amendment enfranchising the women of the State, by the very remarkable vote of 34-2 in the Senate and 168-39 in the House. If this Resolution passes the coming Legislature, as it is expected to do, the question will come before the voters in November, 1915. Our victory was aided by the fact that before the last Legislature convened our Legislative Committee had succeeded in defeating for re-election several important men who had opposed us, notably Levi H. Greenwood, President of the Senate, one of

the most important machine Republicans in Massachusetts, whose position was considered impregnable. This was done by a sharp and effective campaign, based on the records of these men in having opposed the passage of progressive and humanitarian measures, including the suffrage bill. No threats were made beforehand and no boasts afterwards. In fact, no allusion to our political work was ever made by any of us, and our relations with the Republican party were kept as friendly as possible, in order to leave the door open for the Republican votes in the Legislature necessary to carry our bill.

We also succeeded in defeating the straw vote, or as the antis euphoniously termed it the "public opinion bill," which has menaced us for two years in succession, the first year backed by all the strength of the old "stand pat" Republican machine.

On May second, Massachusetts celebrated its victory by a splendid and impressive parade of 10,000 men and women through the streets of Boston. Though the parade bills amounted to about $3,000, the donations and league appropriations, and the business ability shown by the women who managed in relays the Parade Headquarters, the Suffrage shop and lunch room, not to mention the generosity of the professional artists, decorators, writers, etc., among our members, brought down the net cost of this immense undertaking to $428.38.

Our Campaign activities began the day after the passage of the bill. The Chairman of the Organization, Legislative and other Committees started at once on a trip throughout the State, holding work conferences and enthusiastic public meetings in each of the counties.

The work of the Campaign Organization Committee has the cooperation of the strong local associations, Boston having undertaken the organization of the whole of Suffolk County, Worcester of Worcester County, Brookline of Norfolk, Cambridge of Middlesex, Springfield of Hampden and so on. This plan includes the effort to interview and enroll every registered male voter in the State before election day.

Since November 1, 1913, seventy new leagues and twenty-eight new committees have been formed, making a total of one hundred and thirty-eight in the state.

The Campaign Organization Committee consists of fourteen, a chairman for each county, each with a vice-chairman, secretary and a subchairman for each legislative district and if the district contains several towns, there is a member from each one. The organizers and certain members-at-large also belong to this committee, which now numbers two hundred and twenty-five. County Conferences are held at regular intervals, and each county chairman makes a monthly report of the enrollments of men and women and of the activities in her district.

The special work of the summer was an automobile campaign through the small towns of four counties. Postal card notices of proposed street meetings were sent to all the registered voters and by this means audiences were gathered in rural places, where a meeting otherwise would

have been impossible. Signatures to card pledges were obtained in the crowds, buttons sold and literature freely distributed. We felt that this was the best possible way of waking up the small and inaccessible towns.

Many factory and street meetings were held under the auspices of the various leagues, and this fall has seen the starting of a state-wide house-to-house canvassing, which if it works as we hope, will be the backbone of the campaign.

The work of systematically placing speakers on the programs of men's clubs, civic and fraternal organizations is actively going on, and to date we have supplied speakers before one hundred and twenty men's organizations.

Workers and literature have also been sent to the County Fairs, twenty-five of which have been covered in this way, and five by local leagues. Seventy thousand colored flyers were distributed in addition to the literature, buttons, pennants and novelties which were sold.

Five salaried speakers are constantly in the field, besides numerous volunteers. We have on our list of speakers one hundred and twenty-five women and seventy-six men willing and ready at all times to do whatever we ask. We have been able to loan two for some weeks in the Ohio Campaign and to sublet one to Nevada. From March 1st to November 1st the Speakers' Bureau has assigned speakers for the following meetings: Fifty-three Men's Organizations; nine Debates before Men's Clubs; twenty-five Women's Clubs; seventeen Hall Meetings; thirty Open Air Meetings; one hundred and thirty-seven State Leagues; totalling three hundred and eight.

Our Headquarters Press Chairman, who is salaried, and gives full time, sends out every week a news bulletin to local suffrage press chairmen, and to editors. The list includes regularly about seventy-five newspapers and is continually being extended.

A Committee of the College Equal Suffrage League of Boston assumed the management of the Literature Department in July, 1914, with a capital of $300 in stock and $1,000 in the treasury. The work of the department is done by volunteers who give regular time each week to selling at retail and filling orders, besides assuming general hospitality duties at Headquarters.

Through its organization committee ,the Association has this year been working in co-operation with the Woman's Journal in placing the paper in the hands of as many people in the State as possible.

The Congressional work of the Association has been confined to a listing of the Massachusetts members of Congress, with regard to their attitude for or against equal suffrage, and an attempt wherever possible to convert them.

House to house canvassing has been carried on with most valuable results during the year.

The State and Boston Headquarters have an office corps of two managers, four stenographers, a treasurer's assistant and a general office

man, and nine field organizers giving either full or half time. A Workers' Bureau receives all offers of volunteer help and places the applicants advantageously.

The condition of the legislative work at the present moment is favorable to the second and final passage of the suffrage bill, in spite of the fact that we failed to secure a suffrage plank in the Republican platform. All the other parties have such planks.*

The Ways and Means Committee have under way a second Suffrage Festival more than double the size of last year's; the proceeds of which will be divided between the suffrage work and that of the Red Cross.

Massachusetts has an electorate of 600,000 men. There is widespread ignorance and indifference among them on the subject of equal suffrage; but also much intelligence and a general tradition of progress and intellectual leadership which sometimes makes the old Bay State press forward almost against its will. The Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association does not underestimate its task, but it is facing it with courage. Give us Godspeed.

ALICE STONE BLACKWELL, President.

NEW JERSEY

Woman Suffrage Association

The New Jersey Woman Suffrage Association has grown in the past year from forty-six to ninety-six branches (which include practically all of the cities and large towns of the State and many of the smaller towns). Its membership has increased from 7,000 to 22,000, of which about one-fifth are dues-paying.

A State Executive Office is maintained in Plainfield, from which weekly news bulletins are sent to seventy-five newspapers and special press stories are furnished at least twice a month to over one hundred and fifty papers. During the past year about 200,000 pieces of literature have been sent out from this office.

The plan has been adopted of having the monthly board meetings of the Association held in different sections of the State each month, and these are followed by open conferences for suffragists from the nearby towns. These conferences are attended by anywhere from fifty to two hundred and fifty women, and have resulted in every case in greatly increased activity in the branches participating in the conference.

During the past summer a number of county automobile tours were held, a "Flying Squadron" of decorated automobiles going from town to town, holding meetings and distributing literature. These tours were properly worked up and advertised beforehand in the local papers and by announcement posters tacked up on trees and fences and placed in store windows.

*Measure has since passed the Legislature.

During July a series of suffrage debates was held in Asbury Park, the Auditorium there being given to us on condition that the meetings should be debates and not merely presentations of suffrage. From these debates we secured over a hundred columns of publicity in the New Jersey papers, and during the week they were in progress we canvassed the hotels of Asbury Park and nearby resorts and distributed thousands of suffrage fliers.

In co-operation with the National Association a Rally for the Campaign States was held in Paterson in April, and our Association and its branches have sent about five hundred dollars to the Campaign States.

We have secured (in co-operation with the other suffrage organizations of the State) the insertion of referendum planks in the platform of every political party, and feel absolutely sure that the suffrage amendment will pass the coming session of the Legislature, in which case it will go to the voters at a special election in September—thus making New Jersey the next Campaign State.*

We are advocating the running of suffrage shops in vacant stores (same to be vacated as soon as the owners rent them), and such stores are now being conducted in six of our principal cities. A series of suffrage schools are to be conducted in centrally located cities during December.

We have adopted as our slogan for the coming campaign the words "Voters First!" and intend that between now and the election every single voter in the State shall have the case for woman suffrage presented to him, and that systematic work will be done everywhere on election day to get out the voters we know are favorable to us and to ensure a fair and honest count of the vote on the suffrage amendment.

LILLIAN F. FEICKERT, President.

NEW YORK

State Woman Suffrage Association

At the State Convention of 1913, it was voted to unite with other organizations in the formation of a State Campaign Committee. Several meetings were held in New York City before a definite union was effected. The Empire State Campaign Committee was formed on November 1st, and hence has been at work eleven months. It labored at the beginning under the disadvantage of having to establish its headquarters, to secure help, to divide work and set campaign machinery in motion. It decided to emphasize for the first year the department of ORGANIZATION fortified by press, literature and agitational efforts.

Few trained organizers could be found and the qualifications of these had to be tested. It was clear that the most valuable service must be given by local workers; the direct constituents of legislators and the friends and neighbors of the voters to whom we must make final appeal.

*Measure has since passed the Legislature.

To arouse such women to activity was the aim of the organization department.

Accepting the plan put into partial operation by Mrs. Livermore, the State was divided into twelve Campaign Districts with somewhat different boundaries. A competent, earnest Chairman was appointed for each District, who, together with the elected Leaders of the Assembly Districts, formed a Campaign Committee for the District. In eight of the twelve districts, a local Headquarters existed in the chief city and permission was secured to make this the Campaign District Headquarters. In the Fourth and Sixth Districts the Chairman makes her own home the Headquarters, the administrative work for the Second District was done from the Central Headquarters under the direction of Mrs. Brown, and a new Headquarters was established in Troy with the aid of the State Committee. In January a series of eight Campaign District Conferences and Schools of Methods were held with the view of acquainting the Leaders and workers with the plans of campaign, and to teach them how to carry them out. The total number of workers enrolled in these Conferences was over one thousand, a few anti-suffragists here and there being included. The total of the audiences at the evening propaganda meetings was fifteen thousand. These winter Conferences were followed by spring County Conventions. The chief aim of the winter meetings was to teach the Assembly District Leaders the plans of campaign; the chief aim of the spring meetings was to instruct and encourage the Captains of Election Districts and local workers, in addition to the necessary business of electing officers.

In a number of counties the old county organization was merged into the newer Assembly District organization in accordance with the vote of the last State Convention. Many of these conventions were ideally successful. Others were total failures so far as securing delegates from over the county was concerned. But from every one there came some good results. The total number of spring conventions was fifty-one. The number of delegates and workers attending them was about three thousand, and the total number of persons gathered for the propaganda evening meetings was twenty thousand.

Meanwhile, all the Campaign Districts which were financially able to do so, kept organizers in the field working up these large meetings, holding meetings of their own and organizing where possible. Other organizers worked directly under the State Committee in the weaker districts. During the year twenty-eight persons have worked in the field under the direction of the State Committee. One was the Chairman who has visited fifty counties, attending conferences or County Conventions and has contributed her expenses. One was Mrs. Brown, the State President, who has visited many of the Districts and has contributed all her expenses. One was Miss Mills, whose salary was contributed by friends. She visited eight Campaign Districts and eighteen counties. Seven other persons worked for short periods for expenses only. Five

persons have worked in the Campaign Districts whose expense accounts have never entered the Central Office. To sum up, thirty-three persons have spoken and worked in Districts not their own for which salary or expenses, or both, have been paid or contributed. This it will be understood does not include any Campaign District Chairman or Assembly District Leader, with one exception.

The total results of the year's organization work plus the many years of continuous agitation which preceded it and whose value we must never forget, is that one hundred and forty-one of the one hundred and fifty Assembly Districts of the State are now organized, the majority well organized, the minority still needing much bolstering aid.

We began with instructions to appoint Captains of Election Districts, the ideal of our plan. Experience taught us that in the more uninformed districts the Captains were soon discouraged and after some months we replaced this plan in such districts by that of Campaign Clubs. The function of these clubs is precisely the same as the function of the Captain. Of these there are now not less than four hundred in the upstate.

FINANCE: The State Committee asked each Campaign District to raise all the money it could and to become self-supporting so far as possible. The definite amount of $65,000 was assigned to various districts to be raised with the proviso that when raised a promised $10,000 was to be paid to the State Committee. That amount was raised and the $10,000 was paid.

We had estimated that a fund of $75,000 for State Committee and Campaign Districts combined would be the minimum for the first year. The amount was pledged and paid in at the end of the first eight months. The total amount which has passed through the State Committee Treasury is $31,746. The disbursements have been as follows:

New York Headquarters—Maintenance	$7,395.90
Field Work	9,931.43
Press Bureau	2,701.21
Literature	620.67
Posters, decorations, buttons, etc	1,712.47
Political Conventions	238.56
Printing	936.44
Loans to Districts	501.47
Miscellaneous, including deposit for Carnegie Hall and traveling expenses of some Chairmen to Campaign Committee meeting	761.13

The amounts expended on field work in the various districts were as follows:

First—$15.58; Second—$40.00; Third—$728.43; Fourth—$707.23; Fifth—$738.65; Sixth—$1,045.86; Seventh—$187.92; Eighth—Nothing; Ninth—$158.13; Tenth—$1,713.05; Eleventh—$1,341.13; Twelfth—$353.32.

The Seventh, Eighth and Ninth Districts have been practically self-

supporting and will continue to be so. The Fourth District has cost a good deal of money, but by January first, we believe will be self-supporting. Several counties have been self-supporting, chiefly, Oneida, Cayuga and Delaware. The Fifth, Sixth, Tenth and Eleventh Districts have been the heaviest burdens and all these must still receive assistance. The amount paid out on field work is in addition to collections taken in the field, which was $609.00, a woefully small sum. The counties containing the great Cities of Buffalo, Rochester, Syracuse, have been self-supporting. Albany and Troy have had help.

ENROLLMENTS: The Committee has urged upon all occasions that suffrage enrollments should be taken and that systematic canvasses of towns and villages should be made. On October first the total number reported for the State was 131,831 and for the City of New York was 133,962 making a total of 265,793.

LITERATURE: The Committee has printed, 1,400,000 leaflets and has 400,000 on hand. Presumably one million have been either distributed or are in local headquarters for that purpose.

PRESS: A Press Department with Mrs. Harriet Holt Dey and Miss Eva Ward in charge has been maintained. Five hundred newspapers have been served with weekly news or propaganda bulletins. One hundred and seventy-five papers have been provided with a page of plate matter three times. Innumerable anti-suffrage articles have been answered. Many pages of propaganda in the form of write-ups or interviews have been furnished the Metropolitan Dailies. Much effort has been expended in preparing the way for coming organizers over the State by press work in local papers. The Department has grown steadily in usefulness and promises to be one of our most powerful campaign agencies the coming year.

FAIRS: We have lent our aid to the big task of covering the State Fairs with speakers and workers. One hundred in all were reached with greater or less completeness. The details will be reported by the District Chairmen.

ART PUBLICITY: The Committee has issued under its Art Department, window decorations, decorative posters, advertising posters, buttons, etc., for sale and benefit to local workers. Fifty thousand road posters were sold at cost for posting over the country, the results to be gathered later.

POLITICAL CONVENTIONS: Hearings were asked and willingly granted for our representatives in the Socialist and Progressive State Conventions. Headquarters were maintained at the Republican and Democratic Conventions, and especial literature printed. Every Campaign District was represented at these conventions, seventy-five of our women attending the Republican and sixty the Democratic Convention. We were assured by delegates of both that our presence was the most interesting incident of the conventions, which lacked their former excitement owing to nominations being taken to the primaries. Every party has given the strongest

possible pledge to push our bill through the coming Legislature honestly and fairly, and every delegate to these conventions went home with an increased respect for the New York suffrage movement.

REPORTS: The usual difficulty of securing accurate and regular reports has been a constant annoyance, but a sufficient acquaintance with the condition of the State warrants three statements:

1. The number of active, alert, intelligent workers has been trebled as the result of the year's work.

2. The sentiment for woman suffrage in the State has easily been doubled.

3. The organization of the State, inadequate as we know it to be, is at least four times stronger than any other campaign State has ever had one year before the vote is to be taken.

There are still a good many leaders and Captains who possess the intelligence and ability necessary to successful campaign workers, but who are not yet as efficient as success in 1915 demands. We must hope their indifference will become enthusiasm; their future activity keen enough to make up for lost time.

This in brief is an account of the work of the Empire State Campaign Committee. A good many women have given to it all their time, and all of their ability. Long hours of hard nerve-racking toil have been put in day after day, and no days off have been taken. Apathy and indifference rather than opposition, is the condition to be overcome. It is a heavy price we women must pay for our political emancipation, but those who have seen the vision of coming freedom and useful service gladly pay it. There must be more workers another year; agitation and publicity for our cause must be never ceasing.

The Committee has been completely harmonious and a unit in understanding and plans. The State Association and Committee have shared the same headquarters and have pulled together without a single hitch. Our work together has been more than co-operation; it has been unity. Mrs. Raymond Brown, your President, has been at her desk every day and all day throughout the year, except when in the field, and she has worked many a whole day in the office and then gone out to speak in the evening. She has shown marvelous powers of turning off work, great executive talents, and is an irrepressible optimist. Mrs. Childs, your Treasurer, has also given splendid help to the Headquarters besides keeping her own books.

I wish especially to express my appreciation of the helpfulness of all the members of the Campaign Committee who have each contributed generously of time and money.

I wish also to express my appreciation of the steadfast service, the executive skill and splendid never-failing co-operation of Mrs. Owens, Chairman of the Sixth District, Mrs. Clement, Chairman of the Seventh District, Mrs. Shuler, Chairman of the Eighth District, Mrs. Osterheld,

Chairman of the Ninth District, Miss Watson, Chairman of the Twelfth District, who have superintended their Districts since the organization of the Committee. Mrs. Paddock of the Fourth District, a later Chairman, has done and is doing excellent work. Three Districts—the Sixth, the Third, and the Eleventh, have lost their Chairmen through ill health, and have none at this time.

To one and all who have helped, I express my personal gratitude; to those who have done nothing or little the cause extends a call to service. Some of us can work no harder the coming year than we have the last, but as there must be more and ever more work done, it follows that there must be more workers. It is always a glorious thing to work for a great cause. It is a blessed privilege to labor for woman suffrage in the Empire State for when New York is won the United States is won; when the United States is won, the civilized world will soon follow. Come on, fight on, the triumph over worn-out tradition lies just ahead!

GERTRUDE F. BROWN, President.

CONNECTICUT

Woman Suffrage Association

As the main object of the Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association is to obtain votes for women in *Connecticut,* the principal achievement of the Association during the past year must be reckoned to be the great step onward toward the amendment of the State Constitution through the adoption of a woman suffrage plank in the Democratic party platform. As the Progressives, Prohibitionists and Socialists had already endorsed woman suffrage there is now left only the Republican party which has failed to see the signs of the times and to declare for progress that is demanded by the nation.

Much hard work and much careful organization went into plans for bringing pressure on the political party conventions. In this work the officers of the State Association were nobly backed by the leagues and by individual suffragists. Thousands of letters were written to members of the State Central Committees, to members of the party conventions and to prospective candidates before the endorsement of the Democratic Convention was secured. Women responded to the call of the State President and patiently waited upon the Republican Convention in New Haven and the Democratic Convention in Hartford, to show their earnest desire for the ballot. Much still remains to be done to hold the Democratic party to its pledge, that it will submit the question to the voters of the State, but the C. W. S. A. looks hopefully forward to the taking of the first step in the long and tedious process of constitutional amendment during the coming winter.

ERRATUM

The New York State Report was written by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt as chairman of the Empire State Campaign Committee. When no one was looking Puck seized a rubber stamp and signed to it the name of Mrs. Raymond Brown.

Another form of work which has occupied the State Association and the affiliated leagues during the whole of the year is the canvassing of voters by wards and towns. The ward campaign work was inaugurated by Miss Pierson and Miss Gregory last November. The organizers spent weeks in the larger cities planning out these ward campaigns and training the workers to undertake the actual canvassing. In the smaller places the work was very generally undertaken by the local leagues and Miss Pierson and Miss Gregory responded to many calls for help and information as to the best ways of conducting the canvasses. This work is preparatory to the popular vote which must be taken after the legislative stages of amendment are completed, as well as preparatory to the recent election, when Representatives were chosen to the Legislature.

The most noticeable growth during the past year has been its spread into counties which were previously almost untouched by suffrage propaganda. In the early summer an automobile campaign was planned to cover Windham and Tolland counties. There were then two leagues in Windham County and none in Tolland County. Miss Emily Pierson and Miss Gregory, the Organizers, with a band of campaigners, covered every town in these two counties, arousing much enthusiasm for woman suffrage and bringing about the formation later of leagues in a number of the towns in both counties.

Owing to Miss Pierson's good management and to the help forthcoming locally, there was a margin over of the money raised for the campaign in these two counties, and by the aid of fresh contributions a short but vigorous campaign was carried out in Middlesex County. At the close of these campaigns both organizers left Connecticut for well-earned vacations, and since their return they have arranged for a series of "little campaigns," each lasting for a full week, centering around some of the cities and larger towns. Several of these campaigns have already been carried out and this work is being continued as long as automobile travel on country roads is possible. Just recently, thanks to the generosity of Mrs. Landers, of New Britain, who pledged to give $2,000 for the salary and expenses, a *third* organizer has been added to the staff of workers, Miss Isabella Sanders of Illinois, who has already done excellent work in connection with the Little Campaigns.

In regard to National work—work towards the enfranchisement of women by amendment of the United States Constitution, Connecticut has cooperated with the National Association and the Congressional Union by sending a delegation of working women last February to Washington to wait upon President Wilson, and put the case of the women before him; and by organizing a magnificent parade in Hartford which took place simultaneously with similar parades and other suffrage demonstrations all over the country on May 2nd. In this work the State Association was again nobly backed by the local leagues.

Connecticut sent help individually to Nevada and generally to the other campaign States through the National Association. A special Melt-

ing Pot fund was raised in the State and the proceeds forwarded to the National Treasury.

The Annual Convention of the C. W. S. A. was held in Hartford October 22 and 23. There were few changes in the personnel of the Board of the Association as a result of the elections. Nominations were from the floor, but in every case only one nomination was forthcoming and the elections of officers were carried unanimously. At this Convention of about 120 women nearly $12,000 was raised for the year's work. We raised and spent last year nearly $19,000.

KATHARINE HOUGHTON HEPBURN, President.

THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

State Equal Suffrage Association

The District of Columbia does not cover much territory, but is important as a political center. We have no suffrage of any kind—we are the National Capitol—and so for the present, at least, are as equals in the hands of the Government, men, women, insane and idiots all the same. The State Equal Suffrage Association is a delegate body, with four auxiliaries, and about four hundred paid-up members. Two of our auxiliaries belong to, and are, active members of the Federation of Women's Clubs. Our Laws concerning women and children are fairly good but we are wholly dependent upon the Congress of the United States for any changes we may wish to make. A number of Organizations are working for Suffrage in the District—when they come out plainly and say no limitations as regards sex, we work with them, otherwise we oppose them. When Suffrage is granted to the District of Columbia, it must come without any sex limitations.

Surely today, as never before, we are thankful we are Americans, and we would like to see the Capitol of our Country well governed in every respect, but its government depends upon the representatives that come to Congress from your various states. If your men and women have not received good and wholesome education at home, they come poorly equipped for the National work to be laid upon them. If you want a clean country—send to Congress clean men—if you want an honest, upright Government, send in the men and women to make it so. If you want your sons and daughters to travel in safety from Sandy Hook to Seattle—send in the right kind of men and women to make and carry into effect good and righteous laws.

CARRIE E. KENT, President.

FLORIDA

Equal Franchise League

The Florida Equal Franchise League came into existence full-fledged in June, 1912. A meeting was called at the residence of Mrs. Herbert Anderson of Jacksonville by herself and Mrs. Eagan both of that city, and the telephone invitation was responded to by about thirty ladies. Short talks were made by many of those present, and an organization was the result. Knowing how the men of the smaller towns shrank from the word Suffrage, the league adopted the name of Florida Equal Franchise. Mrs. Eagan was the first president, but left the city shortly afterward for Paris, and the duties and responsibilities fell upon the vice president and the other officers. How well they fulfilled those duties the following report will show.

Through the courtesy of the owners of a large new office building a League room was opened, literature obtained, and regular monthly meetings were held. With the first novelty of Suffrage to inspire curiosity the meetings were largely attended and a membership of forty-five was enrolled.

In the fall of 1912 a meeting of The National Child Labor Convention brought to Jacksonville two prominent suffrage workers. Mrs. Florence Kelly of N. Y. and Miss Jean Gordon of New Orleans, whom we solicited for an evening of suffrage talk. Imagine our surprise when both the Board of Trade and the Woman's Club declined to rent to us their auditoriums for a suffrage meeting. We secured an adjoining room to our headquarters, opened the door between, and although the evening was inclement, the two rooms were crowded with men and women to hear the reasons for the emancipation of woman. And thus was the first Suffrage Mass Meeting held in my native state of Florida, and I as vice-president of the Florida Equal Franchise League had the pleasure of presiding.

In April 1913 the legislature met. As it meets every two years, the League realized that the plain duty was the presentation of an amendment to the constitution of Florida granting to one half of her Caucasian population their inherited right of full citizenship. A bill was prepared, the assistance of the National Association was solicited, the Executive Board of the League went to Tallahassee, and had with them Miss Jeanette Rankin, a field worker for the National Suffrage Association. The House of Representatives decided to hear us in a committee of the whole, at an evening session. In this case it meant the whole House of Representatives, the whole Senate, and the whole town. Seats were filled, aisles were filled, the steps of the Speaker's rostrum were filled, windows had people standing in them, and in the hall as far as one could see, people were standing on chairs to hear the first call for the rights of women, ever uttered in the Capitol of the State.

Four women and three men spoke, the vote of the committee was publicly called at the close of the speaking, and our bill passed into the House of Representatives without recommendation, but it passed.

Weary days and weeks of waiting, time wasted on petty legislation, House members going home for week-ends and not returning for Monday work, kept us still waiting. At length the bill was called, the vote being 26 to 38. Not a bad showing for a pioneer movement.

As we were leaving for our homes on Saturday evening a Senator said, "Ladies, if you will come into the Senate we will show those men how to treat ladies." So we went back on Monday, and were fortunate in having for our sponsor Senator Cone of Columbia Co., the leader of the Senate. He took up our bill, placed it on the special calendar, and advised us in our procedure, the bill having come into the Senate with recommendation. Again the weary waiting, the petty legislation, the filibustering of the corporation members and the whiskey men, when at last a motion to indefinitely postpone was carried by one majority, 15 to 16, the sixteenth man being one who had been with us from the first. When I asked him why he deflected from our standard he replied, "I decided that the bill would call forth a long debate, and that it would waste time and money." I replied, "Will you please tell me whose time and whose money would be wasted? Do not the women of Florida pay as much tax as the men of the state? Does not the money of the women go to pay for the time spent in legislation? Is it not the time and the money of the women of Florida as well as the time and the money of the men?" He really had not thought of the women having any part in the money of the state treasury.

Hundreds of letters have been written by the president and secretary of the league, replying to inquiries, inciting suffrage work, and doing all possible to further suffrage enlightenment and suffrage work in Florida.

This League affiliated with the National Woman's Suffrage Association shortly after it was organized, and now as president of the League I am also a member of the Political Equality Club of N. Y. and of the Southern States Suffrage Conference of New Orleans.

July 3rd, 1914, the League published an edition of "The State," a weekly paper owned by prominent politicians of Florida, the two editors having called upon me and offered me the edition on condition that I would edit it. Mrs. Medill McCormick took an interest in our publication, and sent to us for two weeks Miss Engle of Maryland, who had had some newspaper experience, and who was most helpful. The League has received letters of congratulation from every state in the Union upon this Suffrage issue, and we feel that it was a grand piece of suffrage propaganda. A copy of the paper was put into the hands of every Senator and House Member in Florida, as well as those seeking office. It was also sent to Florida's representatives at Washington, and widely circulated.

These four achievements have served to place Suffrage prominently before the people of Florida, and the League feels justly proud of the pioneer work.

The League now has new quarters, as Mr. Heard, president of the Heard National Bank, has courteously given the use of a large front room on the first office floor of the Bank building, and the League has had painted on one front window "Florida Equal Franchise League," and on the other "Votes For Women." Nearly every man in the city passes the building every day, as it is in the heart of the banking district, and near the Post Office.

Cake sales and collections, private sacrifices and constant effort, have combined to place Suffrage in large letters before the people of Florida, and to place Florida in the list of campaign states.

Miss Safford of the Orlando Suffrage Association spent three days at Tallahassee assisting us in our legislative campaign, and the weeks of patient waiting and assistance, kindly advice and judicious effort of Miss Jeanette Rankin of the National Association we will ever cherish as a woman's work for the good of her fellow woman. We hope to have Miss Rankin with us again in the spring of 1915.

Of Hilda of Whitby it was said, "Her prudence was so great that not only indifferent persons but even kings and princes, as occasion offered, asked and received her advice." The Florida Equal Franchise League is determined to spare no effort to return to the Hildas of this day the usurped right of full citizenship.

FLORENCE MURPHY COOLEY, President.

GEORGIA

Equal Suffrage Party

The Equal Suffrage Party of Georgia is the youngest of the three state associations in Georgia, having been organized during the present year. It was formed in January under the name of the Eighth Ward Committee of Atlanta and was made a state organization with its present name in March last. Mrs. Emily C. McDougald was elected president.

The Georgia legislature met in the summer and a suffrage bill was introduced into a House Committee but was lost by one vote. Later it was introduced into a Senate Committee and was lost by 4 votes. Better success is hoped for next year as the work this winter promises to be effective.

On July 29th, a special convention was called to thoroughly reorganize the party to meet its expanding needs. A new constitution along the lines of successful northern associations was adopted. A distinction, hitherto not clearly drawn, was made between the state party and the Atlanta Branch. A much larger staff of officers was elected.

From this time it was possible to take up the suffrage work more systematically owing to the aid offered by Mrs. W. G. Raoul and Mrs. Mary Raoul Millis, of Atlanta. Mrs. Raoul gave a room in her house to be used as an office and Mrs. Millis agreed to keep the office open during the morning.

The work has progressed rapidly and in a most encouraging way. The object of the state party is to form a Branch association in every county—the largest town to be Headquarters for the Branch and responsible for the growth of sentiment throughout that community. Six Branches have affiliated with the state party and more are organizing.

In all there are 801 members but the membership is rapidly increasing.

The Fulton & DeKalb Counties Branch (Atlanta is situated in these counties) is by far the largest local association and it is to this Branch that the Equal Suffrage Party of Georgia owes its origin and progress up to the present time.

Mr. Carroll Payne, one of Atlanta's well-known lawyers, has recently lent a store on a principal street to be used as an office. This has greatly facilitated matters. A number of other prominent men and women in Georgia have expressed their sympathy and interest in suffrage. It is felt that we have made a good beginning and great success is anticipated.

EMILY C. MCDOUGALD, President.

GEORGIA

Woman's Suffrage Association

The progress of the Woman's Suffrage movement in Georgia during 1914 has been most gratifying. The Georgia Woman's Suffrage Association has more than doubled its membership during the past year, our membership at present being well over one thousand. Of these, about five hundred are dues paying.

During 1914, 275 meetings have been held by the auxiliaries of the State Association; five open air mass meetings were held during the summer months, and proved a most effective form of propaganda work. Suffrage flower festivals were held in Macon and in Rome. The Macon Woman's Suffrage Association put on the play, "How the Vote Was Won." The Atlanta Equal Suffrage Association conducted for two weeks a "Votes for Women Cooking School," which met with flattering success. The Rome Woman's Suffrage Association is at present conducting a series of Suffrage musicales and teas, and find this a splendid method of spreading Suffrage sentiment and gaining members for that organization.

To enlarge the scope of the State work, there was organized in Atlanta last February "The Woman's Suffrage Party, Inc.," of Georgia, branch of the Georgia Woman's Suffrage Association. Mrs. McLendon

was made president. The party has secured a charter under the laws of Georgia, and is preparing for an aggressive state-wide Suffrage campaign. The Georgia Woman's Suffrage Association is taking part in the Buy-cotton-goods movement. Mrs. E. T. Martin, of Macon, is Chairman of the Suffragists' Cotton Campaign Committee, and is planning very effective work along this line. The bale of cotton purchased by Mrs. McLendon with money furnished by the Anna Howard Shaw Buy-a-bale fund occupies a prominent place in the lobby of the Ansley Hotel in Atlanta.

At the request of Mrs. McLendon, Hon. Barry Wright, of Rome, last June introduced into the Legislature a bill to enfranchise the women of Georgia, and for the first time in the history of our State the Suffragists were given a hearing before the Committee on Constitutional Amendments. The brilliant address of Mrs. William Felton, of Cartersville, on that occasion, created great enthusiasm, and was widely and favorably commented upon by the press of the State. A vote to bring the bill before the House of Representatives resulted in a tie, which was considered in the light of victory by the Suffragists, at this first hearing granted the advocates of political equality for men and women. The law makers of Georgia were kept well supplied with Suffrage literature. During 1914 the State Association has distributed about 40,000 pages of leaflets, fliers, etc. The Press Committee is not so well organized as we hope to have it in the near future. About twelve of the leading newspapers of the State are kept regularly supplied with local and other Suffrage news. The State Convention of the Georgia Woman's Suffrage Association was held in Atlanta on July 21-22. Mrs. M. L. McLendon was the unanimous choice of the Association for president. The other officers of the Association are as follows: Honorary Vice-president, Madeline John Sevier Wyly; First Vice-president, Mrs. E. T. Martin, Macon; Second Vice-president, Mrs. Jonte DeJournette, Rome; Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. Amelia R. Woodall, Atlanta; Treasurer, Mrs. Alice C. Daniels, Atlanta; Recording Secretary, Miss Katharine Koch, Atlanta; Auditor, Mrs. Wm. Felton, Cartersville; Counsel, Leonard J. Grossman, Atlanta.

The Suffrage campaign work planned during the Convention is being carried on, and while our progress here in Georgia may seem slow, when compared with that of the States of the North and East, we have only to look back a few years and see how the prejudice with which Woman's Suffrage has been regarded in the South is being overcome, to be convinced that votes for the women of Georgia will be a realization of the near future.

That twenty years ago Suffrage was a forbidden subject at temperance meetings in our State, and that today at the great National Convention of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, being held at

present in Atlanta, our President, Mrs. M. L. McLendon, has been invited to welcome the temperance hosts in behalf of the Suffragists, proves the onward march of the "Votes for Women" sentiment.

MARY L. MCLENDON, President.

ILLINOIS

Equal Suffrage Association

A year ago, the suffrage bill had passed in Illinois, but still over us hung the shadow of dread uncertainty. The suffrage law had not been pronounced constitutional by the final tribunal—the Supreme Court of Illinois.

Very soon after our last Convention the law was attacked—attacked simultaneously in different parts of the State.

Our State Board immediately took measures for the defense of the law. A special committee was appointed by the Board consisting of the President, First Vice-President, and the Legislative Chairman. The duty of this Committee was to secure counsel for the defense of the law and stand on the watch tower, and never for one moment relax its vigilance until the law was pronounced constitutional.

This committee after careful consideration and consultation with leading men and women of all parties, finally decided upon, and secured as counsel for the defense of the suffrage law, John J. Herrick, one of the most trusted and respected lawyers in Illinois and a recognized authority on Constitutional Law, and Judge Charles S. Cutting, who, in his long career on the bench, had won a reputation for legal ability and unimpeachable integrity and honor. Our counsel was assisted in their work by the following able lawyers, Charles H. Mitchell, Counsel for the Election Commissioners, and Judge Willard McEwen, whom the Election Commissioners secured as special counsel in this case, and also Judge Isaiah T. Greenacre, representing the Teachers' Federation, and Joel F. Longenecker. Many other friends were watching all over the state, and reporting conditions to State Headquarters constantly.

To defray expenses it was necessary to raise a Defense Fund, and the First Vice President of the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association was appointed Chairman of this Committee, and it was mainly due to her faithful and untiring efforts that this fund was raised. The first letter sent out was for Defense alone, but this did not bring in a sufficient amount. Other letters were sent out afterwards asking for funds to be used for defense and organization work. Enough money was raised to cover all extra clerical work and legal expenses, which had accrued. Not a penny of this money has ever been used for general expenses and the balance left in the treasury will be used for organization work next year.

It has been a year of watchful waiting and wakeful watching.

During this year of stress of anxiety many women never seemed to have the slightest realization of true conditions, or that the liberty which had been given to the women of Illinois might be taken away from them. It was better perhaps to foster this blind confidence.

In the Spring, those opposing us said, "Women down the State are voting because they are interested in local option and not much else, but there will not be 25,000 women who will register in Chicago. Just wait for Chicago and see what a depressing effect the poor vote will have on the Supreme Court, for the Court naturally desires to see some public sentiment on this question."

It was vitally necessary therefore to center our efforts on Chicago. Every local organization in the city worked for registration, and not 25,000 but over 200,000 women registered last spring in Chicago, and they turned out afterwards in goodly numbers to vote.

On May 2d we had the suffrage procession. The Governor and Mayor sat side by side and reviewed the procession. The City Government sent us word that we were going to have not the ordinary body guard given to ordinary processions but the mounted beauty squad, which is always brought out when the President of the United States visits Chicago. So the way for our suffrage procession was cleared by this magnificent company of mounted policemen headed by the Chief of Police himself. Nearly 15,000 women and men representing all parties and all classes and all creeds marched down Michigan Boulevard, and hundreds of thousands of people lined both sides of the way for over a mile and one-half.

This aggregation of suffrage forces on May 2d was another valuable and opportune manifestation of public sentiment.

It has seemed all this year as if there never was a moment for relaxation. One big event has followed fast upon another. We began early in the year to work hard for the big registration, then came the Spring election, then the parade in May, and in June the General Federation of Women's Clubs held its Biennial Convention in Chicago. The question uppermost in the minds of all club women was, Would the President of the General Federation refuse to allow a suffrage resolution to be presented, and would the proposition be turned down as it had been in San Francisco at the preceding Biennial? Another question discussed was, if the suffrage resolution were presented, would it be endorsed by the General Federation itself?

The State Board realizing the delicacy of the suffrage condition in Illinois, with the Suffrage Law still in the hands of the Supreme Court, knew that it was vitally important to have the suffrage question given favorable consideration by this Convention. For that reason the State Board appointed the President of the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association to look after the suffrage interests.

The General Federation Board appointed a special committee to confer with the Illinois State President. Every courtesy and kindness was extended by the General Federation President and the officers of the General Federation Board. A resolution was prepared and was sent to the Committee on Resolutions and on June 13th it was endorsed by the General Federation. By an extraordinary coincidence that same day word came that the Supreme Court of Illinois had pronounced the suffrage law constitutional. The Illinois Equal Suffrage Association had already planned a Banquet on that evening to be given in honor of the General Federation. All of these events came at an opportune moment, and this great Banquet became historic in its significance, and it was transformed into a Banquet of Thanksgiving, where a thousand women and men gave expression to their joy over these two great victories.

Almost immediately after the decision of the Supreme Court, an appeal was made by our opponents for a rehearing, and not until October 7th, when the Supreme Court refused to grant a rehearing, was the suffrage law really safe.

The only way to repeal the law now would be by securing a majority vote of both Houses of the Legislature at Springfield.

The law will never be repealed. It would be utterly impossible to find 77 men in the House and 26 men in the Senate who would vote for a repeal of the suffrage law, and by so doing deliberately court political annihilation and political oblivion forever.

Our total receipts for the past year have been $20,283.63, and total expenditures including money paid out for defense of the bill, self denial fund, parade fund, etc. have been $17,343.74, leaving a balance in the treasury of $2,939.89. Of this amount $2,011.93 being Defense Fund, which is, now that the bill is safe, an organization fund. The money was collected for Defense and Organization.

We have increased our organization this year over fifty per cent, and now have over one hundred and thirty-five affiliated associations, and expect to have the organization by Congressional districts, and perhaps by Senatorial districts established throughout the State this year.

Our work for the coming year will be to push organization work throughout the State.

GRACE WILBUR TROUT.

KENTUCKY

Equal Rights Association

In November, 1912 when—to quote Clara Barton—I had "the honor and the pain" to be elected president of the Kentucky Equal Rights Association there were 1779 members, with organizations in eleven counties. In November, 1913, we were able to report 4655 members.

We are now able to report 10,577. For each of these we have a card bearing the original signature at State Headquarters. Of the 120 counties of Kentucky we have completely organized suffrage leagues in 64; partially organized leagues, (a chairman, and roll of members) in twenty-three; a roll of members but as yet no local organization in thirty-two counties; and but one county in the state, Casey County, in which we have no "signed and sealed" believer in woman suffrage. That does not mean that there are none in Casey County; the woods in Kentucky are full of convincing and instinctive suffragists. All that we have to do is to reach them and to offer them a tangible method of coming out and standing for the truth to have them do it.

Organizers Secure Nearly Five Thousand Members.

Our summer's work shows this. Since March we have had an organizer loaned us by Mrs. Medill McCormick, Chairman of the Congressional Committee of the National Woman's Suffrage Association. For parts of the summer, varying from three weeks to two months, we have had five other organizers: their principal work has been to address teachers' institutes and occasional citizens' meetings. In answer to the invitations extended at these meetings 4,720 persons have signed membership cards.

Ninety-four counties were covered by suffrage speeches made at the teachers' institutes and fifty citizens' meetings were addressed by our organizers. Forty-eight full organizations were effected by them, and fourteen semi-organizations. This work was done at an expense to the State Association of approximately $400.00 for salaries and $400.00 for expenses.

Work for School Elections.

In addition to our work for full suffrage, our local leagues have done much work to increase the interest of women in the schools. Between ten and twenty thousand leaflets on the school law were sent out last summer from State Headquarters to the local leagues for distribution in the country districts before the school trustee elections. Splendid work was done by the Louisville Woman Suffrage Association in re-electing the members of their non-partisan School Commission.

Legislative Work.

A bill drawn by Mr. R. A. McDowell of Louisville was presented in the last legislature: it did not pass. The two amendments to the State Constitution previously voted by the people and not properly advertised by the Secretary of State were repassed and only two can be passed by any one legislature. But these gains were made:—a special committee on woman suffrage was appointed in the House (a thing worked for but not yet obtained in the lower house of Congress), to which the bill was referred. Both this committee and the Senators'

committee reported the bill out and reported it favorably—a thing that I believe has never happened before in Kentucky. Of the thirteen members of these two committees but two members voted against a favorable report and one voted to report only without favorable expression. Hearings on suffrage were granted by the House of one and one half hours, by the Senate of one hour. The members of both houses were invited to attend each of these hearings and most of them did attend. The House was addressed by Miss Laura Clay and myself; the Senate by Dr. S. P. Breckinridge of Chicago.

At considerable expense headquarters were maintained at the Capitol Hotel throughout the legislative session, with one or more of our workers always in attendance. Much educational work was accomplished thereby. This report would not be complete without acknowledgment of the great services rendered us by the Hon. John G. Miller of Paducah who presented our suffrage bill in the Lower House and ably spoke for it, and by Senator J. H. Durham, of Franklin, who presented it in the Senate.

Primary Law.

Amendments to the new primary law were obtained that leave no doubt in the future of a woman's right to vote in the primary election for County Superintendent. This right was not only in doubt the year before, but was denied in many counties. A favorable opinion of the Court of Appeals was obtained, but the new primary law, if unamended, would have abrogated this right, or at best left it again doubtful.

Propaganda Through Literature.

Trial four months' subscriptions were sent to all candidates to the Legislature of 1914, through the generosity of Mrs. S. M. Hubbard.

They have also been sent to forty-three newspaper editors who have promised to clip from the Journal and publish, and to fifty-seven presidents or chairmen of local leagues, and five persons designated by them who were not subscribers. A little more than a dollar's worth of literature and sample copies of the Woman's Journal have been presented by the State Association to each one of our eighty-seven local leagues, in addition to much literature distributed by our organizers and sent out from headquarters by mail to individual requests.

Work for Campaign States.

Kentucky suffragists have not worked for themselves alone. $587.65 was sent to the campaign states, either through the National Campaign States Committee or directly to Nevada and Ohio. These contributions represented 31 leagues or individuals. In addition melting-pot contributions were sent by a number of local leagues.

Universal Suffrage Day, May 2nd, was observed by twenty-odd local leagues, at least seven having out-door meetings and parades. On the next Sunday many ministers preached sermons on woman suffrage.

Congressional Work.

Mrs. Murray Hubbard, now of Newport, was appointed Congressional Chairman for Kentucky, on the request of the National Congressional Committee for such an appointment. Mrs. Hubbard reports that she has so far secured chairmen for four of our Congressional districts only, but much pure suffrage propaganda has been done in the state through Mrs. Hubbard's work.

Cotton Movement and Child Labor.

To aid the cotton movement, the Kentucky Equal Rights Association has bought a bale of cotton, as have other Southern states with the fund furnished by Dr. Shaw. In addition a resolution has been adopted urging everyone of the ten thousand members to buy a bolt of cotton in order to relieve the market and get the bales moving again. Each local league has also been asked to make a "cotton party" the means both of helping the cotton movement and raising funds for suffrage. And last but not least, they have called upon the cotton manufacturers to abolish the blot of child labor from the industry in the South, if they desire the mothers of Southern children to stand by the cotton industry.

Suffrage Work at Fairs.

By the courtesy of the Kentucky Federation of Women's Clubs we were allowed to use their tent at the State Fair as headquarters of our suffrage work. One day was specially featured by our women as suffrage day. Headquarters were maintained at the Blue-Grass Fair, by the courtesy of the Lexington Herald, in its tent. Suffrage work was done at a number of other fairs and also at the Chautauquas.

At a half a dozen of the Chatauquas suffrage addresses from Mrs. Grace Wilbur Trout of Chicago were provided by the management. In each place our suffrage workers made the most of organization for the distribution of literature and getting signatures to membership cards.

The President Pleads Guilty.

I must admit that my duties as member of the National Board have absorbed some of the time that would otherwise have been given to suffrage work in Kentucky. But on the other hand I believe material gains have accrued to Kentucky from this connection. Notably, the organizer provided for Kentucky for several months by the chairman of the National Congressional Committee.

A gift of $500.00 was made by Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont on the condition that it should be duplicated and it was duplicated by Mrs. S. M. Hubbard, of Hickman.

Though your president has in the year made some thirty-two suffrage addresses outside the state, including work in the campaign states, she can count only the following to her credit in Kentucky: address to the

teachers of the first district and for the suffrage league at Paducah, various efforts at Frankfort during the Legislature, addresses at Mt. Sterling, Harrodsburg, Winchester, Georgetown, Lexington, Covington, Owensboro, Henderson, Hopkinsville, Bowling Green, Glasgow and Nicholasville. Very much more time has been given in the office and in arranging for and directing the work of the organizers.

Votes for Kentucky Women in 1917.

We shall again present a bill in the legislature of 1916. We expect to win; we intend to win. We will go to a vote of the people in 1917. Kentucky will be a free state, and we shall be voting citizens in 1918. If every woman in Kentucky does her duty from now until the election of 1917 we can not fail. If any one of you fails to do your full duty, we may fail, for suffrage cannot be won in Kentucky by the work of one person or a dozen persons or a few hundred persons. It must be done by all of our thousands of believers working faithfully and conscientiously. We have big forces to overcome, and the interest of these is conservatism, or mental inertia, which some one has said is the strongest force in human affairs.

For the value to the state of their service and for the credit of the state, we desire to see Kentucky women free. For the credit of our men, we desire them to lead the states of the South in this final development of Democracy, as in the old days they led the Nation when first of the states of this Union, they granted manhood suffrage to white men.

MADELINE BRECKINRIDGE, President.

LOUISIANA

Equal Suffrage League

In March, 1913, being impelled with a desire to see a purely Suffrage organization created in Louisiana, to which I might belong, and give the proportion of my time and thoughts hitherto given to Civic and Philanthropic associations, I started out, by phoning to find out if enough "Suffragists" could be found in the city of Baton Rouge to form a league. About fifteen women responded and with little difficulty the movement flashed forth into activity at the State Capitol, The Louisiana Equal Suffrage League being the result, with a membership extending throughout the surrounding country, the Sixth Congressional District of Louisiana.

With the raising of nearly four hundred dollars ($400.00) by getting out a Special Suffrage Edition of a local paper, we attained a good start financially as well as in the way of popularizing "the cause." We have established elaborate headquarters in the Capital City, kept open always, greatly convenient to suffragists visiting the legislature or at any time and and as a rest room for country women visiting the city.

We celebrated last May The Second all day most extensively, easily securing the co-operation of all business houses in decorating the city as well as securing places on programs of all moving picture theatres, winding up with an open mass meeting on the Boulevard, permission having been given for the use of "Band Stand" by the city officials as well as police protection, meeting being presided over by the Mayor and addressed by Dr. W. O. Scroggs, of Louisiana State University, a leading Sociologist of this country. We sold "Journals" on the day appointed to raise funds to help the campaign states.

Our best work we consider to have been legislative, having the opportunity of establishing a stationary committee at the state capital who gave very keen and careful study to the situation and were in readiness for any suggestions received from the members of Louisiana Legislature who were so earnestly pressing the "Woman Suffrage Bill" or "House Bill No. 48 by Mr. Manion." Indeed we were met with a very fair and favorable general attitude in the legislature, the bill being favorably reported out of committee, and a majority vote secured in the "House" of sixty to forty, seventy-nine or two-thirds being required; which result taught us that a little more educational effort followed by united legislative effort is the only work before us.

Since the formation of our league there has been a wave of Suffrage activity, two State Organizations having sprung forth from the old membership of what was the New Orleans Era Club, known for its civic and welfare work in the state for years, and embracing suffrage in its activities, and represented by Miss Gordon in this department. We have been appealed to by both the new State organizations to affiliate with them, but have thought it necessary to remain independent.

We have always endorsed the Federal Amendment, having forwarded telegrams to Louisiana members of Congress from time to time and having received from Senator Ransdell assurance as early as June 1913 that he expected to support the "18th Amendment," in response to a telegram from us. Later when a New Orleans paper published that in response to a telegram from Mr. Ransdell enquiring as to the policy of the "State Association," one of the Misses Gordon of the Era Club had answered that the "State Association" was opposed to or not working for the Federal Amendment. The Louisiana Equal Suffrage League then hastened to send another telegram to Mr. Ransdell signed by themselves and a number of the leading citizens of the state, reiterating their policy of working for the Federal Amendment and earnestly urging his continued support of the Amendment. And we all know that Ransdell did vote "Aye" on the Amendment.

As soon as our membership reached two hundred we made application for affiliated membership in the National American Woman Suffrage Association and were admitted as an affiliated member with representation in the present Nineteen Fourteen Convention.

MATTIE BELL SINGLETARY, President.

LOUISIANA

Woman Suffrage Party

The Woman Suffrage Party of Louisiana records a growth of a hundred members during the past year making a total of 934; this party performed a preponderance of the work which brought the Suffrage bill before the state legislature in June of the current year, said bill being brought by Representative Manion of New Orleans, who is a member of our legislative Committee. The bill passed the house by a majority of 60 to 40, a splendid majority but it required a two-thirds vote to carry.

The Woman Suffrage Party inaugurated the open air meetings in the parks, in afternoons, and night, also the talks at the noon hour at the textile mills where it distributed the Woman's Journal.

This Party celebrated the sacrifice day August 15 in honor of Lucy Stone, and also held rally in New Orleans, La., and in Monroe, latter being held by Mrs. E. B. Ward, Parish chairman. About three thousand Journals were handled in the state during past year.

Total Meetings held were fifty; of these twelve were outdoor. The cause of suffrage was brought into the picture shows by this Party, where members talked between reels and suffrage slogans were thrown on the screens.

Three thousand dodgers were distributed.

The Lucy Stone Brigade formed "sacrifice day" to sell Woman's Journal on chief thoroughfare in shopping district of New Orleans one day in each week. This is the most valuable propaganda work as the cause is thereby brought to the individual, who would not be likely to go to a suffrage meeting, catching visitors from different parts of the state, who are in city for shopping or other business and cannot take time to go to meetings.

Ten copies of Journal are sold in Monroe each week by parish chairman.

The Party bought a bale of cotton for the National Association from the Anna Howard Shaw "Buy a Bale" Fund.

It is a non-dues paying organization, organized by political districts, seven of the eight districts of the state being organized.

Maintains headquarters, has friendship and support of all local papers and of all the papers throughout the state that carry suffrage news.

JEAN GORDON, President.

MARYLAND

Equal Suffrage League of Baltimore

The Equal Suffrage League of Baltimore was affiliated with the State Equal Franchise League of Baltimore until September last, when

the officers of the State League disbanded, passing the following resolution:

"Inasmuch as the necessity for a separate State Organization, which was the reason for the formation of the Equal Franchise League, has been removed by the revision of the Constitution of the National Woman Suffrage Association, which now provides for the direct affiliation of any woman's suffrage league, numbering two hundred members or more, and that the Equal Suffrage League of Baltimore desires such direct affiliation, the executive board of the State Equal Franchise League of Maryland unanimously decided to disband the organization. The board, before disbanding, desires to express to our National President, Anna Howard Shaw, its loving devotion and appreciation of her generalship, helpfulness and courtesy to this League during its existence.

"Signed on behalf of the Board,

"ANNE W. JANNEY, Sec. pro tem."

The Equal Suffrage League proceeded at once to ask for direct affiliation with the National Association, and this was granted in the prescribed time, so that representation to this convention was allowed.

In the absence of any report of the State Assocation, which probably has not been sent in, we would say that, together with other State Associations, we presented a bill at the last Legislature, asking for suffrage for women on the same basis as that for men. This bill received but scant recognition, being voted down by the House at once, and never reaching the Senate. The Chairman of the Committee which considered the Suffrage Bill, at the hearing given the representatives of the Suffrage League, asked if a bill with an educational qualification would be accepted. At this hearing representatives of other State Associations refused to compromise on any unqualified bill, but our Association, knowing the unlimited Bill was hopeless, agreed to endorse a bill with educational qualification, as proposed by this Chairman. This bill was introduced late in the session, and the motion to give it a hearing at a certain time was granted, but the time never came. So that on the whole, the year's work in the Legislature was no more encouraging than that of the two years previous.

Maryland, having not yet disfranchised the colored people, has a peculiarly difficult problem when it comes to asking for unqualified woman's suffrage.

I cannot close this brief report without some reference to the great loss our League has sustained in the death of its President, Mrs. Wm. M. Ellicott. She organized the League and put it on a good, solid foundation, when suffrage was an exceedingly unpopular cause, especially amongst the class of Baltimoreans with whom she mostly associated. Her standing in the community, through her excellent public work and her intelligent and sane public utterances gave a dignity and a respectful hearing to the cause which was of inestimable worth. Nor

was she forgetful of the work still to be done. By her will the League is provided with an income which will be of greatest assistance to our labors. She left in the hands of trustees the sum of $25,000, the interest of which is to be used by the League until suffrage for Maryland has been obtained. Her approval of the policies of the National Association, and her strong desire to uphold it is well known to you all. It is the earnest desire of the officers of the League to continue the work as she would wish and to lose nothing of the value of her fine example of good citizenship.

M. LeM. Ellicott, President.

MICHIGAN

Equal Suffrage Association

State Motto: Neither Delay nor Rest.

This year we are in shape to carry on much more systematic work. We are only recovering from our defeats, and I need not tell *you* what an unorganized condition Michigan was in when we were thrust into campaign. When I undertook the office of President things were in a very chaotic state and everybody too tired to work. Now following the State Convention at Traverse City, the women seem inspired to great activity. Mrs. Jas. Macpherson of Saginaw is Finance Chairman. If you know her you know that my troubles on that score are ended. She will use the apportionment plan, getting ten cents from each tax paying woman as far as she can. There are 100,302 in the state. Dr. Blanche Haines of Three Rivers is Legislative Chairman, and again that work is in very reliable, capable hands with Mrs. Francis E. Burns on the committee. Mrs. Huntley Russell is First Vice-President and will be state organizer. The state paper, "The Michigan Suffragist," goes now into 66 of the 83 counties. We have set our stakes at 10,000 subscribers during this year.

The formation of civic study classes will, we believe do much to bring the women into the ranks of suffrage. We hope very soon to have all the cities of 2,500 organized through these classes.

Nellie Sawyer Clark, President.

MINNESOTA

Woman Suffrage Association

The Political Equality Club, the oldest suffrage club in the state, besides regular monthly meetings, this year as for several years past, holds legislative luncheons, open to the public, once in two weeks, at which matters pertaining to the laws of the state are presented by public officials and candidates for office.

The Woman's Welfare League of St. Paul, an organization working for suffrage and other civic interests, has opened very attractive club rooms. A luncheon every Tuesday, at which visiting celebrities as well as local workers speak, has become a popular and attractive feature of St. Paul life.

The Equal Suffrage Association of Minneapolis, an organization coming into existence a year ago, has opened headquarters and holds open meetings and teas every Monday afternoon.

Duluth, Redwood Falls and other towns have suffrage clubs that are co-operating with the State Association. The Scandinavian Club of Minneapolis has been successful in getting the interest and sympathy of the Scandinavian newspapers.

The suffrage organizations of St. Paul and Minneapolis united in a 2d of May celebration with mass meetings in both cities, a street meeting and parade in St. Paul at noon and a joint parade in Minneapolis containing two thousand men and women. With funds raised by the parade committee, $100 each was sent to North Dakota, South Dakota, and the Congressional Union.

A successful automobile trip undertaken by sixteen St. Paul and Minneapolis women. Five towns were visited in four days. Twelve meetings including street meetings and conferences were held and a number of dinners and luncheons given for the party.

The clubs of the twin cities united in working at the State Fair and energetic work was done at several county fairs.

In Hennepen County a dozen meetings were held in legislative districts with a view to influencing voters in favor of desirable candidates for the legislature.

Effective work was done at the Nonorgian Centennial celebration, a great meeting, lasting several days at the State Fair grounds.

Many speakers have been heard in Minnesota during the year, among them Mrs. Pankhurst, Rabbi Wise, Harriet Vittern, Crystal Eastman Benedict, Florence Kelley, Mary Grey Peck and Fola La Follette.

A petition is now being circulated, several thousand signatures having already been sent in, to be presented to the legislature convening in January, asking that our Amendment be submitted.

CLARA UELAND, President.

NATIONAL COLLEGE EQUAL SUFFRAGE LEAGUE

The Annual Council Meeting of the National College Equal Suffrage League was held at the Hotel Hermitage, November 11th to 17th inclusive, 1914, with a roll-call of delegates from the leagues of Boston, New York, Pennsylvania, and Washington, D. C., and the Bryn Mawr College Chapter.

The central organization of the National College League, as appeared from the reports of the officers, has been greatly curtailed in its

activities this year, as well as the preceding, by lack of funds; but the officers have kept the organization intact, and provided out of the funds of the Association for its representation in the Annual Convention of the N. A. W. S. A.

In the latter part of the year they received contributions and pledges from the Board of Directors of the N. C. E. S. L., and some Branches and individual members of Branches, which enabled them to open Headquarters at The Educational Building at 70 Fifth Avenue, and to employ an Executive Secretary. Since the opening of this office on October 1st, several leagues and chapters which had been reported disbanded, or transformed into Civic Leagues, have either been discovered in a flourishing condition, or have reorganized, and at least five new ones are in process of organization. The outlook seems promising for a large increase over our present recognized membership of 3512.

From the Bryn Mawr College Chapter is reported a definite forward step toward the training of suffrage speakers, to cooperate with other organizations, a measure recommended by the vote of the Council of 1913.

Washington reports an increase of membership in the year from 87 to 234; nine meetings; contributions to the National Congressional Committee; to the National College League, and to the expenses of the 1913 Convention; and submits a detailed report on the status of women as treated in the Graded and High School text books in history in the District of Columbia, with recommendations for changes. It was voted to send copies of this report to the Branches.

The Pennsylvania League reports active work in the Pennsylvania campaign, with large contributions in proportion to its quota.

M. Carey Thomas, President.

NORTH CAROLINA

Equal Suffrage League

The North Carolina Equal Suffrage League was organized one year ago by Miss Suzanne Bynum and Miss Liddell of Charlotte, Mrs. Valentine of Virginia assisting in the organization. Two hundred names were secured, and the League became auxiliary to the National Association. A number of these names, it appeared afterward, were names only. There were in existence at that time two small leagues, and a new one organized at the time of the State League organization.

The results of the year's work are apparently small. The active work has been done, as is often the case with pioneer work, by two or three people. But the cause is alive to-day in North Carolina. The State realizes that we are there, and it cannot truthfully say that *no* Southern women want the vote.

The first State Convention was held in Charlotte on November 9th to 10th, and our leading State papers gave us practically two suffrage editions. We were received with cordiality, and the Convention was in every way a great success.

During the year as much press work as possible was done. A Suffrage float was prepared for the 20th of May celebration in Charlotte. A Suffrage Section, the first in the State, was edited. Fifteen *new* leagues were formed. Literature was distributed throughout the State and hundreds of personal letters sent out.

Without the assistance, official, personal, and financial, of the National Congressional Committee the work could hardly have been carried on. Mrs. McCormick's personal assistance was invaluable. I wish most gratefully to acknowledge our debt to her. The work of Miss Engle, the organizer sent by the National Congressional Committee, was most effective. In general I feel a great deal has been accomplished. Public sentiment is being aroused, and our men are with us.

MRS. ARCHIBALD HENDERSON, President.

OREGON

Everybody's Equal Suffrage League of Portland

Everybody's Equal Suffrage League held four meetings during the year 1914.

At the annual meeting on Oct. 7th, officers for the ensuing year were elected, and the enclosed resolution was adopted.

On Woman's Independence Day, May 2nd, a mass meeting was held at the Lincoln High School Auditorium. There were approximately a thousand persons present. Three candidates for the United States Senate and nine candidates for the United States House of Representatives made speeches and pledged themselves to the support of a national woman's suffrage amendment. A resolution urging the passage of the Shafroth amendment was adopted on that occasion.

Two other meetings were held at the public library during the month of October at which the state amendments voted upon at our recent election were discussed.

Respectfully submitted,

ESTHER POHL LOVEJOY, President.

RHODE ISLAND

Woman Suffrage Association

There has been a decided advance of the Suffrage cause in Rhode Island the past year, and the work has developed in many new and interesting phases. The president has been called upon to present the question before many influential bodies, religious and secular. The Mothers' Clubs

connected with the schools have offered especially effective opportunities for propaganda. The Association has given a course of monthly lectures on "The Modern Woman" of various countries, that has called out large audiences and increased interest in the international phase of the woman movement. A large and flourishing Woman Suffrage Party has been organized as an independent body, with which nearly all suffragists are allied and have participated in the various forms of propaganda that it vigorously prosecutes. The problem presents itself of the loss of some paying members to this non-dues paying organization, but the work throughout the state has been quickened and many adherents to the cause have been gained through its activity. At present a union of all the Suffrage organizations in the state is under consideration, which would greatly economize effort and increase efficiency. Legislative work has been faithfully conducted, but failed of the desired end. The response of our membership to the financial calls of the National has been generous and full cooperation has been given to the work of the Congressional Committee. We face the future with courage and perseverance.

Elizabeth Upham Yates, President.

TENNESSEE

Equal Suffrage Association

Tennessee has never been very thoroughly organized, and some differences among the members of the organization have led to a division into two groups. That part of the original organization of which Mrs. Crozier-French is President obtained a charter October 13, 1914, and every effort will be made to organize the state thoroughly according to our ten Congressional districts. A bill for a constitutional amendment will be brought before our next Legislature which convenes in January, 1915.*

The meeting of the National American Woman Suffrage Association in Nashville this year has resulted in the sowing of seed which will bring forth a rich harvest. Forces are to be put in the field to gather up the fruits of the victorious entrance of the National Suffrage forces into our Capitol City. It is hoped by this time next year Tennessee will have an organized force to work for woman's freedom, of which we can be justly proud.

L. Crozier-French, President.

*January 29th the bill passed both branches of the Legislature.

TEXAS

Woman Suffrage Association

We are very glad to be able to report the prospects for Woman Suffrage in Texas as very encouraging. When the new Board of Officers was elected at our State Convention in the Spring we decided to start to work to try to win suffrage in Texas in 1915. We realized that this was an enormous and a seemingly impossible task, as the State was so large, and very little organization work had been done outside of a few of the larger cities, but we also realized that the general sentiment of the State was reasonably friendly to suffrage, that the people were very open-minded, and that it was just a question of educating them. So we concluded that if we should put sufficient energy and money into the work we would have a chance of winning, and that at least we would go into the work with the idea of winning, and then if outside events, such as conspicuous endorsements or suffrage victories, should create suffrage sentiment in the country at large, we should be in a position to take advantage of it.

So, with this plan in mind, we at once started with a definite program for legislative and organization work. We wrote letters to all legislative candidates, and since the Primary elections in July we have followed up this work with correspondence, and have kept a card catalogue of members, showing their attitude to suffrage.

We expect to have a Suffrage Bill introduced in our next Legislature, and we have hopes of getting the question submitted to the voters. An evidence of the friendly attitude of our Legislature was the invitation extended this summer by the House of Representatives to our State President to address that body. This invitation came entirely unsolicited, and as a result of our letters addressed to the legislators. Of course, it will be a new Legislature that will meet in January, and it is too soon for us to speak with certainty of the prospects of getting a Suffrage Bill through both houses. One of our strongest supports is the State Federation of Labor, which has made equal suffrage a preferential measure, the legislative committee of the Federation being heartily in sympathy with us. The Governor-elect of the State has pledged himself to favor submission.

Besides our Legislative work, we have been working definitely to extend our organization to every part of the State. We employed an organizer during the summer months and had hoped to put one in the field this fall, but we have not yet been able to raise sufficient funds. We hope to be able to do so after the first of the year.

The Press of the State is very generally with us, and is ready at all times to give Suffrage a conspicuous place in its columns. We hope to organize our Press work very thoroughly so as to make the most of this very valuable asset.

Our work in the different Local Organizations has progressed very satisfactorily during the past year. We now have about 2500 members.

Aside from the need of a General State Organizer, our greatest lack has been Suffrage lectures by able advocates of the Cause. Although we made many efforts this past year to secure speakers, we were unable to do so. We feel that it would be greatly to the advantage of the Southern work if an occasional lecture tour were arranged through the Southern States.

ANNETTE FINNIGAN.

VIRGINIA

Equal Suffrage League

The chief work of the league for the first half of the year was focused upon the Legislature. A resolution proposing an amendment to the State Constitution which would give women the vote on equal terms with men was introduced for the second time, and for the second time went down to defeat, obtaining only thirteen votes in the House. The card index of the members showed more than twice that number as favorable to suffrage but afraid of their constituents at home—a very strong indication of the work cut out for the League in the next two years—namely, conversion of a sufficient number of constituents in each political district. To this end, we are organizing by *counties* as the political units, and steadily making headway in covering what is really a very big territory. Forty-five out of the one hundred counties have been reached.

May 2nd was celebrated in varying fashion in many parts of the State, the biggest demonstration being, of course, in Richmond, where the portico and steps of the Capitol were massed with suffragists, and two thousand people listened to suffrage addresses and songs. The suffrage edition of "The News-Leader" was sold in the crowd, and also on the streets all day, netting us $600.00 for the Richmond League.

The State Treasurer reports the total receipts for the year as $2,576.35, this amount being made up of contributions chiefly, and the sum realized from the Suffrage edition above mentioned.

The most important step taken in the last few months was the launching of "The Virginia Suffrage News," a monthly paper published at State Headquarters in Richmond, the financial obligations of which are at present assumed by our corresponding secretary, Mrs. Alice O. Taylor. Mrs. G. Harvey Clarke, Press Secretary for the State, is editor-in-chief. Contributing editors: Mary Johnston, Kate Langley Bosher, Cally Ryland, Carter Wormeley, L. R. Whipple, Sally Nelson Robins, Mrs. John H. Lewis, and Mrs. Emma Speed Sampson. These are meeting an imperative need in our State work.

The Self-Sacrifice Fund, though far smaller than we should have liked it to be, was sent to Ohio. Money is the crying need of the hour. We have splendid volunteer workers, but we feel that the growth of the work is hampered by the need of paid systematic workers. We have, however, increased our numbers from 4000 to upwards of 6000 in the past year. The State Fair yielded us 623 new members—many more were secured at county fairs, Summer Schools, Chautauquas, Summer Resorts, street meetings, the polling booths on November 3rd, and at parlor meetings, ward meetings, and mass meetings in public halls.

We are planning a systematic campaign with the 1916 Legislature as our goal, and we hope to change the unlucky number 13 to at least 51, the majority vote in the House when our next Legislature convenes.

LILA MEADE VALENTINE, President.

WISCONSIN

Woman's Suffrage Association

Achievements in Wisconsin during the past year include: The conception of a great idea. It was Miss Harriet Bain, president of the Kenosha County Suffrage League of Wisconsin, to whom first came the inspiration of a national Self-Denial Day. She spoke of it to Mrs. Breckinridge, who passed it on to the Executive Board of the National. It was promptly adopted and heralded throughout the land.

Our Suffrage School held at the state capital for a week in June. We had a distinguished faculty and special lecturers, including Honorable John M. Winslow, chief justice of the Supreme Court of Wisconsin; Gerald R. McDowell, of Michigan; Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman, of New York; Mrs. Desha Breckinridge, of Kentucky; Mrs. Ella S. Stewart, of Illinois; Rev. Olympia Brown and Miss Zona Gale, of Wisconsin. The school was practical, helpful, well-attended, much written about, cost between three and four hundred dollars and left $100.00 in the treasury after all expenses were paid.

The publication of a pamphlet, "Wisconsin Legislators and Home," giving the vote of every member of the Legislature of 1912 on fifty measures affecting children, the home, public health, etc., of special interest to women. This pamphlet is valuable not only as history but as prophecy, demonstrating plainly that the women are on guard.

The experiment of concentrating headquarters, the president's office and the office of The Wisconsin Citizen, our state publication, practically under one roof. The plan saves time and strength and promotes efficiency. "The Citizen" is now pre-eminently an organ of communication for our own state work.

Several months' organizing, which was fairly effective. We still search for a magic which shall make organized groups stay organized,

and for a vital spark which shall inspire those who are comfortably certain that it is "coming anyway."

The sending out of 13,000 circular letters just before election to voters who were our friends in 1912, asking their favor for the constitutional amendment providing the initiative and referendum then pending. We did all the work of sending out the 13,000 letters in a week from our little office and plucked the money out of the air to pay for them—that is, it came with slight effort from voters who believe in the initiative. The amendment went down in the tidal wave of reaction which swept our state. But it won more votes than most other amendments, it was good propaganda, and it did not cost the treasury one cent. And—

The organization at Madison of a Business Woman's Suffrage League, with an initial membership of 101.

THEODORA W. YOUMANS, President.

DELEGATES PRESENT AT CONVENTION

Alabama E. S. A.

Pattie R. Jacobs, President
Amelia Worthington
Mrs. Oscar R. Hundley
Mrs. M. Humes
Alice B. Baldridge
Myrtelle W. Snell
Mary H. Losey
Mrs. A. J. Bowron
Mrs. Julian Parke
Mrs. Angus M. Taylor
Mrs. Julia Gillespie
Mrs. Nixon Norris
Frances G. Caldwell
Mrs. Ida B. Jackson

California W. S. A.

Mrs. Rose M. French
M. F. Wills
Mrs. W. D. Woolwine
Mrs. Thomas Lu Woolwine

Connecticut W. S. A.

Mrs. Grace Gallatin Seton
Mrs. Henry Wade Rogers
Dr. W. H. Allee
Mr. A. S. G. Taylor
Mrs. A. E. S. Taylor
Mrs. Helena Weed

Delaware E. S. A.

Miss Mabel Vernon

District of Columbia Washington W. S. C.

Mrs. Glenner S. Tinnin, Pres.
Virginia Watrous
Ethel M. Smith
Mrs. Antoinette Funk

District of Columbia Washington E. S. A.

Mrs. Carrie E. Kent

Florida E. S. A.

Rev. Mary A. Safford, Pres.
Mrs. E. E. Saunders
Mrs. John Schnaw
Mrs. S. V. Thompson

Georgia E. S. P.

Eleonore Raoul, proxy for President
Aurelia Roach

Georgia W. S. A.

Mrs. W. H. Felton, proxy for President
Mrs. Younte De Journette
Madelaine John S. Wyly
Mrs. S. D. Halley
Addie Stokes Mitchell
Katherine Koch
Mrs. Amelia R. Woodall

Illinois E. S. A.

Grace Wilbur Trout, President
Mrs. J. W. McGraw
Margaret Dobyne
Edna Forsyth
Alice O'Neal
Mrs. H. C. Newton
Mrs. Jane R. Snell
Mrs. Laura G. Fixen
Mrs. Pearl Ecker Hubbell
Mrs. Helen Stewart
Mrs. Anna Pranglay
Mrs. Julius Loeb
Mrs. John R. Gray
Mrs. W. F. Crummer
Mrs. Mary R. Sedwick
Mary T. Dohany
Mrs. Elmer Roseberry
Flo Sibbett
Mrs. Henry L. Pitcher
Mrs. George R. Wright

Mrs. C. F. Cook
Mrs. Minnie A. White
Mrs. Flora Estay
Joanna E. Downes
Dr. Lucy Waite
Mrs. Sanford Houston
Mrs. Charles Nagely
Mrs. H. Wellington Waldorf
Mrs. Robert Kohlhammer
Mrs. Villa Cole Case
Mrs. John Taylor Cowles
Mrs. L. B. Bishop
Mrs. George Bass
Mrs. William Severin
Mrs. J. J. Van Lauven
Mrs. E. B. Coolley
Mrs. Wm. S. Stahl
Mrs. E. L. Stillman
Mrs. C. A. Bahrenburg
Mrs. H. M. Brown
Mrs. G. E. Wilkinson
Mary C. Bourland
Mrs. Willard M. McEwen
Mrs. James W. Morrison
Anna M. Wilmot
Mrs. Stephen Hart
Dr. Jeannette Gunn
Dr. Emily M. Luff
Mrs. Hugo Du Broc
Mrs. J. M. Hamill

Indiana E. S. A.

Anna Dunn Noland, President
Kate Wood Ray
Sarah Weldon Towne

Indiana W. F. L.

Emogene Taft Lesh
Helen C. Benbridge
Mrs. M. L. Hagerman
Mrs. J. G. Baun
Mrs. Lucius Embree
Mrs. F. T. McWhirter
Mrs. G. M. Henderson
Emma Pierce

Iowa E. S. A.

Mrs. Virginia Branner

Kansas G. C. L.

Mrs. Magdalen B. Munson

Kentucky E. R. A.

Mrs. E. L. Hutchinson, proxy for President
Laura Clay
Mrs. A. G. Weidler
Mrs. George Rudy
Mrs. Edmund Post
Mrs. Charles Firth
Mrs. R. A. McDowell
Mrs. W. T. Fowler
Mrs. James Bennett
Dr. Louise Southgate
Dow Husbands

Louisiana S. S. A.

Mrs. Ida Porter Boyer
Kate M. Gordon
Mrs. John B. Parker
Mrs. H. B. Bartlett
Mrs. Victor Aschaffenburg

Louisiana W. S. P.

Mrs. Edward J. Graham
Mrs. Alice M. Cosu
Mrs. C. A. Meissner
Mrs. James Reid

Louisiana E. S. L.

Mrs. A. B. Singletary, President

Maryland J. G. L.

Mrs. E. J. Kirby
Mrs. R. J. Byrne
Mrs. Robert Morse
Mary A. Morse

Baltimore E. S. L.

Mrs. Charles E. Ellicott, Pres.
Mary Claire O'Brien

Massachusetts P. E. U.

Helen S. Parker, proxy for President
Anne Withington
E. Frances Brown
Delia M. O'Connell
Eliza R. Whiting
Mary A. Carson
Leonora S. Little

Massachusetts W. S. A.

Alice Stone Blackwell, President
Mrs. Emma L. Blackwell
Mrs. Florence B. Mayhew
Mrs. Robert Gould Shaw
Mrs. E. W. Jones
Mrs. Marion Booth Kelly
Mrs. Francis Peabody Magoun
Mrs. Glendower Evans
Emily C. Fisher
Mrs. Thomas Roland
Mrs. Mary H. Page
Mrs. Gertrude H. Leonard
Mrs. Teresa A. Crowley
Mrs. Agnes H. Morey
Mrs. E. B. Townsend
Agnes E. Ryan
Mrs. Claude Gilson
Mr. Henry B. Stevens
Mrs. Wirt Dexter

Michigan E. S. A.

Mrs. O. H. Clark, President
Mrs. Francis E. Burns
Mrs. Huntley Russell
Mrs. Kate English
Carrie A. Keough
Mrs. Elizabeth Williamson

Minnesota W. S. A.

Mrs. Andreas Ueland, President

Mississippi W. S. A.

Mrs. Annie K. Dent, President
Mrs. Nellie M. Somerville
Pauline V. Orr

Missouri E. S. A.

Mrs. Walter McNab Miller, President
Mrs. Emily Newell Blair
Mrs. J. L. Lowes
Levinia Engle
Mrs. Spencer K. Oitt
Ruth White
Mrs. J. W. Million
Mrs. Morrison Fuller
Jane Thomson

Montana S. C. C.

Jeannette Rankin, President
Mary E. O'Neill
Mrs. E. G. Clinch
Helen F. Sanders
Mary Stewart

National College E. S. L.

M. Carey Thomas, President.
Miss Mabel Willard
Mrs. Maud Wood Park
Mrs. Learned Hand
Mrs. Thomas Burgess
Mrs. Charles L. Tiffany
Mrs. W. M. Stoner
Mrs. Sherman Booth
Mrs. Ethel Puffer Howes
Miss Vida Hunt Frances
Dr. Kate W. Baldwin
Miss Marion Riley
Miss Margaret Erwin
Miss Mary H. Thatcher
Mrs. Julius Stone

Nebraska W. S. A.

Mrs. Draper Smith, President
Katherine Sumney
Grace Richardson
Edna M. Barkley

Nevada E. F. S.

Anne H. Martin, President

New Hampshire E. S. A.

Anna E. Stevens, proxy for President

New Jersey W. S. A.

Mrs. E. F. Feickert, President
Esther Ogden
Helen Lippincott

New York W. P. U.

Harriet Stanton Blatch, Pres.
Mrs. Norman De R. Whitehouse
Alice Carpenter
Jane Pincus

New York W. S. P.

Mrs. Robert Adamson
Eva Potter
Mrs. Allen Caruthers

New York S. W. S. A.

Mrs. Raymond Brown, Pres.
Marion May
Mrs. Cyrus W. Field
Miss Mary Wagner
Mrs. Kearns
Adella Potter
Rosalie G. Jones
Mrs. A. S. Capewell
Mrs. Helen Hoy Greeley
Mr. James Lees Laidlaw
Ida Craft

North Carolina E. S. L.

Mrs. Archibald Henderson, President
Suzanne Bynum
Mary Henderson

North Dakota V. F. W. L.

Clara L. Darrow, President
Mary D. Wible

Ohio W. S. A.

Zara Du Pont
Ethel R. Vorce
Mrs. Daniel Kiefer
Mr. Daniel Kiefer
Stella H. Waters

Ohio E. F. L.

Flora E. Worthington, Pres.
Mary C. Dietz
Mrs. Harriet Riley
Mrs. L. F. Herold

Oklahoma W. S. A.

June C. Feuquay, President
Rhea O. Holland

Pennsylvania W. S. A.

Lucy Anthony
Hannah Patterson
Emma Klahr
Mrs. W. W. Brunk
Mary Winsor
Mary Bakewell
Mrs. Wilfred Lewis
Mary Burnham
Sara D. Chambers
Dr. Mary H. Kusel
Mrs. Katherine W. Ruschenberger
Mrs. George A. Dunning
Miss Anne H. Snyder
Mrs. George A. Piersol
Mary Lee
Lida Stokes Adams
Nannie Lee
Mrs. Joseph Fels

Rhode Island W. S. A.

Agnes M. Jenks, President

Tennessee E. S. A.

Mrs. L. Crozier French, Pres.
Mrs. Guilford Dudley

Emma Spencer
Mrs. Isaac Roese
Mrs. Reau Folk
Mrs. B. T. Kimbrough
Mrs. John M. Kenney
Mrs. Joe J. Roach
Mrs. W. H. Case
Sarah Rutherford
Elwood Russey

Tennessee E. S. A.

Mrs. James M. McCormack, President
Catherine J. Wester
Mrs. J. D. Kelso
Mrs. Lena Warner
Mrs. J. D. Allen
Hannah Price
Mrs. Robert M. Beattie
Mrs. Cornelius Lucky
Mrs. Frances Fort Brown
Mrs. John E. Turney
Mrs. Virginia L. Peak

Texas W. S. A.

Marion B. Fenwick
M. Eleanor Brackenridge

Virginia E. S. L.

Lila Meade Valentine, President
Mrs. Henry C. McDowell
Mrs. Kate L. Bosher
Mrs. John H. Lewis
Mrs. Nannie Burke
Mrs. C. E. Townsend
Mrs. J. H. Whitner
Mrs. J. W. Meeks
Mrs. E. G. Kidd
Mrs. G. W. Richardson
Mrs. Kate Waller Barrett

West Virginia E. S. A.

Mrs. P. B. Pennybacker

Wisconsin E. S. A.

Mrs. Theodora Youmans, President
Mrs. Geo. P. Miller
Miss Isabella Miller
Miss Zona Gale
Mrs. E. S. Jordan
Mrs. E. M. Fuller
Mrs. Ben Hooper
Miss Alice Curtis

PLEDGE LIST.

Nashville—November, 1914.

Mrs. Wirt Dexter	$500.00
Mrs. Robert Gould Shaw	500.00
Miss Caroline Ruutz-Rees	300.00
Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association	300.00
Mrs. George P. Miller	200.00
Mrs. C. E. Ellicott	100.00
Miss Madeline F. Wills	100.00
Mrs. J. L. Lowes, St. Louis E. S. L.,	100.00
Missouri (Mrs. Walter McNab Miller)	100.00
Frances Fort Brown	100.00
Chicago Equal Suffrage Association (Mrs. J. Morrison)	100.00
Mrs. James Morrison	100.00
Mrs. Henry L. Pitcher	100.00
Mrs. Kohlhamer, Mrs. John Cowles (For Christian Science Women of Chicago)	100.00
District of Columbia Equal Suffrage League	100.00
Nebraska (Mrs. Draper Smith)	100.00
Kentucky	100.00
Mrs. James Bennett	100.00
Nevada Equal Franchise Society	100.00
Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association	100.00
Tennessee Equal Suffrage Association	100.00
Mrs. Norman de R. Whitehouse	100.00
Mrs. Antoinette Funk	100.00
Miss Mary Winsor	100.00
Ohio Woman Suffrage Association	100.00
Mrs. Tod Helmuth	100.00
Miss Mary Lee	100.00
Ladies of Modern Maccabees	100.00
Miss Mary E. Garrett	100.00
Texas Woman Suffrage Association	100.00
M. Eleanor Brackenridge	$100.00
Montana Equal Suffrage State Central Committee	100.00
Anna Howard Shaw	100.00
Washington Woman Suffrage Council	100.00
Elizabeth Williamson	100.00
Marion Reilly	100.00
Mrs. E. M. Fuller	100.00
Mrs. Mark Hanna	100.00
Louisiana State Association	100.00
Indiana Franchise	100.00

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New York State Woman Suffrage Association	70.00
Mrs. A. B. Singletary	60.00
Equal Suffrage League of Baltimore	50.00
Virginia Equal Suffrage Association	50.00
Alabama Equal Suffrage Association	50.00
Equal Franchise Society of Omaha, Nebraska	50.00
Kate Gordon	50.00
Minnesota Woman Suffrage Association	50.00
Anna H. Snyder	50.00
Mrs. John Cannon	50.00
Rosalie Jones (Open Air Meetings)	50.00
Maine Woman Suffrage Association	50.00
Massachusetts Political Equality Union	50.00
Florida Equal Suffrage Association	50.00
Equal Suffrage Party, Georgia	50.00
Agnes M. Jenks	50.00
Ridgefield, Connecticut Equal Franchise League	50.00
Laura Clay, Southern States	50.00

Mrs. Charles L. Tiffany	$50.00
Mary Codding Bourland	30.00
* * * * * *	
Mrs. Learned Hand	25.00
M. Carey Thomas	25.00
Katharine Ruschenberger	25.00
Lucy E. Anthony	25.00
Dr. Mary N. S. Küsell	25.00
Emma Klahr	25.00
Mrs. C. W. Field	25.00
Mrs. Annie K. Dent	25.00
Mrs. Joseph Reid	25.00
Woman Suffrage Party, Louisiana	25.00
Mrs. Homer Dunn	25.00
Mrs. Archibald Henderson	25.00
Miss Suzanne Bynum	25.00
Stella H. Waters	25.00
Kate L. Bosher	25.00
Mrs. Hugo Du Brock	25.00
Louisiana Equal Suffrage League	25.00
Ruth White	25.00
James Richardson, Jr.	25.00
Jane Addams	25.00
Kate Freeman	25.00
Gratia Erickson	25.00
Mary E. O'Neil	25.00
Laura G. Fixen	25.00
Dr. Kate Baldwin	25.00
Mrs. Wirt Dexter	25.00
Mrs. J. H. Gillespie	25.00
Mrs. George A. Dunning	25.00
V. Branner for Iowa	25.00
Mrs. Charles Wister	25.00
Martha Cranston	25.00
Mrs. Joseph Parsons	25.00
Courtland Feuquay	24.00
Anna Howard Shaw	20.00
* * * * * *	
M. Carey Thomas	15.00
Mrs. Minnie White	15.00
Mrs. J. L. Lowes	11.00
Mrs. John H. Lewis	12.00
Virginia Branner	10.00
Dan Darrow	$10.00
Mary Claire O'Brien	10.00
Tennessee Men's League	10.00
Mrs. Milton Humes	10.00
P. S. Townsend	10.00
Mrs. Burgess	10.00
Katharine Boyles	10.00
Mrs. J. L. Lowes	10.00
Men's League San Antonio, Texas	10.00
Mrs. Dexter (Tennessee Baby)	10.00
Ruth White	10.00
Nevada Men's League	10.00
Connecticut Men's League	10.00
P. E. Plummer	10.00
Mrs. H. P. Salter	10.00
Mrs. G. A. Piersol	10.00
Margaret Ervin, Jr.	10.00
Men's League Kentucky, Mr. McDowell	10.00
Mrs. G. M. Henderson	10.00
Mrs. A. E. S. Taylor	10.00
Men's League Omaha	10.00
Mary S. Wagner	10.00
Anna H. Shaw	10.00
M. Carey Thomas	10.00
Woman's Franchise League, Indiana	10.00
Kate English	10.00
Adele Johnson	10.00
Miss W. G. Raoul	10.00
Mrs. Robert Moss	10.00
Mrs. Desha Breckinridge	10.00
Mrs. James Bennett	10.00
P. D. Madden	10.00
Ella Hawley Crossett	10.00
Friends Equal Rights Association	10.00
Mrs. F. E. Kuhn	9.00
Mrs. Geo. R. Wright	6.00
Anna Dunn Noland	6.00
* * * * * *	
Helen Benners	5.00
Minnie Reid	5.00
Dr. Sophia Penfield	5.00
Rupert Reid	5.00

Jean M. Snell	$5.00
Clara Savage	5.00
Mrs. Moore (honor of mother)	5.00
Hamilton Daviess	5.00
Frances Burns, Michigan	5.00
Mrs. John Taylor Cowles	5.00
Mrs. G. W. Richardson	5.00
Misses E. and A. Graham, W. S. P., La.	5.00
Mrs. Nellie Somerville	5.00
Jeannette Rankin (for mother)	5.00
Ruth Allen	5.00
C. Ruutz-Rees (for mother)	5.00
Mrs. Ben Hooper	5.00
Dr. W. H. Allee (Suffrage mother-in-law)	5.00
Alfredo S. E. Taylor	5.00
Alice M. Cosu	5.00
Mrs. William Kearns	5.00
Mrs. Medill McCormick	5.00
Mary Stewart	5.00
Mrs. Virginia Clay Clapton	5.00
Grace G. Seton	5.00
Dr. Louise Southgate	5.00
Margaret Dobyn	5.00
Mrs. James Morrison	5.00
Sara Chambers	5.00
Kate Wood Ray	5.00
Miss Caroline Ruutz-Rees	5.00
William Taft Lesh	5.00
Alfredo S. E. Taylor (Men Delegates)	5.00
Anne H. Martin (for mother)	5.00
Mrs. Hugo Du Brock	5.00
Elsie Clay McDowell	5.00
Hen for Prize (Marie Daviess	5.00
Mrs. R. A. McDowell	5.00
V. H. Francis	5.00
Mary Weible	5.00
Dr. W. H. Allee	5.00
Caroline Kimbrough	$5.00
Marion Reilly	5.00
Mrs. Desha Breckinridge	5.00
Mrs. L. Crozier French	5.00
J. H. Burton	5.00
Ben Lindauer	5.00
Mrs. C. A. Meissner	5.00
Mary Winsor	5.00
* * * * * *	
Mrs. C. E. Townsend	4.00
Mrs. J. G. Baum	4.00
Susan W. FitzGerald	4.00
* * * * * *	
Mrs. J. H. Whitner	3.00
Agnes N. Jenks	3.00
Mrs. John Schnaw	3.00
Mrs. Thomas Burgess	3.00
Mrs. Teresa A. Crowley	3.00
Mrs. A. Henderson	3.00
Mrs. R. E. Jackson	3.00
Mrs. Geo. Dunning	2.00
Mrs. Geo. Rudy	2.00
Bertha Norris	2.00
Eva Massey	2.00
Mrs. T. Y. Graham	2.00
* * * * * *	
Mary Stewart	1.00
Mary Winsor	1.00
Mrs. H. H. Snell	1.00
Serena Kearns	1.00
Mrs. M. B. Kelly	1.00
Frances Fort Brown Suffrage Cat	1.00
E. J. Kirby	1.00
Mrs. A. L. Kilvington	1.00
Geo. M. Dallas	1.00
Douglas Wright	1.00
Collections taken during Convention	551.36

CONSTITUTION OF THE NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

As Amended by the Convention at Nashville, Tennessee, November, 1914.

ARTICLE I.

Name.

The name of this body shall be the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

ARTICLE II.

Object.

The object of this Association shall be to secure protection, in their right to vote, to the women citizens of the United States, by appropriate National and State legislation.

ARTICLE III.

Classes of Membership, Dues and Obligations.

Section 1. There shall be four classes of members, viz.: Affiliated, Associate, Co-operating and Life Members.

Sec. 2. Any suffrage organization of 200 or more certified members may become an Affiliated member.

a. An Affiliated member shall, eight weeks prior to the National Convention, certify to the Treasurer, in a writing signed by three officers, the total membership recognized by it at that date.

b. An Affiliated member shall pay annual dues of ten cents for every certified member up to and including 1,500 members, and may pay dues at the same rate on additional members. Representation at the Annual Convention will be on the basis of one delegate for every 100 certified members, or major fraction thereof, up to and including 5,000 members, for whom annual dues of ten cents per member have been paid.

Sec. 3. Any organization which officially endorses woman suffrage may become an Associate member upon approval by two-thirds of the Executive Council and upon payment of annual dues of $50.00.

Sec. 4. Any individual may become a Co-operating member upon payment of annual dues of $10.00.

Sec. 5. Any individual may become a Life member upon payment of $100.00.

ARTICLE IV.

The Annual Convention, Privileges and Representation.

Section 1. The Annual Convention shall be composed of the Directors and ex-Presidents of the Association, Chairmen of Standing Committees, Presidents of Affiliated organizations and members thereof elected to the Executive Council, and all delegates regularly chosen by Affiliated and Associate organizations and duly accredited to the Convention, each of whom shall be entitled to vote thereat.

Sec. 2. An Affiliated member shall be entitled to representation at the Annual Convention by its president, its member of the Executive Council, if it have one, and one delegate for every one hundred certified members, or major fraction thereof, up to and including five thousand members, for whom annual dues of ten cents per member have been paid.

Sec. 3. An Associate member shall be entitled to representation at the Annual Convention by one delegate.

Sec. 4. A Co-operative member shall be entitled to receive reports published by the Association and to attend all of its public meetings, but shall not be entitled to vote.

Sec. 5. A Life member shall be entitled to receive all reports published by the Association, to attend all of its public meetings and to participate in all of its discussions, but shall not be entitled to vote.

Sec. 6. No representation shall be allowed to any member that has failed to pay annual dues according to Article III.

ARTICLE V.

Directors.

Section 1. The Board of Directors of the Association shall consist of the Officers thereof as elected at the Annual Convention, in the manner hereinafter provided.

Sec. 2. Vacancies in the Board of Directors shall be filled for the unexpired term by a majority vote of the remaining directors at any special meeting called for that purpose, at any regular meeting, or by correspondence.

Sec. 3. In case the entire Board of Directors shall die or resign, the Secretary of the Executive Council shall call a special meeting of the Executive Council by which body directors shall then be elected for the unexpired term in the manner provided for their election at annual meetings.

Sec. 4. A person chosen to fill a vacancy in the Board shall serve until the close of the next Annual Convention.

Sec. 5. The Board of Directors may adopt such rules and regulations for their meetings, the conduct thereof, and the management of the affairs of the Association as they may deem proper, not inconsistent with the laws of the District of Columbia, the Constitution of the United States or this Constitution. But in their management of the affairs of the Association, the Board of Directors shall incur no financial obligations for which the Annual Convention shall not have voted the necessary funds unless they shall make themselves responsible for securing the means to meet such obligations.

ARTICLE VI.

Officers—Duties and Liabilities.

Section 1. The Officers shall be a President, a First Vice-President, a Second Vice-President, a Third Vice-President, a Recording Secretary, a Corresponding Secretary, A Treasurer, a First Auditor and a Second Auditor.

Each of such officers shall serve for the term of one year beginning immediately upon the close of the Annual Convention or until the close of the next Annual Convention.

Sec. 2. The President shall perform all the duties incident to her office.

Sec. 3. The First, the Second, or the Third Vice-President in said order shall, in the absence or incapacity of the President, perform the duties of the President.

Sec. 4. The Recording Secretary shall keep the minutes of the Association, and a record of all its proceedings, and shall perform all the duties incident to her office.

Sec. 5. The Corresponding Secretary shall not be eligible for appointment as the Executive Secretary of the organization.

Sec. 6. The Treasurer shall have the custody of all funds and securities of the Association, shall pay the bills of the Association, and sign all checks and orders for the disbursement of the Association's moneys, which shall be countersigned by another director, preferably the President, and shall collect all pledges and moneys payable to the Association.

The Treasurer shall keep an accurate account of receipts and disbursements and shall send a monthly summary to the directors.

The Treasurer shall be ex-officio chairman of the Committee on Credentials.

Sec. 7. The Auditors shall examine and verify the books of the Treasurer and shall give a report thereof at the first business meeting of the Convention.

ARTICLE VII.

Executive Council—Duties and Powers.

Section 1. The Executive Council shall consist of the Directors of the Association, the Chairmen of Standing and Special Committees, the Presidents of Affiliated suffrage organizations and one member from each Affiliated organization which pays dues on a membership of 1,500 or more. of whom fifteen shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

The President of the Association shall act as President of the Council. A Secretary other than a Director shall be nominated and elected by acclamation at the post-convention meeting of the Council.

Sec. 2. Regular meetings of the Executive Council shall be held immediately preceding and immediately following the Annual Convention of the Association. Special meetings may be called at any time by a majority of the Directors, or by the President upon the written request of fifteen members of the Executive Council.

Notice of a special meeting shall be mailed to each member at least two weeks before the date of such meeting.

Sec. 3. The Executive Council shall deliberate concerning the plans and policies of the Association and the opportunities and means for their advancement in the several sections of the United States as well as in the nation as a whole, and shall make recommendations and suggestions to the Association in regard thereto at the business sessions of the Convention and to the Directors from time to time as occasion or prudence may urge.

Sec. 4. The members of the Executive Council may also act by correspondence, a majority vote determining, upon all matters referred to the Council by the Directors and, whenever requested or empowered by the Directors, they or any of them shall advise or co-operate with the Board or advise, act or co-operate with or upon any of its committees for the transaction of the Association's business.

Sec. 5. The Executive Council shall at its pre-convention session give special consideration to the budget for the following year and shall make written recommendations to the Convention in regard thereto.

Sec. 6. The Executive Council shall, at its regular post-convention session, elect from its own number a Committee on Membership, consisting of five members, which shall pass upon the qualifications of organizations applying for affiliated membership in the Association.

ARTICLE VIII.

Amendment.

This Constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote of any annual convention, after one day's notice in the Convention, provided that notice of the proposed amendment shall have been given to the Board

and said Board shall have made publication thereof in at least three of the leading suffrage periodicals, not less than six weeks before the opening of the Convention.

BY-LAW I.

Annual Convention.

Section 1. There shall be an Annual Convention of the Association for the election of Directors, the adoption of a budget and the transaction of such other business as may properly come before it.

The Convention shall be held upon days and in a city to be designated by the Directors, and shall be in session for at least four business days.

Notice of the Convention shall be mailed to all Affiliated, Associate, Co-operating, and Life members and shall be published in three of the leading suffrage periodicals at least six weeks before the opening of the Convention.

The General Officers of this Association shall be elected by ballot on the last day but one of the Annual Convention. Nominations shall be made to the Association at least twenty-four hours before the Election.

Sec. 2. The number of delegates' credentials issued to any member shall be determined six weeks in advance of the National Convention by the member's standing in the Association at that date and the Treasurer shall thereupon provide Affiliated and Associate members with blank credentials for delegates and alternates.

Sec. 3. Affiliated and Associate organizations shall have communicated the names and addresses of their respective delegates and alternates in writing to the Credentials Committee at least twenty-four hours before the opening of the Convention.

Sec. 4. No credentials shall be issued after the close of the first business day of the Convention.

Sec. 5. Delegates holding certificates signed by the President and the Recording Secretary of their respective organizations and presenting the same to the Credentials Committee before the close of the first business day of the Convention shall be deemed prima facie entitled to their seats and pending the final report of the Credentials Committee shall have the right to vote upon all questions except that of their right to their own seats.

Sec. 6. Accredited delegates to the Convention shall sit together by delegations in the section of the Convention hall reserved for them. Alternates shall be seated together elsewhere and shall not be admitted to seats in the delegates' section except when duly recognized as acting delegates.

Sec. 7. The Committee on Resolutions shall consist of representatives from the several States and the District of Columbia, one person

to be elected from each State and one from the District of Columbia by the delegations therefrom, at a joint meeting during the Convention called by the President of the senior organization thereof. This Committee shall choose its own chairman.

Sec. 8. In case an Affiliated organization shall be unrepresented at the sessions of the Executive Council by its President or duly chosen member, the delegation from such organization shall have power to elect from its own number a representative to the Council.

Sec. 9. The morning session of the second business day, or as much thereof as may be necessary, shall be given to discussion of the tentative budget.

Sec. 10. Beginning with the morning session of the fourth business day, no further business shall be considered until a budget for the ensuing year shall have been adopted.

BY-LAW II.

Standing Committees.

Section 1. The Board, immediately after the Annual Convention, shall appoint an Executive Secretary, a Legal Adviser and Standing Committees as follows: Campaign, Congressional Work, Elections, Finance, Literature, Local Arrangements, Presidential Suffrage, Press Work and Program.

Sec. 2. The President of the Association shall be the Chairman of the Program Committee.

BY-LAW III.

Honorary Vice-Presidents.

The Executive Council may elect as Honorary Vice-Presidents of the Association distinguished adherents of the cause of Woman Suffrage who cannot do active work in the National Association.

BY-LAW IV.

Payment of Dues and Pledges.

Section 1. Annual dues shall be paid within three months after the National Convention and in amount shall be determined upon the membership certified to the Treasurer as provided for in Article III, Sec. 2, except that an Affiliated body joining the Association more than ninety days after the Annual Convention shall pay its dues immediately upon joining, the amount thereof being determined upon its membership certified at the date of joining.

Sec. 2. Dues of other than Affiliated members shall be paid by such members immediately upon their joining the Association and thereafter annually within thirty days following the close of the National Convention.

Sec. 3. Pledges made at the Convention shall be payable not later than April 1st of the following year.

BY-LAW V.

Treasurer's Bond and Report—Audit of Books.

Section 1. The Treasurer shall give bond for the faithful performance of her duties in such sum as the Board may determine.

Sec. 2. The books of the Treasurer shall close four weeks before the Annual Convention and the report of the Treasurer shall be made at the first business session of the Annual Convention.

Sec. 3. The books of the Association shall be audited by a certified public accountant every six months.

BY-LAW VI.

Amendment.

These By-laws may be amended by a two-thirds vote of any annual Convention, after one day's notice in the Convention.

FIRST HONORARY VICE-PRESIDENT

Jane Addams.

HONORARY VICE-PRESIDENTS

California—Dora K. Crittendon, Louise Merrill Pratt, Amanda Way, Harriet A. Hobe.

Colorado—E. M. Ashley, Hon. Alva Adams, Judge Ben Lindsey, Emily Meredith, J. Warner Mills, ex-Gov. John L. Routt, Hon. I. N. Stevens, Amy K. Cornwall, Mary L. Carr, Hon. E. M. Ammons, Sen. John F. Shafroth, Sen. Charles S. Thomas, Sen. Simon Guggenheim, Rep. A. M. Rucker, Rep. John A. Martin, Rep. Ed. F. Taylor, Hon. Wilbur Cannon, Hon. W. W. Booth, Omar A. Garwood, Helen L. Grenfell, Mary C. C. Bradford, Helen M. Wixson, Adrianna Hungerford, Antoinette A. Hawley.

Connecticut—Joseph Sheldon, Prof. C. Howard Young, Mrs. William R. Hopson, Dr. Adaline Thompson.

Delaware—Ex-Gov. John Hunn, Hon. Washington Hastings.

District of Columbia—Mrs. Rufus Saxton, Mrs. Stephen A. Richey, Belva A. Lockwood.

Georgia—Miss S. A. Gresham.

Illinois—Hon. James T. Cartwright, Julia Mills Dunn, Elizabeth Boynton Harbert, Mary E. Holmes, Elizabeth J. Loomis, Harriet Fox McFadden.

Indiana—Wm. Dudley Foulke, John L. Thomas, Sarah Edgerton, Alice Clark.

Iowa—S. J. Cole, Dr. Mark A. Dashiell.

Kansas—Jane Slocum, Anna C. Wait.

Kentucky—Mrs. Mary B. Clay.

Maine—Hannah J. Bailey, Mrs. George S. Hunt, Margaret T. W. Merrill.

Maryland—Susanna Moore Maddox, Hannah B. Stabler, Amanda Peterman.

Massachusetts—Hon. John D. Long, Adeline Howland.

Minnesota—Priscilla M. Miles, Julia B. Nelson, Mrs. A. T. Anderson.

Michigan—Dean M. Jenkins.

Missouri—Mrs. Beverly Allen, Mrs. John Orrick, Mrs. Louisa G. Werth, Mrs. F. J. Edwards.

Montana—Mrs. P. A. Dann.

New Hampshire—Henry W. Blair, Armenia S. White.

Nebraska—Mary Rogers Kimball, Caroline M. Nye, Vanessa M. Goff, Ellen D. Harn, Ada M. Bittenbender.

Nevada—Mrs. John Williamson, Mrs. Elda Orr, Mrs. William Webster, Mrs. D. B. Boyd.

New Jersey—Rev. Antoinette Brown Blackwell, Phebe C. Wright.

New York—Anna C. Field, Jean B. Greenleaf, Mary H. Hallowell, Emily Howland, Lewia C. Smith, Matilda F. Wendt, Sylvina Green, Martha J. H. Stebbins, Sarah L. Willis.

North Carolina—Mrs. E. J. Aston.

Oregon—Abigail Scott Duniway, Mrs. H. J. Hendershot, Mrs. H. A. Laughary, Dr. Mary Thompson, Col. C. A. Reed, A. C. Sanford.

Ohio—Frances M. Casement, Harriet B. Stanton.

Pennsylvania—Charlotte L. Pierce, Dr. Jane V. Myers, Dr. Harriet J. Sartain, Rudolph Blankenburg, Elizabeth B. Passmore, Pres. Joseph Swain.

South Carolina—Marion Morgan Buckner, Gen. Robert H. Hemphill, S. Oddie Sirrine.

Utah—Jane S. Richards, Emmeline B. Wells, Bathsheba W. Smith.

Vermont—Mrs. A. D. Chandler.

Virginia—Ellen H. Smith.

Washington—Hon. Roger S. Greene, Elizabeth Palmer Spinning.

West Virginia—Anna C. Boyd, Mrs. M. J. Grove, Hon. A. J. Mitchell, Jennie Wilson, Mrs. M. L. Ott.

Wisconsin—Harriet P. Dingee.

Wyoming—Hon. Wm. Bright.

AFFILIATED MEMBERS

Art. III, Sec. 2. Any suffrage organization of 200 or more certified members may become an Affiliated member.

NOTE: Affiliated members paying dues on 1,500 or more members are entitled to a member on the Executive Council in addition to their President.

ALABAMA—Equal Suffrage Association.
Pres.....Mrs. Pattie Jacobs, 1404 Beech St., Birmingham.
Mem. Ex. Coun...Miss Amelia Worthington, 1818 Second Ave., Birmingham.

CALIFORNIA.
Pres.....Mrs. Mary McHenry Keith, 2207 Atherton St., Berkeley.

COLORADO—Equal Suffrage Association.
Pres.....Mrs. Harriet G. R. Wright, 3347 Moncrief Place, Denver.

CONNECTICUT—Woman Suffrage Association.
Pres.....Mrs. Katherine Houghton Hepburn, 55 Pratt St., Hartford.
Mem. Ex. Coun...Mrs. Grace G. Seton, 24 Ford St., Hartford.

DELAWARE—Equal Suffrage Association.
Pres.....Mrs. Martha S. Cranston, Newport.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA—State Equal Suffrage Association.
Pres.....Mrs. Carrie E. Kent, 107 Primrose St., Chevy Chase, Maryland.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA—Woman Suffrage Council.
Pres.....Mrs. Gertrude C. Mosshart, 1819 Newton St., N. W., Washington, D. C.

FLORIDA—Equal Franchise League.
Pres.....Mrs. Roselle C. Cooley, 108 Heard National Bank Bldg., Jacksonville.

FLORIDA—Equal Suffrage Association.
Pres.....Rev. Mary Safford, Orlando.

FRIENDS EQUAL RIGHTS ASSOCIATION.
Pres.....Mrs. Ellen E. Price, 120 S. 34th St., Philadelphia.

GEORGIA—Equal Suffrage Party.
Pres.....Mrs. Emily C. McDougald, 87 E. 15th St., Atlanta.

GEORGIA—Woman Suffrage Association.
Pres.....Mrs. Mary L. McLendon, 139 Washington St., Atlanta.

GEORGIA—Macon Woman Suffrage League.
Pres.....Mrs. Carl H. Fuller, 464 Beach Ave.

HAWAII.
Pres.....Mrs. J. M. Dowsett, Honolulu.

ILLINOIS—Equal Suffrage Association.
Pres.....Mrs. Grace Wilber Trout, Room 604 Tower Bldg., 6 N. Michigan Ave., Chicago.
Mem. Ex. Coun...Mrs. H. M. Brown, 2502 N. Main St., Peoria.

INDIANA—Equal Suffrage Association.
Pres.....Mrs. Anna Dunn Noland, 424½ Broadway, Logansport.

INDIANA—Woman's Franchise League.
Pres.....Dr. Amelia R. Keller, 816 Odd Fellows Bldg., Indianapolis.
Mem. Ex. Coun...Mrs. Grace J. Clarke, 115 Audubon Road, Indianapolis.

IOWA—Equal Suffrage Association.
Pres.....Miss Flora Dunlap, Roadside Settlement, Des Moines.

KANSAS—Good Citizenship League.
Pres.....Mrs. G. H. Chalkley, Lawrence.

KENTUCKY—Equal Rights Association.
Pres.....Mrs. Desha Breckinridge, 726 McClelland Ave., Lexington.
Mem. Ex. Coun...Mrs. Thomas Jefferson Smith, Frankfort.

LOUISIANA—Equal Suffrage League.
Pres.....Mrs. A. B. Singletary, 905 Convention St., Baton Rouge.

LOUISIANA—Woman Suffrage Association.
Pres.....Miss Jean Gordon, 1800 Prytania St., New Orleans.

LOUISIANA—Woman Suffrage Party.
Pres.....Mrs. E. M. Cahn, 1930 Napoleon Ave., New Orleans.

MAINE—Woman Suffrage Association.
Pres.....Miss Helen N. Bates, 65 Sherman St., Portland.

MARYLAND—Just Government League.
Pres.....Mrs. Donald R. Hooker, Cedar Lawn, Baltimore.
Mem. Ex. Coun...Mrs. Newman McKay, 817 N. Charles St., Baltimore.

MARYLAND—Woman Suffrage Association.
Pres.....Mrs. Emma Maddox Funck, 1631 Eutaw St., Baltimore.

MARYLAND—Equal Suffrage League of Baltimore.
Pres.....Mrs. Charles E. Ellicott, 714 St. Paul St., Baltimore.

MASSACHUSETTS—Political Equality Union.
Pres.....Miss Mabel Gillespie, 1301 Washington St., Boston.
Mem. Ex. Coun...Miss Anne Withington, 66 Carver St., Boston.

MASSACHUSETTS—Woman Suffrage Association.
Pres.....Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, 3 Monadnock St., Dorchester.
Mem. Ex. Coun...Mrs. Gertrude Halladay Leonard, Hammond St., Chestnut Hill.

MICHIGAN—Equal Suffrage Association.
Pres.....Mrs. O. H. Clarke, Kalamazoo.
Mem. Ex. Coun...Mrs. Frederick Holt, 116 Boston Blvd., Detroit, Mich.

MINNESOTA—Equal Franchise League.
Pres.....Miss Teresa B. Peyton, 581 Selby Ave., St. Paul.
Mem. Ex. Coun...Mrs. Julia B. Nelson, Red Wing.

MINNESOTA—Woman Suffrage Association.
Pres.....Mrs. Andreas Ueland, Colham Boulevard, Minneapolis.
Mem. Ex. Coun...Mrs. George Kenyon, 445 Summit Ave., St. Paul.

MISSISSIPPI—Woman Suffrage Association.
Pres.....Mrs. Annie K. Dent, Yazoo City.

MISSOURI—Equal Suffrage Association.
Pres.....Mrs. Walter McNab Miller, 800 Broadway, Columbia.
Mem. Ex. Coun...Mrs. Barbara O'Neil, Syndicate Trust Bldg., St. Louis.

MONTANA—State Central Committee.
Pres.....Miss Jeannette Rankin, Hotel Thornton, Butte.
Mem. Ex. Coun...Mrs. Harvey Coit, Big Timber.

NATIONAL COLLEGE EQUAL SUFFRAGE LEAGUE.
Pres.....Miss M. Carey Thomas, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
Mem. Ex. Coun...Mrs. Ethel Puffer Howes, Room 1214, 70 Fifth Ave., New York City.

NATIONAL MEN'S LEAGUE.
Pres.....James Lees Laidlaw.

NEBRASKA.
Pres.....Mrs. Draper Smith, Brandeis Theatre Bldg., Omaha.
Mem. Ex. Coun...Mrs. W. E. Barkley, Lincoln.

NEVADA—Equal Franchise Society.
Pres.....Miss Anne H. Martin, 139 N. Virginia St., Reno.
Mem. Ex. Coun...Miss Bird M. Wilson, Goldfield.

NEW HAMPSHIRE—Equal Suffrage Association.
Pres.....Miss Martha S. Kimball, Portsmouth.

NEW JERSEY—Woman Suffrage Association.
Pres.....Mrs. Edward F. Feickert, Plainfield.
Mem. Ex. Coun...Miss Helen Lippincott, Riverton.

NEW JERSEY—Women's Political Union.
Pres.....Mrs. Mina Van Winkle, 55 Lincoln Park, Newark.
Mem. Ex. Coun...

NEW YORK—State Woman Suffrage Association.
Pres.....Mrs. Raymond Brown, 30 Fifth Ave., New York City.
Mem. Ex. Com...Miss Marion May, 215 W. 101st St., New York City.

NEW YORK CITY—Equal Franchise Society.
Pres.....Mrs. Howard Mansfield, 535 Park Ave., New York City.

NEW YORK CITY—Woman Suffrage Party.
Pres.....Miss Mary Garret Hay, 48 East 34th St.
Mem. Ex. Coun...

NORTH CAROLINA—Equal Suffrage League.
Pres.....Mrs. A. Henderson, Chapel Hill.

NORTH DAKOTA—Votes for Women League.
Pres.....Mrs. Clara L. Darrow, Fargo.
Mem. Ex. Coun...Mrs. Beulah Amidon, Fargo.

OHIO—Woman Suffrage Association.
Pres.....Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, Warren.
Mem. Ex. Coun...Mrs. O. F. Davisson, 307 Central Ave., Dayton.

OHIO—Equal Franchise League.
Pres.....Miss Flora E. Worthington, 623 Lincoln Ave., Cincinnati.

OKLAHOMA—Woman Suffrage Association.
Pres.....Mrs. Cora B. Gotchy, Oklahoma City.

OREGON—Equal Suffrage League.
Pres.....Dr. Esther P. Lovejoy, 393 William Ave., Portland.

PENNSYLVANIA—Woman Suffrage Association.
Pres.....Mrs. Frank Roessing, 203 Arcade Bldg., Harrisburg.
Mem. Ex. Coun...Miss Jane Campbell, Schoolhouse Lane, Germantown.

RHODE ISLAND—Woman Suffrage Association.
Pres.....Mrs. Agnes M. Jenks, 199 Angell St., Providence.

SOUTH CAROLINA—Equal Suffrage League.
Pres.....Dr. Jane Bruce Guignard, 830 Gregg St., Columbia.

SOUTH DAKOTA—Universal Franchise League.
Pres.....Mrs. John Pyle, Huron.

TENNESSEE—Headquarters, Chattanooga.
Pres.....Mrs. Jas. M. McCormack, 7 S. McLean Boulevard, Memphis.
Mem. Ex. Coun...Miss Catherine J. Wester, 424 James Bldg., Chattanooga.

TENNESSEE—Headquarters, Nashville.
Pres.....Mrs. L. Crozier-French, Knoxville.
Mem. Ex. Coun...Mrs. Guilford Dudley, Nashville.

TEXAS—Woman Suffrage Association.
Pres.....Miss Annette Finnegan, 116 Travis St., Houston.
Mem. Ex. Coun...Miss Marin B. Fenwick, 204 Pecan St., San Antonio.

VERMONT—Equal Suffrage Association.
Pres.....Mrs. Frances Rastall Wyman—Manchester Center.

VIRGINIA—Equal Suffrage League.
Pres.....Mrs. Lila Mead Valentine, 2338 Monument Ave., Richmond.
Mem. Ex. Coun...Mrs. Kate Waller Barrett, 408 Duke St., Alexandria.

WASHINGTON—Woman Suffrage Association.
Pres.....Mrs. George A. Smith, Smith & Alki Ave., Seattle.
Mem. Ex. Coun...Mrs. William E. Humphrey, c-o Congressman W. E. Humphrey, Washington, D. C.

WEST VIRGINIA—Equal Suffrage Association.
Pres.....Mrs. J. Gale Ebert, Fifth and Juliana Sts., Parkersburg.
Mem. Ex. Coun...Miss Margaret E. McKinney, Fairmont.

WISCONSIN—Woman Suffrage Association.
Pres.....Mrs. Henry Youmans, Waukesha.
Mem. Ex. Coun...Miss Ada L. James, Richland Centre.

LIFE MEMBERS

Art. III, Sec. 5. Any individual may become a Life Member upon payment of $100.00.

Alabama

Hundley, Mrs. Oscar
Logan, Adella Hunt

Arabia

Hamilton, Susan V. V.

Arizona

Munds, Frances W.

California

Bidwell, Annie K.
Bodwell, Beda S. Sperry
Brown, Emily A.
Ballard, Adelaide
Braly, J. H.
*Braly, Mrs. J. H.
Cachot, Catherine
Corbert, Annie L.
Deering, Frank P.
Deering, Mabel Craft
Dwight, Florence E.
Elliott, Albert H.
*Faulkner, Anne R.
Goodridge, Mrs. Benjamin
Gould, Mary E. F.
Harrison, Ormedia C.
Hollingsworth, Alice L.
Howard, Emma Shafter
*Howard, Karl
Howard, Maud Shafter
Janvier, Louisa S.
Jewett, Fidelia
Jordan, David Starr
Kaufman, Viola
*Keith, William
Keith, Mary McHenry
Keen, Mary S.
Krebbs, Abbie E.
Martin, Miss L. J.
McHenry, Ellen J.
Moore, Mrs. A. A.
Rosebrook, Frances H.
Ringrose, Mrs. Rhoderic
*Sargent, Ellen Clark
Schlingheyde, Clara
Sperry, Dr. Mary A.
Sperry, Mary Simpson
Spencer, Philenda
Stambach, Helen W. K.
Stambach, Dr. Ida V.
Swift, Mary Wood
*Taylor, Lucretia Watson
Waters, Margaret E.
Way, Amanda
Whelan, Carrie A.
*Wright, Emily G.
Wills, Madeline Francis

Canada

Hughes, Laura C.

Colorado

Ashley, Susan Riley
Bradford, Mary C. C.
Cornwall, Amy K.
Laughlin, Gail
Meredith, Emily R.
Meredith, Ellis
*Patterson, Katherine A. G.

Connecticut

*Hooker, Isabella Beecher
*Lewis, H. J.

Delaware

Cranston, Martha S.

District of Columbia

*Barber, Julia L. Langdon
Blount, Lucia E.
Crocker, Charlotte
Ezekiel, Rachel Brice
Gillett, Emma M.

*Hemstreet, Elizabeth
Henderson, Mary Foote
Henry, Margaret J.
Jenkins, Alice J.
Kent, Carrie E.
McClary, Lizzie
Mills, Hannah Cassell
*McPherson, Mary A.
*McWhirter, Martha
Monroe, Emma F.
*Nason, Mary C.
Noyes, Ruth Astor
Owen, Robert L. (Senator)
*Parnell, Rosena M.
Richards, Janet E.
*Snow, Sophronia C.
Talbot, Mary L.
Terrell, Mary Church
*Thompson, Ellen Powell
Tindall, Helen Rand
Terry, Mary E.
Wright, Jessie Waite
White, Nettie Lovisa
White, Mrs. John Jay

Florida

Jewett, Mary B.

Georgia

*Thomas, Gertrude C.

Idaho

Boyce, Eleanor B.

Illinois

Addams, Jane
Bradford, Emily
*Butlin, Minerva
*Campbell, Margaret W.
Dennett, Climenia K.
Fifield, Ellen E. B.
Fifield, Elizabeth M.
Gross, Maud Emily
Harwood, Bertha
Kendall, Anna N.
McCormick, Katharine Louise
McCulloch, Catharine Waugh
McCulloch, Catharine Waugh, 2d
Noyes, Ida S.
Schneppe, Angie Rand
Smith, Dr. Julia Holmes
Shanklin, Gertrude A.
*Springer, Elmina E.
Ward, Mrs. Coonley

Indiana

Bybee, Mary Isabella
Pierce, Alice Wheeler
Sewall, May Wright

Iowa

Adams, Mary Emsley
Barnes, Josephine A.
*Bemis, George W.
*Bemis, Birdie May
Burghardt, Caroline V.
*Callahan, Martha C.
*Coggeshall, Mary J.
Gale, A. H.
Hinkle, Dr. George W.
*Logan, Nancy
McCarron, Sarah T.
*Romans, Metie Laub

Kansas

Diggs, Mabel La Porte
Gregg, Laura A.
Hoffman, C. A.
Johnston, Lucy B.
Morrow, Sarah E.
Stivers, Mrs. H.
Stubbs, Mrs. W. R.

Kentucky

Bennett, Sarah Clay
Clay, Laura
Clay, Mary B.
Davies, Sarah Coonley
Giltner, Mary E.
Robinson, Helen Avery
*Trimble, Mary R.
White, Laura R.

Louisiana

Coleman, Dudley H.
Gordon, Jean M.

Gordon, Kate M.
Gordon, Fannie R.
*Merrick, Caroline E.
O'Brien, Kate Mushet
Ordway, Evelyn Walch
Otis, Susannah N.
*Romain, Jessica Coleman
Stevens, Jess

Maine

Baker, Harriet U. Fuller
Bates, Helen N.
Day, Lucy Hobart
*Donnell, Lilla Floyd
Fernald, Fannie J.
Fuller, Dr. Jennie
*Fulton, Dr. Abby M.
*Hamilton, Sara Fairfield
Osgood, Etta H.
*Spofford, C. W.
*Spofford, Jane H.

Maryland

*Barton, Clara
*Bates, Octavia Williams
Garrett, E. Mary
Grove, Margaret J.
*Miller, Caroline Hallowell
Overton, Constance Mills
Rogers, Julia R.
Wright, Jessie Waite

Massachusetts

Allen, Mary Ware
*Anders, Carrie
Atkins, Martha N.
Blackwell, Alice Stone
*Blackwell, Henry B.
Bourne, Elizabeth
*Fowler, Anna G.
Garrison, Ellen Wright
Hill, Nellie S. Smith
*Howe, Julia Ward
*Ireson, Katherine Choate
Nichols, Mae
Ordway, Evelyn W.
Paul, Anne
Powers, Ellen F.
Shaw, Pauline A.
*Simpson, Eunice J.
Smith, Judith W.
Smith, Myrtle
Stolle, Antonie

Michigan

*Blodgett, Delos A.
Blodgett, Daisy Peck
Curtis, Katharine Shaw
*Hall, Olivia B.
*Hollister, Lillian N.
*Jenkins, Helen P.
Osborn, Clara
Perry, Belle N.

Minnesota

Anderson, Mrs. A. T.
Cash, Alice Scott
Farmer, Eugenia B.
McClary, Clyde
McClary, Lizzie
Koch, Dr. Margaret
Nelson, Julia B.
Russell, Elizabeth A.
Stockwell, Maud C.
Thompson, Sarah Vail
Wheeler, Mary Powell

Missouri

Turner, Sarah E.

Montana

Dann, Mrs. P. A.

Nebraska

Albertson, Anjennette
Carriker, Ollie K.
Daily, Annie
Dewey, Rev. Louis
Harn, Ellen D.
Hayward, Mary Smith
*Marble, Amanda J.
Norris, Fannie C.
Nelson, Nettie N.
Philbrick, Mrs. M. B.
Philbrick, Dr. Inez C.

Ward, Mary G.
Wells, Anna A.
Whitesell, Susan
Williams, Mary H.
*Young, Clara A.

New Hampshire

Ines, Susan A. Whiting
Ricker, Marilla M.
White, Armenia S.

New Jersey

Blackwell, Rev. Antoinette Brown
Hall, Florence Howe
Hartshorn, Joanna
Houlings, Laura Lloyd
*Hussey, Cornelia C.
Hussey, Dr. Mary D.
*Krom, Mrs. S. R.
Laddey, Mrs. Clara S.
Lippincott, Anna W. Houlings
*Lippincott, Susan W.
Mayhew, Calista S.
Paul, Alice
Sexton, Minola Graham
Spotteswoode, Dr. Sarah C.
*Squier, Ellen Hoxie
Vail, Elizabeth M.

New York

*Avery, Susan Look
Anderson, Sarah E.
*Anthony, Susan B.
*Anthony, Mary S.
Alleman, Zobedia
Bahl, Carrie
Blake, Katherine Duer
Babcock, Maude R.
Brannan, Mrs. John Winters
Belmont, Mrs. Oliver H. P.
Babcock, Elnora N.
*Bradley, Victoria
*Brayton, Alice I.
Brooks, Laura Sprague
Baker, Jennie V.
Benedict, Crystal Eastman
Cuinet, Dr. L. Adele
Cameron, Amelia
*Carey, Cornelia H.
*Catt, George W.
Catt, Carrie Chapman
*Chapman, Marianna W.
Craigie, Mary E.
Carpenter, Mrs. Herbert S.
Cooley, Winifred Harper
Crossett, Ella Hawley
*Davis, Amelia Stowell
*Dewey, Emogene L.
*Dormitzer, Anna
Eastman, Max
Ely, Sophia Fuller
Emery, Dr. Mary W.
Flanders, Gertrude A.
Fraser, Nicolas Shaw
French, Blanche Culbertson
Fraser, Rachel Shaw
Friedlander, Rebecca
Gaffney, Fannie Humphreys
*Gage, Matilda Joslyn
Gannett, Mary T. L.
Gannett, Charlotte Katherine
Greenleaf, Jean Brooks
Gilman, Charlotte Perkins
Gleason, Dr. Kate
*Hackstaff, Priscilla Dudley
*Hallock, Sarah V.
*Hallowell, Mary H.
Harper, Ida Husted
Hay, Mary G.
Howland, Emily
Howland, Isabel
*Howland, Hannah L.
Hull, Dorcas
Ivins, Emma G.
Ivins, Wm. H.
*Jacobi, Dr. Mary Putnam
Kenyon, Rhody J.
Lauterbach, Amanda F.
*Leslie, Mrs. Frank
Lewis, Edna B.
Lewis, Katherine Bell
Lewis, Agnes B.
Lewis, Caroline

Lewis, Katherine, 2d
Loines, Mary Hilliard
Loines, Hilda
Loines, Sylvia
Lapham, Mary Elizabeth
*Lapham, Samantha Vail
Laidlaw, James Lees
Laidlaw, Harriet Burton
May, Marion
*Miller, Anne Fitzhugh
*Miller, Elizabeth Smith
Mills, Harriet A.
Mills, Harriet May
Mortimer, Mignonette S.
Murtaugh, Sarah A. C.
Otis, Elizabeth G.
Ostranda, Sarah E.
Parsons, Sarah Ely
Peck, Mary Gray
Prather, A. S.
Prather, Martha Fuller
Purton, Euphemia C.
Raynesford, Georgia F.
Reilly, Caroline I.
Ricker, Dr. Marcena Sherman
Ripley, Julia T.
Sanford, Mary Thayer
*Sargent, James F.
*Sargent, Angelina M.
Smith, Eleanor Shaw
Smith, Nicolas Shaw
Smith, Eudora Shaw
Smith, Virginia Shaw
*Stanton, Elizabeth Cady
Sweet, Emma B.
Sisson, Mrs. Roby S.
*Slocum, Fanny T.
Taber, Susan J., M.D.
*Townsend, Marcia Allen
Villard, Fanny Garrison
Watson, Gertrude
Weeks, Anna Ross
*Willard, Elizabeth A.
Williams, Juliet Willets
*Wilbour, Charlotte B.
*Willis, Sarah L.

Oklahoma

Biggers, Kate H.
*Griffiths, Rachel Rees
Stephens, Adelia C.
Rees, Rachael A.

Ohio

Andrews, Mary S.
Bacon, Anna Anthony
Bissell, Sarah A.
*Casement, John S.
Casement, Frances M.
Doty, Audrey I.
*Elwell, Martha H.
*Evergard, Caroline McCullough
Hall, Anne S.
Hauser, Mary B.
Hauser, Elizabeth J.
*McCall, Sallie J.
*Mott, Anna C.
Peters, Alice E.
*Segur, Rosa L.
*Southworth, Louisa
Siewers, Dr. Sarah W.
Sturgis, Susan M.
*Taylor, Ezra B.
Tucker, Anna Ruth
Upton, Harriet Taylor

Oregon

Buchman, Jane Y.
Coe, Viola M.
Colby, Clara Bewick
Duniway, Abigail Scott
Duniway, Dorothy Edith
Mallory, Lucy A.
Therkelson, Mary
Thompson, Dr. Mary A.

Pennsylvania

Anthony, Lucy E.
Avery, Rachel Foster
*Bartol, Emma J.
Blankenburg, Lucretia L.
Brasier, Ellen K.
Brasier, Emma J.

Boyer, Ida Porter
Campbell, Katherine J.
Costelloe, Rachel
Dewald, Kate W.
*Foster, Julia T.
*Garrett, Mary E.
Garrett, Elizabeth N.
Goudis, Alberta Morehouse
Green, Grace G.
Green, Lola M. B.
Hadley, Alice P.
Hoffman, Caroline C.
Hovenden, Martha M.
James, Alvin T.
*James, Helen N.
*James, Edith C.
Jenkins, Mary S. A.
*Kemp, Dr. Agnes
Koethen, Lidie W.
Lippincott, Caroline
Lippincott, Emily L.
Lippincott, Mary W.
*Longshore, Hannah E.
Medley, Dr. Jennie E.
Osgood, Etta H.
Pierce, Charlotte L.
Price, Ellen H. E.
Rees, Jacob
Rendell, Elinor
Robinson, Caroline Hadley
Sellers, Sarah Pennock
Shaw, Anna Howard
Stecker, M. J.
*Thompson, M. Adeline
Thomas, M. Carey

Rhode Island

Dewing, Ardelia Cook
Eddy, Sarah J.
Wilbour, Sarah S.

South Carolina

*Neblett, A. Violet
Schofield, Martha

South Dakota

Johnson, Philema Everett
*Woods, Dr. Frances

Tennessee

Brown, Frances Fort
Stephens, Dr. Madge P.

Texas

Brackenridge, M. Eleanor
Finnegan, Annette

Utah

Richard, Emily S.
Wells, Emmeline

Vermont

Chandler, Mrs. A. D.
*Scott, Caroline

Virginia

Johnston, Mary
Johnston, Elizabeth
Johnston, Eloise
*Minor, Virginia L.

Washington

Brown, Annie M.
DeVoe, Emma Smith
Eaton, Dr. Cora Smith
Hutton, May Arkwright
Richardson, Ora Brown
Smith, Mrs. George A.

West Virginia

Cummins, Elizabeth
Cummins, Anna M.
Elliott, Albert H.
Kendall, Virginia H.
Kendall, Elizabeth U.
Parsons, Mrs. N. C.

Wisconsin

Brown, Rev. Olympia
Holden, Belle S.
James, Laura

SPECIAL RESOLUTIONS AND GREETINGS PRESENTED AT THE CONVENTION

RESOLVED, That the National American Woman Suffrage Association in Convention assembled do hereby express the Association's heartfelt thanks and deep appreciation to our National President, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, for her devoted and unremitting work for woman suffrage and for this Association during the past year and for her splendid services in the Campaign States which did so much to lead us to victory in two states and for her willingness to stand for re-election in order that she may again lead us to future victories in the coming year.

Nashville, Tenn., November 12, 1914.

To DR. ANNA HOWARD SHAW:

When service of the highest type has been faithfully and loyally rendered, it is the pleasure of those most benefited by that service to express, though inadequately, their deep appreciation. We, the representatives of the Campaign States, feel that to you we owe much for the splendid way in which you and your Executive Board stood by us in our efforts, but even more do we appreciate your personal labor, your untiring splendid spirit. Always ready to meet whatever situation arose, regardless of fatigue, you encouraged the believers, braced up the uncertain and converted the unbelieving.

Your service, in our estimation, is invaluable and cannot be dispensed with.

We, the undersigned, do desire to express in this way our loyalty and gratitude.

Jeanette Rankin, State Chairman, Montana.
Mary Stewart, County Chairman Suffrage Party, Missoula Co., Montana.
Helen Fitzgerald Sanders, President Butte Political Equality League.
Clara L. Darrow, Pres. Votes for Women League, N. D.
Mary D. Weible, Sec. Votes for Women League, N. D.
Helen Guthrie Miller, Pres. Mo. Equal Suffrage Assn.
Mary C. Lowse, Pres. St. Louis E. S. L.
Flora E. Worthington, Pres. Ohio Equal Franchise Assn.
Ruth White, Missouri.
Edna M. Bankley, Lincoln, Nebraska.
Mrs. Draper Smith, Omaha, Neb.
Katherine Sumney (Mrs. H. C.), Omaha, Neb.
Grace Richardson (Mrs. James), Omaha, Neb.
Mrs. Helen L. Million, Rec. Sec., Mo. E. S. Assn.
Emily Neward Blair (Mrs. H. W.), Press Chairman Mo. E. S. Assn.
Nathalie Caulkins Ortt, Joplin, Missouri.
Anne H. Martin, Reno, Nevada.

ASSOCIATE MEMBERS

Art. III, Sec. 3. Any organization which officially endorses woman suffrage may become an Associate Member upon approval by two-thirds of the Executive Council and upon payment of annual dues of $50.00.

CO-OPERATING MEMBERS

Art. III, Sec. 4. Any individual may become a Co-operating member upon payment of annual dues of $10.00.

Ackerman, Mrs. Frederick T.
Adams, Mrs. Charles H. (Ella)
Ames, Fanny B. (Mrs. Charles G.)

Baker, Jennie V. H.
Baldwin, Dr. Kate W.
Baldwin, Mrs. M. T. (Edith R.)
Ballou, Mrs. Mary R.
Bartow, Mrs. Henry B. (Alice)
Blake, Miss Katharine D.
Blankenburg, Lucretia L.
Blunt, Miss Katharine
Bond, Mrs. Charles H. (Isabella B.)
Botsford, Elizabeth
Botsford, Miss S. H.
Boland, Mrs. Esther Frances
Bourland, Maria
Bourland, Langford Todd
Boutell, Alice May
Bowles, Rev. Ada C.
Bubecker, Mrs. Clara
Burnham, Miss Margaret
Burnham, Mrs. George Jr. (Anna L.)
Brown, Mrs. Raymond (Gertrude F.)
Brown, Miss Ella

Carpenter, Mrs. H. (Cora)
Chapin, Maria Bowen
Chapin, Katherine G.
Cleveland, Agnes M.
Constable, Miss Anna
Culbertson, Emma B.

Davis, Miss Alice
Day, Mrs. George H. (Katharine B.)
Dickson, Mrs. J. B.
Dunston, Mrs. F. B. (Frances)

Ellicott, Mrs. C. E.
Emmett, Lydia F.

Fisher, Katharine R.
Folin, Mrs. Otto (Laura Grant)

Gillette, Miss
Glackens, Mrs. W. J. (Edith)
Goethe, Mary Glide (Mrs. C. M.)
Graves, Marion W. (Mrs. Henry S.)
Greenleaf, Mrs. Jean B.
Gribbel, Mrs. John

Hall, Esther Wadsworth
Hand, Mrs. L. (Frances A.)
Hazard, Mrs. F. R.
Henderson, Helen H. L.
Hill, Miss Clara
Hills, Mrs. James (Helen H.)
Howland, Isabel
Howland, Bertha M.
Huey, Katharine (Miss)
Hull, Blanche W.
Hull, Isabella H.

Ingalls, Mrs. C. H.
Inman, Florence E.

James, Mrs. Henry Fairchild
Jeffrey, Mrs. Jennette A. S.

Jennison, Mrs.
Jewett, Fidelia
Jones, Miss Rosalie Gardiner

Keim, Jeannette
Kerns, Serena
Kimball, Martha S.

Laidlaw, Louise Judson
Lathrop, Miss Julia C.
Leach, Prof. Abby
Lewis, Mrs. Lawrence Jr.
Lewisohn, Alice
Lewisohn, Irene
Long, Miss Margaret
Lowland, Josephine N.
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